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* ■ Any Communicant of the United Diocese of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, or of any other Diocese or Church in Communion with it, may receive, after October 1, 1849, a copy of this Volume, by Post, on sending his Name and Address, together with a Post-Office Order for One Pound, to the Rev. THOMAS HENSHAW JONES, 13, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh; the money to go, in the event of the Appeal being brought to a favourable issue, to some Ecclesiastical object connected with the Diocese abovementioned.

$$\Lambda. \begin{matrix} * \\ * \end{matrix} \Sigma \begin{matrix} * \\ * \end{matrix} \Theta.$$

Extract from the Minutes of a Special Synod of the United Diocese of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, holden the 27th day of March 1849 :—

“(Resolved) I. *That this Appeal, [viz. the Reference of certain XLVIII Disciplinary, and certain XLIV Doctrinal Propositions] has legitimately arisen, and is properly made to the Scottish Church, and to this Synod in particular :*

“IV. *That we recommend the Appeal to the consideration of the other Synods of the Church, with a view to the more general assertion of the foregoing or similar Resolutions, and to the adoption of any further step which, upon fuller deliberation, may appear to be necessary or desirable.*”

GEORGE GORDON MILNE, *Synod Clerk.*

Unpar-Fife, April 4, 1849.

RT
P

[Palmer, William]

AN

APPEAL

TO THE

SCOTTISH BISHOPS AND CLERGY,

AND GENERALLY TO THE

CHURCH OF THEIR COMMUNION.

By
William Palmer
"W.P."

"If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church."—*Matt.* xviii. 15, 16.

"A man that is an heretic, after a first and second admonition reject."—*Tit.* iii. 10.

"Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you."—*1 Pet.* iv. 15.

"It pleased the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church . . . And they wrote Letters after this manner: 'The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren, &c.' . . . 'It seemed good unto us being assembled with one accord, &c.'" . . . —*Acts* xv. 22, 23, 25.

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M.DCCC.XLIX.

“ A D V E R T I S E M E N T,

*“ That this Book is submitted to the Presbyters of the Diocese of
“ St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dumblane, with the Bishop’s permis-
“ sion ; and with a view to their expressing themselves, Synodically,
“ on the matter of which it treats.*


*“ The above permission of the Bishop is not to be considered as
“ in any degree applying to the contents of the Work (for which the
“ Author alone is responsible), but simply as indicating, that, in
“ his Episcopal judgment, the Question which it raises (that namely
“ of passive or non-passive Communion) is one, the intrinsic im-
“ portance of which entitles it to an attentive consideration by the
“ Synod.*

*“ To this Document I adhibit my Name, at Peterhead, on the
“ 29th day of December 1848, and in my 86th year.*

*“ PATRICK TORRY, D.D.
“ Bishop of St Andrews, &c. &c.”*

PREFACE

Addressed, in the first instance, to the Presbyters of the United Dioceses of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, and afterwards, if the Diocesan Synod should sanction any further communication, to the Clergy of the other Scottish Dioceses.

N laying the following sheets before the Scottish Clergy generally, and rendering them at the same time accessible to all members of our Church or Communion, it will be needful to say something by way of preface, I. As to the nature of the case itself: II. As to the grounds on which the Presbyters, especially, of the different Scottish Dioceses are now addressed: and III. As to the practical end to be answered by addressing them.

I. *As to the case itself*: It is briefly this. A person not originally a member of our Communion asserts a right to take the Sacraments from our Clergy at her own discretion. She grounds this right on the apparently established *custom* of the Anglican or British Church to give *passive* Communion to all comers: she urges that it would be arbitrary and unfair to question her, or any other individual, upon any particular point, or to impose upon her any particular conditions, unless all applicants for the Sacraments are, equally with herself, to be questioned at discretion, and upon all points, whether of Ecclesiastical state, of faith, or of morals, which are held to affect their fitness or unfitness to receive the Communion. Hitherto she has been actually exercising that right which she claims without meeting any check or prohibition worthy of notice, except from a single Bishop; and him she supposes to have acted contrary to the true sense of his Church.

On the other hand, the late Bishop Luscombe, a Missionary Bishop of this Church, denied the existence of any such right of passive Communion, as was claimed, and attempted

to oppose some practical check against its assertion and exercise for the future, by referring certain Propositions on points of Discipline, XLVIII in number, [See Section LVII, p. 318.] for re-assertion and enforcement (in the first instance) to the Bishops of that Church from which he had his own Consecration and Mission. And though he is now deceased, yet the case itself, which he had before his decease sent into Scotland, and which related not to any personal interest voidable by death, but to the interest and duty of the Church, remains still, and is unaffected by his decease. For the party claiming and taking passive Communion whom he prohibited in the name of all his Brethren and of the Church, as well as in his own name, has never ceased, to the present day, to maintain her aggressive position; and has from the first disregarded Bishop Luscombe's Episcopal Declarations made against her, on the ground that they were wanting in authority, and unsupported by the true sense of his Brethren and of their Church. The reference which Bishop Luscombe sent into Scotland had also before his decease been accepted and sustained, and so far made his own, by one at least, and that the senior by age and consecration, of the Scottish Bishops, who has never ceased since to claim for it a Synodical examination and decision: And it is now brought before the Clergy of his Diocese, and, *if they please*, of the other Scottish Dioceses, in the hope that the claim for its entertainment and decision may be supported by the Diocesan Synods. Besides which, it is evident, that the claim of a right to passive Communion having once been raised, and the attempt to resist it having once been made, a refusal or neglect by the next higher Authority to entertain or decide this question sets a clear precedent in favour of that party of the two which is at present in possession; that is, it amounts practically to a Synodical acknowledgment, either that the claim of passive Communion is justifiable in principle, or at least that it cannot in practice be resisted. The question has been raised in an individual case, as all such questions must be raised, but the precedent, once set, will be set for all.

Besides this primary question of Discipline, there were also a number of Doctrinal Propositions, on which the late Bishop (who assumed himself to be judge on what terms he

was to give the Communion) found his declarations of the sense of his Church disregarded by the same party. This doctrinal controversy however, as between the Bishop and any other party claiming a right to passive Communion, was merely secondary, and might have been passed over in silence in the first instance: as it would have been clearly superfluous to seek for any confirmation of the Bishop's judgment on particular points, till it was first settled whether he had authority to judge and to impose conditions of Communion at all.

However, those same doctrinal questions, the same, that is, in substance, on which Bishop Luscombe's declarations had been disregarded by the person invading his Communion, and the examination of which might else have been postponed till after the settlement of the question of Discipline, acquired incidently a separate importance of their own by being also raised against Bishop Luscombe and the Clerk whom he sent to Russia by the Authority of the Russian or Eastern Church. For that Authority, without reference to the question whether the British Churches do or do not admit the right of passive Communion, agreed with those whom Bishop Luscombe was attempting to repel and to disown in imputing to the British Church as heresies, those very errors which he was condemning and disowning, and called upon his Clerk, in consequence of those errors, to desert Bishop Luscombe's Church and Communion. The narrative now printed will, it is hoped, sufficiently show that the writer was disposed to do his best, both first as an individual, and afterwards as Bishop Luscombe's Deacon, towards asserting and defending the orthodoxy of our Church: but still, when he was told by so great an Authority, the Authority virtually of the whole Eastern Church, that he was merely maintaining paradoxes; that such explanations and defences of the British Church as his and Bishop Luscombe's, however well intended, were mere private theories, contrary to the public documents and inward sense of our Church and Hierarchy, he did not feel his own private judgment, nor Bishop Luscombe's, to be of sufficient weight to set against such an accusation. Nor did Bishop Luscombe himself deny that there was need, after what had passed, of some further confirmation of that

confession of faith which we had both made in defending our Church. And therefore he approved of the answer which his Deacon, the present writer, had made in Russia, namely, that he appealed back to the Bishop from whom he came, and to the Church which had consecrated him; and would let his own future judgment and allegiance depend upon the issue of this Appeal.

And thus, instead of sending to Scotland only those XLVIII Propositions on Discipline, which needed Synodical re-assertion against the party invading our Communion, the Bishop sent also those XLIV Doctrinal Propositions, by disclaiming which the Russian Church had judged his Deacon to be separating from the whole of the British Communion; or rather he sent his Clerk on personally with his Appeal, after having first himself, so far as an individual Bishop could, given a judgment in its favour.

Some people, no doubt, there may be, who are so far from understanding those consequences which are involved in the essential unity of the Apostolic Church 'throughout all the world,' that they do not believe themselves to be implicated even in the faith and practice of other Bishops and Churches within their own British Communion. Such persons will think, as regards the question of Discipline, that Bishop Luscombe had nothing to do with them, nor they with him: that it was for him to take care of his own Communion as he could, by himself: and as regards the question of Doctrine, that neither they themselves, nor Bishop Luscombe, nor his Clerk, could by any possibility have any thing to do with the Russian Church, or be in any way justified in attributing to its voice any authority, or desiring its good opinion or Communion. If a Nestorian, nay, if a Jew even, or a Turk, they will say, be now taking the Communion in British Congregations in France, or in America, or even in Scotland, that is his own responsibility, not ours: we cannot help it, and cannot be called upon to interfere. Or if a wrong-headed individual chooses to make his allegiance to our Communion to depend on authority or reason, whether of the Russian Church or of ours, rather than upon his own private judgment alone; or if he chooses to fancy that upon the Russian Church accusing us to him, and calling on him to leave us, his conduct is to depend on our pronouncing or not pro-

nouncing on his opinions, or the opinions of the Russians, what is that to us? There are many idiosyncrasies in the world: and we have quite enough to do without troubling ourselves with such matters. Let him pass over to the Russian Communion, if he pleases. What then?

Such thoughts may be very natural to some minds, perhaps to many: But still, though an individual be as nothing, if it be true that this case will constitute a precedent, (nothing nearly so full or so clear having ever occurred before to bring out the relations of the two Churches towards each other), it may on that account, to all who are not *pure* Protestants in their opinions, be more worthy of thought and circumspection, than merely as affecting the position of a worthless individual.

II. *As to the grounds on which the Presbyters, more especially, of the different Scottish Dioceses are now addressed:* they are these. In all Councils of the Church, beginning from that held by the Apostles themselves at Jerusalem, we find the Clergy of the lower Orders to have been present: and though neither Priests nor Deacons had any definitive voice, except as representing Bishops, yet they were heard consultatively; and even the faithful laity stood round as witnesses, as having a common interest in all that affected their religion. And whatever may be said of forms varying, or of reasons of convenience, it is not altogether the same thing for Bishops to act sitting alone in a private room with closed doors, as to act after public worship and the celebration of the Mysteries, surrounded by the Clergy and lay Communicants, in the House of God. If therefore the Scripture itself shows that by these words "*Tell it unto the Church,*" that Appeals may sometimes even in private, and still more in public matters, be carried to the Church, and that the Church cannot rightly refuse to judge them,—and if any individual, as is now the case, thinks he has reason to carry an Appeal before the Church, he cannot be wrong in submitting it to the Presbyters for consultation, and even in making it known to the lay Communicants; especially if no opportunity has been allowed him of doing this, according to primitive and canonical practice, in a regularly constituted and open Synod.

It may be observed indeed, that the present Appeal has

already, in one stage or another of its history, been offered more than once to the Scottish Bishops; and that, whatever may be the truth as to the strict form in which Synods used to be held, or as to the right of the Presbyters to participate in their discussions, and of the laity to be present as witnesses, still the sense of the Bishops (who alone have full voice) is of the greatest weight: and, practically speaking, if the Bishops of any Church are clearly of opinion that a cause brought before them is frivolous or improper, or that it has no claim to be entertained, the probability is that they are right. At least their own Clergy and laity would naturally be inclined to suppose so. And they ought to be so inclined. And there is a certain air of contumacy or importunity in attempting to press the matter further, and even to agitate, as it were, by appealing to the judgment of the Presbyters and of the laity. This is all, no doubt, true. But, on the other hand, if the Appellant were to go back at once to the Easterns, and confess that he had failed, and that his late Bishop had failed, to obtain any support for their professions of Orthodoxy in the name of our Church, and were thereupon to yield to their authority (having nothing to object against it but his own private judgment), there might probably be some among the Scottish Presbyters and laity who would accuse him of having acted with an improper and unjust precipitancy. They would say, that they too were members of the Church as well as the Bishops; and that before any one renounced their Communion they too had a right to be consulted on whatever was supposed to compromise them: that the refusal of one of the annual Episcopal Synods (a mere private meeting of the Bishops) to entertain a matter was not properly an act of the Church, nor could compromise her: that even the refusal in question seemed to have been made upon a very imperfect acquaintance with the case, which ought to have been more fully communicated in its history and details: that besides one Scottish Bishop, and he the senior by consecration or age of our whole Communion, was understood to have all along expressed a different opinion from his Colleagues; and since September 1846, several fresh Bishops had been consecrated, who are of course entirely unpledged to any opinion on the matter: and that even of

those Bishops who had at first so summarily and positively refused to entertain the Appeal, it was impossible to say how some of them might act, if they had fuller knowledge of the case, and if they felt that public opinion within their Church called upon them to entertain and decide it.

III. Lastly, *as to the practical end to be answered by thus addressing the Clergy of the second Order more especially* : It is this. *Either* upon the receipt and perusal of what is herewith sent to them, they will concur or acquiesce in the refusal of the majority of the Bishops in 1846 to entertain the Appeal, *or* they will not concur or acquiesce in it. *If they concur or acquiesce*, the refusal of the Bishops to entertain the Appeal may *then* fairly be said to have carried with it the sense of the Scottish Church ; which at present is not the case : *and so a decision against the Appellant and against the acts of the late Bishop Luscombe will have been obtained.* If they do *not* concur nor acquiesce in the refusal to entertain the Appeal, but concur rather in the judgment of the senior Bishop that the Appeal ought to be entertained and judged by the Church, then it will be for them to urge this their opinion and feeling upon the collective Synod of the Bishops, which they have ample means of doing through their own annual Diocesan Synods. Even if it were only the Presbyters in each Diocese, or in a majority of the Dioceses, who memorialized their own Diocesans, and through them the Synod of the Bishops, upon the subject, there can be no doubt that their wishes would be eventually attended to : much more, if there were only so much as one single Diocese, where the Bishop also, together with his Presbyters, in their Diocesan Synod claimed that the matter should be decided by the Church. For every Diocese being a perfect Church within itself, and having full power of action and legislation in all matters not already legislated upon by a higher Synod, there would be nothing whatever to prevent any Diocesan Synod from entertaining and judging itself the whole case, and enforcing its decisions within that Diocese ; which would necessarily so affect all the other Dioceses, as to make it impossible for them to avoid entering upon the matter also : in which case they would be either following in the wake of that Diocese which took the lead, or entering into a conflict on co-ordinate authorities, which might

easily have been avoided, if they had only concurred at the outset in joint Synodal action. In short it is clear that any one Diocese, with its Bishop, will always have abundant means at its disposal to bring any question, to which it attaches sufficient importance, before an Episcopal or General Synod of the Church ; though there is no reason whatever to suppose that the mere expression of a wish from the majority of the Presbyters would be unattended to.

But whatever is to be the issue, after having laid the whole matter before the Clergy generally, and rendered it accessible to the laity, the Appellant can do no more. If they think that the matter implicates their Church, *it is for their Diocesan Synods to take it up*, and to procure for it a hearing and decision. It is not for him to solicit or importune further. If the Bishop and Synod of that Diocese in which he has been received, and to which he now belongs, should, at their next meeting, think proper to communicate with the Clergy and Synods of the other Dioceses on the subject, he would offer himself to be the bearer of their communications, to attend at each place where the other Diocesan Synods may be to be holden, and to be ready to give any further information, or to answer any questions, according as may be desired.

In conclusion, he can only intreat every one who reads these pages to excuse the egotistical form of a personal narrative, and not to suffer either that, or any other fault which may attach to it, or to the writer, or any error which he may think he sees in the writer's opinions, to prejudice him against giving the case itself, apart from all such incidental disadvantages, a fair and conscientious consideration. Also, if there be any one who is such as to read only from curiosity, or without a hearty resolution to walk by faith rather than by sight in matters of religion, such an one is not asked to read at all ; but rather to let the book be torn up to light the fire, or to make matches ; in which case it will render some slight service towards material convenience, without increasing responsibility to an immortal spirit.

Perth, Saturday, January 6,
(being the Festival of the Epiphany) 1849.

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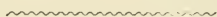
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INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

SECTION I.

CONNECTION WITH THE PUBLISHED WORK.

OW I went to Russia in the month of August 1840, for private purposes of study, with a letter of recommendation from Dr Routh, countenancing me in the intention of disclaiming any voluntary separation from the Eastern Communion; how I was offered an introduction to our Ambassador, who gave me a note to the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs at St Petersburg; how this officer desired to have a letter written which he might show to the Emperor, and presented me at the Synod to the Arch-Priest B. B. K., Grand Almoner of the Army and Fleet, is all related elsewhere; so these things need here only to be alluded to, by way of introduction to the following matters which sprang out of them.

SECTION II.

FIRST ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE R. FAMILY.

ON arriving at St Petersburg, I had with me by accident one MS. sermon, on the subject of the Sacraments, which at the request of the English chaplain I preached for him on Sunday, September 6th N. S., preparatory to the celebration of the Holy Communion. This sermon attracted the notice of a lady of the Independent denomination, a governess in a

Russian family named R. Some days afterwards, it so happened that the Arch-Priest B. B. K. who was Confessor to this same family, spoke of me to Mr R., though as he was unacquainted with the English language, he would have thought no more of the matter, had not the governess also mentioned the sermon about the same time, and volunteered to carry a note of invitation. Thus, on the 7-19th of October, was made my first private acquaintance with a Russian family at St Petersburg.

SECTION III.

BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH MDE. O.

ON Wednesday, October 16-28th, Mr R., with whom I had dined the night before, called upon me, and told me that his wife being last night at a lady's house not far off, had given as a reason for his not coming with her, that he had an English Deacon with him; on which the lady of the house, Mde. O., said that she had heard of me from the Emperor, who had asked her whether she had seen me; and that she wished to make my acquaintance. So Mr R. took me with him to call there the same day; when Mde. O. repeated nearly the same herself; that the Emperor had told her I was come to study their Church and religion; that his Minister had spoken well of me; and that I had a letter from my Superior, and was desirous to be admitted to Communicate in their Church. She made me explain how all this was, and expressed much interest both in my general purposes and in the desire of Communion; though that, she feared, would not be possible. She had a church or chapel in her own house, at which I afterwards attended often, and witnessed various ceremonies. On my taking leave, she desired me to come often to see her, and ever afterwards treated me with the utmost kindness. During part of this first interview, Prince Alexander Galitzin, formerly Minister for Public Instruction and for Ecclesiastical Affairs, was present; and on rising to go away he shook hands with me very cordially, and said he hoped God would give me success in all that I desired. When we left, Mr R. remarked

that these two persons, Mde. O. and Prince Galitzin, are intimate friends; that they are both very religious, and always ready to represent any case of distress, or any just petition to the Emperor and Empress, to whom they have free access. In fact, Prince Galitzin was the first nobleman who insisted on the Senators taking the oath of allegiance to Nicholas rather than to Constantine; and he has ever since been more on the footing of a private friend with the Imperial Family, than perhaps any other subject.

SECTION IV.

MEET MR A., WHOSE WIFE AND DAUGHTERS HAD RECENTLY RENOUNCED THE RUSSIAN CHURCH, AND CONSIDERED THEMSELVES MEMBERS OF THE ANGLICAN.

MDE. O. sent for me one day from where I lived, and before I left her house, told me that she had a cousin who was much puzzled at what she had heard and reported to him; that he said it was impossible any Anglican should desire to Communicate in their Church; and that I must come and meet him. Not very long after, on Wednesday the 11th of November N.S., I dined there, and met Mr A., then a Colonel in the Imperial Guard. He talked fiercely against the "Anglican Church," as did also several others present, using no ceremony, and seemingly seeking to hear what I should say for myself. They exploded it unceremoniously as 'Calvinistic' or 'Lutheran,' 'Reformed' or 'Protestant.' Mr A. asked what was our belief about the saints, and about the invocation of them. I said, there was a difference, perhaps, of practical judgment, as we have removed all formal and particular invocations from the public offices. He asked—"But do you believe that they pray for us?" "Certainly," I replied; and quoted a Collect issued by the Archbishop and Bishops in 1660 for King Charles' day. He was quite satisfied; and said, "Oh then, there is no difference to signify on this point!" He then asked whether we have any Liturgy, or say any Mass? Whether we believe the real presence in the Eucharist? Whether we hold Orders to be a Sacrament? (on which I explained the verbal difference

which many Anglicans would maintain on this point, and surprised Mde. O. by telling her that the mere phraseology of "the Seven Sacraments" is not to be found in any of the ancient Councils or Fathers; but is more recent than the great schism.) At length Mr A. opened a little, and told me, that on Thursday in Passion week last spring, when he had been Confessing, and preparing himself to Communicate, he was delighted to receive a letter from his eldest daughter, who has been with her mother now for some years in Switzerland, near Geneva, and in France; and his first impulse was to thank God for their affection in thinking of him at that season; but on opening the letter he found an announcement that they had been converted from the superstitions of the Russian Church to the Anglican religion. He said, that at Rome he knew there was pomp and artifice, and zeal and learning; and if he had received from thence such a letter, he should not have taken it so much to heart, considering that there are but some comparatively slight differences, and believing that people may be saved in the Latin rite as well as in the Greek; but to have them turn Protestants had made him very unhappy. He was answered that the Anglican Church has never excommunicated the Easterns, nor pretends to convert them, but admits their orthodoxy in all essentials, and is ready to Communicate with them: that his wife and daughters might have been converted to Evangelical Methodism, but could not have been really or canonically received as proselytes to our Church. "That," I said, "is mere nonsense. The English residents at Geneva are no more a Church, in the strict sense of the word, than are the sailors on board one of the ships at Cronstadt: and if they have hired a Chaplain, still he is in no diocese of ours, and under no Bishop, but like the private Chaplain a nobleman might take with him for his own family. Nor, were it otherwise, has a Priest, without his Bishop, authority to baptize or receive adult proselytes; nor even a Bishop otherwise, than according to the public law of the Church. But no one, that I know of, has ever been received by the authority of our Church (*i. e.* of any Synodal Act) as a proselyte from the Eastern Church; nor, according to our principles, so far as I see, could be." Mde. O. said she well remembered their horror, when girls, at their

English governess (or 'bonne') eating a hearty breakfast, and then going to 'take the sacrament;' which seemed to them the utmost irreverence and profanation. She also attacked our Church on the subject of Confession; and I felt ashamed while defending, not our practice, but our supposable theory. Others asked questions much of the same kind. There were between twenty and thirty people present. Mr A. seemed to be pleased with my reiterated assertions that his wife and daughter could not have been reconciled by any canonical authoritative act to the Anglican Church, and begged me to come and see him at his own residence on the Sunday following, when he would shew me passages of their letters, and confer more on the subject, saying, "There is a ray of hope for me, if you can make out your case; and *your own credit will be quite as much implicated* as my interest and feelings in your doing so."

SECTION V.

MR. A. ASKS ME TO WRITE HIM A LETTER TO SEND TO HIS WIFE
AND DAUGHTERS.

ACCORDINGLY, on Sunday the 3-15th of November, which was the day the bridges went, and the ice came down from the Ladoga, I went across in a boat between the floats of ice, and spent good part of the morning, after service, with Mr A. He read aloud several passages out of letters from his wife and his eldest daughter, and said that he had just received a letter from his second daughter, leading him to expect that she would shortly follow her mother and sister's example. He said that he had at first written sharply, and reminded his wife that her change was also an offence against the laws; that the Synod, if it came to be officially known, would anathematize them; and the Government might confiscate their estates; but she replied, that 'such language only confirmed them in their convictions; that if he had tried more reasonable methods perhaps, if he had truth on his side, he might have done something.' "Upon this," he said, "I tried all that reason or affection could do; and bought and read myself books against Anglicanism, and

reasoned with them from thence, and sent them different things from time to time :” [At the same time he pointed to the Russian version of the XVIII *Articles of Dositheus*, the ‘*Orthodox Confession*,’ a French volume by Orsini entitled ‘*Histoire du Culte de Marie et des Saints*,’ Cobbett’s ‘*History of the Reformation*’ also in French, and Thomas Moore’s ‘*Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion*;’] “but now,” he said, “I am *au bout de mon Latin*, unless you can help me, and make good what you said the other night.” He asked to be told frankly and honestly what differences there were between the Anglican Church and his. I explained, first, that my principles obliged me to believe and maintain that there were no real differences of essential faith ; but that all seeming differences, if on points of essential faith, were unreal, and all real differences unessential. I then mentioned I. the point of the Procession ; II. Transubstantiation ; III. Icons ; IV. Invocations ; v. The number of Seven Sacraments ; (making the necessary distinctions in each case). He made little of them all, as then stated and limited, but very much indeed of our agreement in the Real Presence : and then he spoke of the rule for Fasting ; the Prayers for the Departed ; Orders ; the power of the Keys ; the use and public reading of the Apocrypha. He spoke also of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist or ‘*Messe*,’ as he called it in French, and asked if we admitted that ? He seemed quite astonished when he was told that our religion would perfectly allow of my officiating as Deacon in their Service ; and further, that I should regard it as the greatest happiness that could befall one to do so, too great a happiness, indeed for one to expect in this world. He said, he would tell that to the Count Pratasoff, the Ober-Procurator, (who knew it however, already) : that having such views, it would be much in my favour if I could do any thing to undeceive his wife ; “for,” said he, “the thing is known ; the Emperor himself knows of it, and all the people of his Court, and of the Government.” . . . He said he now rested all his hopes upon that one word ‘*Anglican*’ in the letters he had received ; and he begged me to write him a letter, which he said he would forward to them.

In the letter of the second daughter there were interspersed a number of phrases which sufficiently signified what kind of a conversion it was, not to

the Anglican Church, nor to any Church at all, but simply to what is called at Geneva 'the Gospel.' Mr A.'s sister-in-law, Mde. S. A., with a younger brother, came to dine with him the same day ; and as he presented me to the former, he told her that he had been quite moved when at the table of his cousin Mde. O. just after I had been introduced to him as an Anglican Deacon, he saw me make the sign of the cross like one of themselves, (having come to attack me as a heretic) ; and he bade her notice that I would do the same now, when dining with them. Afterwards he took me into his bed-room, and pointed to two small Icons, one of the B. Virgin, given him on his marriage by his brother, the other of St Michael. "And do you imagine," he said, "that I regard these things as Divinities? And yet we certainly think them holy and consecrated, and to differ from any picture we may see in a shop, because they have been laid on the side-altar (Prothesis) during the Preparation, and have been blessed by the priest." I observed, however, that they admitted gross superstitions to exist among the common people in respect of their Icons. On taking leave, I promised to write him the letter he had desired to have.

SECTION VI.

COPY OF LETTER I, WRITTEN AT THE DESIRE OF MR A.

ACCORDINGLY in the course of the next few days I wrote the following letter, which was dated St Petersburg, November 6-18th, 1840 :—

"SIR,—It is said in Holy Scripture, 'Blessed are the peacemakers ;' and I assure you, that I would willingly take any pains in my power (that is, without neglecting evidently closer duties), if I might have any part in so great a blessing, by becoming the means of restoring peace and unity in the most essential of all things between you and your family : but I fear I am unworthy. Not that peace and agreement in a family is to be preferred to *every* thing else : for the first peace and unity which we must seek, is peace and unity with God ; and we know that our Lord has said, 'I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword ;' for 'I am come to set a man against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law ; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household. He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me ; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me ; and he that taketh not up his cross' (whatsoever that cross may be) 'and followeth not after me' (that is in suffering), 'is not worthy of me.' It is therefore quite possible that a wife may be justified in opposing her husband, or a daughter her father ; it is not only possible, but it very often has been, very often still is, really the case : and many Christians (in early times more especially) have preferred the faith, and love, and obedience of Christ and His Church to all earthly ties whatsoever, and have even hated their own lives for His sake ; and having suffered for a little while in this present life, shall receive crowns of immortality in the life to come ; with whom may all our souls be in God ! In the same way also, there can be no doubt that it is the duty of all good Christians to obey Christ and His Church, rather than any king

or Emperor of this world whatsoever ; and to take joyfully, if need be, the spoiling of their goods for Christ's sake. It is not therefore on the ground that your lady or your children naturally owe you obedience, or that their opposition to you in matters of religion is also an offence against the civil laws of their country, that I am justified in supposing them to be deceived. For if there were a heathen lady, a subject of the Emperor of China, or a Turkish lady, a subject of the Sultan, who, with her daughters, had embraced the true Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Christian Faith, and refused to yield to the entreaties or threats of those to whom they naturally owed obedience or affection, far from blaming them, we should be bound to praise their constancy, and exhort them to persevere, and assist them by our prayers. But in this present case I am perfectly sure that all the pain and trouble which the division now existing in your family has caused, and must still cause if it continue, is wholly unnecessary ; and that your lady and your daughters both may continue, and ought to continue dutiful members of that Church in which they were baptized. I should have the greatest confidence of being able to convince them of this, if they would only give my arguments a serious and reasonable attention. And indeed, on one ground at least, I may say I have almost a right to expect this of them, seeing that, as you tell me, they profess to have renounced the Russian Church, and to have become members of ' the Anglican Church of Geneva.' By this name, ' Anglican Church,' I suppose they mean the Church of England, or English Church, of which I am myself a member, and a clergyman, being a deacon. But I, for my part, am perfectly sure that my Church has never pretended to *convert* the members of the Russian or Eastern Church, but recognizes that Church as part of the one, true, Catholic and Apostolic Church, which was founded at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, and which, by Christ's promise, shall continue to the end of the world ; against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. The Church of England has never, I say, synodically renounced Communion with any part of this Church, of which she herself also is but a part. And though unhappily there has been a quarrel between the Eastern and the Western Bishops now for 900, or more strictly speaking for 700 years, and another again in the West between the British Churches and Bishops and the Bishops of the Continent now for 300 years, and though it is unhappily true that the other two great divisions of the Apostolical Church have formally broken off outward Communion both with one another and with our Bishops, still the British part of the Church has never gone those lengths, nor excommunicated either of the other two portions of the antient and only true Church, nor charged them with any errors amounting to absolute heresy or apostacy, but is willing, (and has shewn her willingness in various ways,) to Communicate with them as they are, without requiring any change either in their doctrine or ceremonies, thinking, I suppose, that it would be easier to arrange lesser differences, and correct faults of secondary importance in one household of united brethren, than between hostile Communions of Churches excommunicating and anathematizing one another for differences, which their own doctors, on either side, have often been obliged to admit would not of themselves necessarily amount to formal heresy or apostacy from the true faith. Thus, as a member of the Church of England, I am bound to pray for the re-union and reconciliation of all the Apostolical Episcopate now split into three portions or Communions, and by no means that my own *part*

should *convert* the members of the antient and Apostolical Churches of the other two, (at least in their own original dioceses), as if they were heretics, to our Church and religion, as if it were a separate religion from theirs. God forbid ! For there is but ‘*one Spirit, and one Body, one Faith or Religion, one Lord, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all*,’ who is above all, and through all, and in us all ;’ if so be that having been baptized into that ‘*one Body*,’ which is the Apostolical Church, we continue afterwards, like those first converts of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles, stedfast, 1. in the Apostolical *Doctrine* ; 2. in the Apostolical *Fellowship* or Communion ; 3. in the *Breaking of the Bread*, (that is, in the participation of the blessed Eucharist, as celebrated in the Apostolic Fellowship or Church, and according to the Apostolic Doctrine), and 4. in the *Prayers*, that is, the public Prayers of the same holy Church. I therefore have only to regret that the Eastern and the Continental Latin Churches persevere in keeping up that interruption of outward Communion in the Apostolic Church, which is hateful in the eyes of God ; from which division of the Bishops the enemy taking occasion has introduced an utter confusion into men’s minds, persuading them that they may rebel against the whole Apostolic Church with impunity, and taking her holy book, the Bible, give to themselves all things necessary out of it, converting themselves, baptizing themselves, giving to themselves the Holy Spirit by the application of their own minds, making human Churches, and even *assuring* themselves of salvation and perseverance to the end. But all this is most contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, as any one may see who will take the trouble of consulting her standard Formularies, her Prayer-Book, Articles, Homilies, and Canons. And I myself, at this very time, having come for the pursuit of ecclesiastical studies into Russia, and more especially of such studies as might bear upon apparently existing differences, and tend to facilitate their future reconciliation, am the bearer of a letter from the President of my College, (St Mary Magdalene College, in the University of Oxford,) in which, addressing himself to all Bishops of the Apostolical Church in Russia, into whose dioceses I may come, he desires of them, that if they find me to be an orthodox Christian in all essential points of the true faith, they would admit me to the Communion, charging me at the same time to submit myself to them in all things which are merely matters of ecclesiastical obedience, only, of course, doing and asserting nothing contrary to the faith and doctrine of the Church of England, whence I come. This clearly shews that my Superior in England both believed the Russian Church to agree with the Church of England in all essential articles of faith necessary to Communion, and was unwilling that the responsibility of assuming that division which now unhappily exists to be lawful or necessary should be on my side, when I, for lawful purposes, might be resident in any Russian diocese. You may judge, therefore, of my surprise, when I, at the very time that I was seeking, as the common right of a Christian, Communion from Russian Bishops, heard that your wife and daughters had renounced the Communion of this same Church, (in which, too, they had been baptized,) on the grounds of having been converted to the ‘*Anglican Church*,’ by which, I presume, is meant the Church of England. And your surprise, no doubt, situated as you were, and not having any exact knowledge of the Church of England, was equally great, when you heard that I, as a

clergyman of that Church, was seeking the Communion from your Russian Bishops, while resident in their dioceses, and professing to believe that there is no real difference between their faith, properly so called, and the faith of the Anglican Church, whence I came. For '*the Faith*,' as the Apostle says, is '*one*,' and indiscrptible; and consequently, if I know that the Church of England recognizes the Russian Church as a part of the true Catholic and Apostolic Church, (within the limits of its own dioceses), I am bound by that recognition to believe that the Russian Church holds one and the same faith or religion with the Church of England. And if, indeed, your lady and daughters are really and truly at present, in wish and intention, members of the English Church, then I would pledge my life that, by God's help, I would convince them of the truth of what I assert, if they would only enter reasonably into the question. Certainly no efforts should be wanting on my part; not only because I should be glad to do any thing in my power towards healing so distressing a division in your family, of which that Church, whose servant I am, is seemingly made the cause, and, as I am sure, is thereby most grievously wronged, but also because I am myself personally interested in the matter. For what answer can I make, if any Bishop or other person in authority here, on my seeking Communion as a Christian and a Catholic, though coming from other dioceses in the west, and shewing the letters of my Superior,—what answer, I say, can I make, if they object to me this ease of your family, (which you say is known to all the Court), and reply to me thus :—' You come here acknowledging that we are the true Church, or at least in these our dioceses a part of it, and asking to be admitted to our Communion; but in the meantime your Church is converting Russian families as if we were Jews, Turks, or Heathens, or at least heretics or schismatics, to her religion, as if that were another religion contrary to ours.' Certainly, if the Church of England did or sought to do any such thing, I should have no answer at all to make, but must confess that I and the President of my College (who, by the way, is not esteemed by any means the least of our living divines) have been acting contrary to the doctrine and canons of the Church of England; and that the President did not know what he was about when he bade me *not to seek to convert Russians to the Anglican Church, but rather, as a member of the Anglican Church, myself seek the Communion from Russian Bishops*; which, if it were granted, would involve the restoration of intercommunion between two great parts of the Apostolical Church; whereas, were they to invade one another, and *convert* each the members of the other to her own Communion, this would be to seek not the peace and reconciliation, but the destruction of those Churches which are now divided from us. I am, therefore, personally interested in this matter, as well as my Church, which I am bound to serve and defend according to my ability. And besides all this, I feel quite sure, as I have said above, that in this case there is no real inconsistency between that duty which your wife and family owe to you and to the laws of their country, and that higher duty which they owe to God and to his truth. And most happy should I be, if it should please God to make me the instrument of undeceiving them as to the error in which they now are: for however good and sincere may be their motives, (and I fully believe that they have intended to follow the best and purest of motives, and I feel pain to think of the distress they must have caused themselves in sacrificing the best and most natural feelings to a sense of duty,)

still I am certainly assured that they have been, and are, most grievously deceived. And, as I have said before, if there were nothing in this conversion but a simple mistake of the understanding, which had been persuaded to renounce the Russian religion and Church as erroneous, and to wish to belong to the English as true and pure, then I should anticipate but little difficulty in shewing them that the only possible way for them to be good members, or real members at all, of the new Church and religion as they think it, which they have adopted instead of the Russian, is by becoming again good and devout members of that which they now think they have left. The only point in which the Church of England could ever make them run any risk of incurring the censures of the Russian Church is this, that if they were at any time within her dioceses, and perceived that she was there the true and Apostolical Church, and sought Communion at her altars *not as converts*, but as members from the Eastern dioceses of that same One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, of which her Western dioceses are also part, she would not refuse them the Communion, nor would blame them for acting contrary to the prevalent sentiment and practice of their own Churches ; I say contrary to the prevalent sentiment and practice only, because there has never hitherto been any formal act of mutual separation between the Eastern and the British Churches. But still, even in this point, if they are aware that their Russian Bishops consider the Latins generally, or the English Churches in particular, to be heretical, then they certainly ought not lightly, nor without a very full and reasonable conviction, either to regard them as true Churches, or seek their Communion, or put themselves under the necessity of judging and deciding for themselves by going unnecessarily into their dioceses : only they should pray to God ever more and more for the healing of all divisions, and the unity of His holy Church, and induce others, by their example and exhortations, and by the holiness of their lives, to do so too : and then, if the people, without going beyond the bounds of their proper responsibility, were so to improve in faith and love, and in the desire of unity both visible and invisible, the Bishops, their shepherds, would in due time have grace and wisdom given them from God to do whatever was good for the people and for the whole Church. If, therefore, your lady and her daughters are sincere in thinking themselves converts to the English Church, then I can advise you of no surer way of restoring peace and unity to your family, than by urging, nay, commanding them, since they have chosen the religion of the English Church, now to set seriously to work, and learn what that religion really is, and try to be good, and humble, and dutiful, and reasonable members of their new Church, not taking their notions of her from foreigners, or from chance acquaintances, who may be only nominally her members but really rather dissenters in their opinions and dispositions : and still less let them take their notions of her from the foreign ‘ Protestants,’ or ‘ Reformed’ of the Continent, who are both identical in their principles with that Dissent which she excommunicates or anathematizes at home. But let them procure for themselves her Prayer-Book and Articles, Homilies and Canons, and whatever other authentic formularies and documents they can, and books of such of her divines as even the Dissenters at home and the foreign Protestants abroad admit to have represented her true principles. And then, if they so cultivate their new ‘ Church of England’ with humility, and reverence, and godly fear, and sincere desire to

be dutiful and well-instructed children of their new Mother,—if she does not lead them back again before very long to do their duty by the Russian Church, in which they were baptized, and in whose cemeteries the bones of their relatives who have died in the faith and fear of God now repose in hope of the resurrection, then, I say, I could be content to be sent to Siberia for the rest of my life, or anywhere else, if there be any worse punishment, as an impostor. I earnestly hope and trust that there may be nothing more than a mere deception of the understanding in the case : and they need not, and will not, I am sure, be displeased at this my assertion, that their understanding has been deceived, when the divisions of the Apostolical Church, and the horrible confusions of the self-formed ‘Churches’ or sects which have arisen in consequence, are such, that not women only, but men too, and learned men, may be deceived ; and may arrive at the truth concerning the visible Church only, if at all, after great labour and perplexity. And besides, it is difficult to avoid imbibing more or less the sentiments of the people among whom we live ; and if any of these appear to be zealous and devout, it is very difficult indeed to think that they are in the wrong, or would lead us grievously wrong, if we were to follow them. And I am the more anxious upon this point, to know that there is a humble and reasonable desire of finding and practising the truth, because I too have been at Geneva, and know the history of religion in that place, in some degree at least, and the spirit of its parties : and there were some expressions in the sentences you read to me from a letter, which did not savour at all of the English Prayer-Book, but very much of Genevese ‘Evangelical’ ministers ; rather of a Genevan Church of the English, than of ‘the Anglican Church of Geneva,’ if there could be any such thing as this last. But the fact is, that the ‘Church of England,’ as a Church, cannot exist anywhere but in her own proper dioceses : and her Bishops have never pretended to establish Churches in opposition to the Latin Bishops of the Continent : only the English travellers and merchants, where they may happen to be in any number, hire for themselves, for their own private convenience, a Chaplain, that they may have those services of religion to which they have been accustomed, and in their own language : but this Chaplain is, strictly speaking, under the jurisdiction of no English Bishop ; and by no means can he with his congregation constitute a Church. He ought, indeed, to be in connexion with, and under the authority of, the local Bishop ; but as there is a quarrel between the Churches, he is neither recognized, nor seeks to be recognized, perhaps, by him. So then, he is out of the dioceses of his own Church, without having formally or regularly come into the dioceses of the Latin or of the Greek Communion : and his position in his congregation more resembles that of a Chaplain in a ship at sea, in which there are some people of his own Church, than any other. And assuredly such Chaplains have no kind of authority, either inherent in themselves or derived from the Church of England, to *convert* Russians who may come to the place where they officiate on their lawful business, or for their health or pleasure, being members by baptism of that Church which is in the Russian and Eastern dioceses. I make no doubt that it would be easy to procure an authoritative declaration to this effect from the spiritual heads of the English Churches, if it were required. In the meantime I must again confess my fears lest there be another heaven than the English or ‘Anglican’ in this matter : and if such be the case,

then, though I still give the ladies credit for the same honesty of intention, yet I should entertain much less sanguine hopes of their being accessible to any such arguments as had force before the days of Luther and Calvin. Only I would recommend you and all your friends and relatives to put your trust in God, and to pray heartily to Him who alone can change the heart, and can give wisdom to those who seek it with a single view, and can reveal to us the most subtle and difficult snares of the enemy. I feel that I am myself totally incompetent to win any one back from that false *religion of feelings*, which is now commonly called Calvinistic 'Methodisme,' the professors of which however, I believe, call themselves, 'Evangeliques,' (Evangelicals or Gospellers), or simply 'Chrétiens.' The poison is far too deep and subtle, and too closely mixed with much that is excellent and true ; and the attraction of the apparent piety and zeal—I hope also the real piety and zeal, though mistaken—of many of its professors is too great for me to expect ever to change the mind of any person who has once thoroughly imbibed it ; that is, while the fit lasts ; for it is not always a durable impression that is made ; and many people infected with such opinions are now daily in England returning to the Church ; (but then they have always already begun to get rid of that peculiar moral disposition which belongs to the party, as a party, before their minds become accessible to the truth.) Intellectual argument with this class of religionists is generally thrown away ; indeed it does harm rather than good, fostering a spirit of mutual prejudice on the side of the orthodox against the unreasonable fanaticism of the 'Evangelicals' or 'Methodistes,' on the side of these latter against the bigotry, formalism, and unspirituality of the orthodox. And too often both accusations are just at once : for error is not to be dislodged from the minds of our brethren by that carnal and proud intellectual superiority, which is sometimes affected by the advocates of truth. And truth, on the other hand, has a kind of terrible majesty, which punishes irreverence both in those who pretend presumptuously to defend it, and in those who having it improperly set before them, are scorched and blinded, and have their fault increased, without having their heart moved. All, therefore, that I can pretend to do in such a matter, if the evil should be of this kind, is to point out what kind of preparation a Christian soul ought to make for the discovery of truth on any point on which it may rightly hope to attain truth ; and what precautions it ought to use, in like manner, for the avoiding of error. It is plain that *if* any persons are *confident* that they already *possess* all truth, or all truth that is necessary, *such* persons are not in the way to *obtain* truth ; also, if they are *quite sure* that they are not in error, if they have actually *taken hold sensibly* on Christ, and *feel* His grace regenerating them, assuring them, saving them, and the like, it is quite clear that there is no kind of use in reasoning with such people ; for they are for the time, being neither more nor less than diseased or insane, (oh, most fearful insanity !) if they be in error, and neither more nor less than under the influence of a special revelation, if they are *not* deceived. But people may be not quite fixed as yet in any desperate delusion, and yet approaching to it ; and they may easily (especially young persons) disguise true and good feelings under false and dangerous words ; and may so be led also into serious errors of belief and conduct in religion, through ignorance, and by mistake. From all which dangers, the standing authority of the Apostolic Church, the necessity of obedience to her in order

to obtain the bread of life, and a sober practical common sense, acting under the faith and fear of God, and in charity with our neighbours, (in that spiritual life which was first given us by the Holy Ghost in Baptism, and afterwards is nourished by the spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ truly received in the B. Eucharist under the forms of bread and wine), were intended to defend and guard our weakness. But the sins of the people caused first the Bishops to quarrel, and some corruptions in secondary matters to creep through their divisions into the Church : and then worse sins than before, of the people rushing in irreverently to correct by human will or reason the faults of the Bishops, have almost ruined the Church ; and have rent from her that Babylon of sects, which follows not this or that Communion of Bishops, but rebels equally against the whole company of the Bishops throughout all the world. And in this confusion in many parts of the world, and especially at Geneva and in Switzerland, men are justly punished by being left to their own inventions, and to grope their way in the darkness which they themselves have made, first following their rebellious intellect down all the steps of error into heresy, (as the majority of Calvin's Church or Congregation at Geneva have done, rejecting after 200 years the Creed as ' a human composition,') and then, as if starting back in horror from their own paths, and trying to revive religion by the feelings, (as the ' Evangeliques,' who are in fact only a reaction from the great Calvinistic apostacy), run an equally desperate course into fanaticism ; which subsides again but too surely into indifference and unbelief. But *we* have been taught, whether in the Russian or in the Anglican Church, that we were in very truth made children of God and members of Christ *in our baptism* ; that we were then translated from darkness into light, and received the spark of life by the new birth of water and the Holy Ghost ; and that then, indeed, we *were saved*, and that by the free grace and mercy of God, through the faith, which, so far as our state allowed, we professed, and not for any works or deservings of ourselves or others, except Christ ; and that if our friends and neighbours around us, as we grew up, and if we ourselves continued in that grace of our baptism, striving to know and serve God and to keep His Commandments, and remaining dutiful members of His Church into which we were baptized,—that then, I say, we should want no further *conversion, new birth, or assurance*, but should have grown up, like that Child in the Gospel who was the pattern for all Christian children, ' daily increasing in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.' Certainly, if any one of us had so grown up, whether in the Russian or in the Anglican Church, he would be in little danger of being deceived or of being led away from that Church, that spiritual mother, to which, under God, he owed such infinite blessings. To whom, indeed, should such a one go from the Church ? For she, as the great Apostle said, when our Lord who is the Head of the Church asked this question of His disciples, she ' has the words of eternal life.' Shall we take the Bible alone with our own understanding, or that of a divided multitude of contrary teachers to interpret it, instead of the same Bible interpreted by all the Fathers and holy Doctors, and by the existing Church of the present day ; from whom, too, the sectaries have taken or rather wrested the book itself ? Surely not ; but common sense may teach us, that it is safer to trust to that interpretation which the whole Church has received from the beginning, than to that of any individuals whatever. And, if we consider,

the Bible itself being properly and originally the book of the Apostolic Church, we ourselves acquired the right to read it (and that too in subjection to the authority of the Bishops) only by being baptized into the Apostolical Church ; and the moment we incur the excommunication of the Church, we lose all right to the Bible, and indeed to every other adjunct of Christianity : for we are then cast out of the kingdom of God, and delivered over to Satan in this world, that we may be brought to repentance ; and we ought to be regarded by the whole multitude of the faithful as heathens and publicans, till we do repent, and are re-admitted into the Church by Absolution. I know that now in this last age of the world multitudes of people take the Bible as if it were sent down ready translated and printed from the clouds into their hands, as a ‘ Revelation ’ addressed immediately and indiscriminately by God to all mankind ; and think that it is enough to receive the Bible as the Word of God, to believe what *seems to us* to be the sense of it, and to follow in practice what it *seems to us* to command, in order to be a Christian and in the way of salvation. But this was not so from the beginning : and all that I can say at present on this matter is, that this Bible-religion, as opposed to the Apostolical Church and Sacraments, obliges those who adopt it to a whole vocabulary of irreverent and hypocritical language, of which no trace at all is to be found in writers of the Church, nay, nor even among heretics, for 1500 years, *i. e.* from the day of Pentecost to the time of Luther and Calvin : and yet we have writers of every age, from the contemporaries of the Apostles themselves down to the sixteenth century, whose works have been preserved to us by Divine Providence for the confirmation of the true faith, and the refutation of all erroneous novelties. So again, as regards the ideas of the ‘ Church ’ itself, of the ‘ Clergy,’ of the ‘ Sacraments,’ and of all spiritual gifts and graces, every thing in the new religion or gospel is feigned and unreal, invented by men’s imaginations to themselves. Nothing can be more simple and straight-forward, more matter of fact, than are all these things in the true Church. Our Lord himself, the Apostles after Him, the Bishops and Clergy after them, are *really sent* ;—just as much so as the ambassadors of an earthly Emperor are really sent to the Courts of Europe. But the Pastors of the Lutherans, and the Ministers of the Calvinists, *send themselves* out of the Bible by their own imagination, having read there that *some people are sent by God*. So, again, the Christian in the Church is taught to believe that *Baptism* duly administered in the name of the Holy Trinity, *is* Regeneration ; and that the *consecrated Bread and Wine* of the Eucharist are Christ’s Body and Blood. All this is the gift and grace of God, flowing through regular channels of His appointment. But the new Gospel, as it has invented out of the Bible a new Clergy who are neither Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons, so has it also invented new Sacraments, in which men help themselves out of the Bible, or by preaching, to invisible graces, whether of ‘ *new birth*,’ or of ‘ *spiritual food* : and the former of these is disjoined from the water of baptism, and the latter from the bread and wine. As for *Confirmation*, or the Laying on of Hands, which St Paul, joining it with Baptism, calls one of ‘ the elements,’ or essential foundations of Christianity, placing it between ‘ repentance from dead works and faith towards God,’ (which are required in order to baptism), and ‘ the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment,’ this Apostolical mystery, the Seal of the Gift of the

Holy Ghost, the new Religion has abolished altogether. And as of these other points, so also of the Church itself: their '*Church*' is the creature of their own imagination in idea, and of their voluntary self-association in practice: nor can any two of them agree in telling you what the visible Church of Christ is: while the true Church, though sadly marred and disfigured by the division of the Apostolical hierarchy in different parts of the world into three Communions, still, now as ever, is easy to be seen in every country, as a city set upon a hill which cannot be hid; and is still everywhere united by the same origin, the same hierarchy of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the same doctrine, sacraments, and worship in all the great outlines at least; visible to all, one would think, who are not wilfully blind. Now I do not mean, in any thing which I say, to impute personal blame to any of the '*Evangelical*' party in France, or at Geneva, among those who are, from their origin, called '*Reformed*,' or Calvinists; for they have been bred up in those opinions, and may, for all we know, be much more devout and zealous, according to their knowledge and opportunities, than we (too many of us) are, who are careless and worldly, if not vicious members of the Apostolical Church. And it is, perhaps, not too much to say, that all the responsibility of their errors lies at our door, who, by our faults, make the very Church of God to be a bye-word among her enemies, and confirm in invincible prejudices the better-disposed among our separated brethren, who, if they saw us fasting and weeping and praying both for our own and their repentance, and united not only in an invisible unity of the imagination, but also in that true '*unity of the Spirit*,' which, according to the Apostle, is preserved by '*the bond of*' external or ecclesiastical '*peace*,' would speedily return into the true fold, into the Ark and House of God, and would find rest for their souls, and glorify God together with us. I do not therefore, when I speak of *the system*, mean to impute personal blame to the individuals who have been brought under it by unhappy circumstances, over which they have had no controul; but I cannot, I confess, conceive how members of any part of the antient and Apostolical Church should be so far deceived, as to leave her rich pastures for the husks of human inventions, or exchange that '*peace which passeth all understanding*' for those enthusiastic raptures which depend only on a few heretical words for their being, and in the midst of which the conscience must at times, if not for ever be suggesting, that they may after all be delusive, and built upon efforts of our own will. This would, I think, be next to impossible, if we had done our duty, and if others too had done their duty by us even tolerably from our baptism. But the real cause of this mischief being so common is, that the piety of Christians in this our age of the world has fearfully declined; and we neither having done our duty ourselves, nor having had a good example set us by other Christians from our youth, nor having been properly taught, nor having sought in proper ways to learn the true doctrine and our duty, and having also too often fallen into great sins since our baptism, the enemy of our souls takes occasion from this general apostacy, and from the division of the Apostolical Church at the same time, to raise up false teachers and false doctrines which would deceive us by throwing the blame of our sins, and of those of our people and age, upon the Church, *against* which they have been committed. And then, preaching to us a new Gospel, different from that which the Church has received from the

beginning, suggest to us some other conversion or new birth than our baptism, some other spiritual food than the bread and wine of the Eucharist, some other Communion of Saints than that corrupt, or superstitious, or bigotted, or exclusive, or formal, or idolatrous society in which we were baptized. But the true Christian, remaining in the true Church, should look back to no other beginning of spiritual life than his baptism, should live by no other spiritual food than the Body and Blood of Christ, which he can be sure of receiving only in the true Church, and should look forward stedfastly to one point, the Resurrection. And at the same time, if he has sinned since his baptism, I mean greatly, so as to be accessible to their teaching, who would 'lay the foundations over again,' in that way which the Apostle says is 'impossible,' then he should remember that what he needs now is not a second conversion, new birth, regeneration, or baptism; for that, the Apostle says, is 'impossible;' but repentance; repentance towards that one and only baptism from which we have more or less fallen. And repentance is a work of time, and pain, and difficulty; not of raptures, and of irreverent familiarities with Him whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and out of whose mouth proceeds a sharp two-edged sword; before whose terrible judgment-seat we must all stand at the Last Day. And if the visible Church of Christ appears to have lost its brightness, and to be obscured by divisions among the Bishops, and to shade off in some parts into the sects by which it is surrounded, yet let us first assure ourselves whether our own part of it, if we are so happy as to have been baptized in any part of it, is indeed a true part: and if it is, then, without minding any lesser blemishes or difficulties, let us strive either to do our duty by this our Spiritual Mother, if we have not yet greatly sinned; or else, in some measure to make up for our past sins against her, by sincere habitual repentance and change of life; being well assured, that if only a few would act in this way, they would not only acquire to their own souls blessings of which they can have no idea without trying, but would also be taking the only course to obtain mercy and grace from God for the establishment of what still remains sound in the Church, and the healing of what is diseased, and the conversion of the world. And the more we are perplexed by present divisions or scandals, the more constant let us be at our prayers, using especially the Psalms and Prayers of the Church, and in reading good and orthodox books, and in doing good works of mercy and charity. And especially let us think much of the blessed Saints and our patterns in Christ; and of our own friends and relatives who have died religious deaths: let us be very careful to be of their mind and temper; of their doctrine and practice; in one word, let us keep up our 'Communion' with them. Let us think of the graces which God vouchsafed to them; of the means which they used to obtain graces from God; of their zeal for the orthodox faith, and for the Catholic and Apostolic Church; of the holy severity which they joined with the most ardent charity. Let us apply these thoughts also to particular points: let us ask ourselves, What would they have said if we had done this or that? or expressed this or that opinion? as, for instance, that people may make churches out of the Bible without paying obedience to the Apostolic Hierarchy? that Baptism is not regeneration? that the traditions of the Church may be broken by any one who pleases? that Confirmation is unnecessary? that Fasting is unnecessary? that Public Prayer and the holy Liturgy may be turned into preaching and extem-

poraneous prayer? that the Eucharist is not the Body and Blood of the Lord? Let us ask ourselves what any of the Apostles, the Martyrs, Bishops, Doctors, Confessors, Virgins, Widows, or other Saints from the day of Pentecost down to this present, who are gone to their rest, would have said to any of these new opinions; and let us try to have the same godly disposition with those first converts, of whom it is written, that '*great fear* was upon all.' Let us *fear*, lest listening to new *words* invented within the last three hundred years, we lose the old *realities*: let us *fear*, lest following the new '*Gospel*,' we lose the old Church and Sacraments, and with them of course the true sense also of the Bible, and our part in the Communion of Saints: lest we be disjoined from that blessed company, with which we look to be joined; from the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles and Martyrs, and from all the Saints. For how will they own us, if we come out, as from Babylon, from that Church of which they were the most humble, and devoted, and zealous, and orthodox members while on earth? in which and through which, from God the Father, through Christ, by the Holy Ghost, they sought and obtained salvation? for which so many of them poured out their blood to death? Let us indeed *fear*; and seek to have that disposition of heart, which if we were ignorant, might procure us knowledge from God; which, if we know the truth, may keep us in it; and, if in any thing we be in error, may lead us out of it. But I feel that this letter has already run out to far too great a length; especially as I do not as yet know so much of the real position and views of your lady and her daughters, as I ought to have known, to be able to speak at all to the point. As it is, much of what I have written may perhaps be irrelevant, and may not touch their case. I trust however, that if, as you seemed to intend when you bade me write to you my thoughts upon the subject, you should communicate this letter to them, they will give me credit, though a stranger, for sincerity in saying, that I desire nothing more than to contribute all in my power towards giving them accurate information on any question of religion on which they may feel doubt or difficulty; more especially as to the true nature of the Anglican Church; or as to any errors or superstitions which may seem to them to be in the Russian Church, and to be such as to make it sinful for them to remain in her Communion; that is, so far as I may be able to do so. With which assurance, and with my most hearty prayers for the restoration of your family to that Church to which they belong by baptism, and by every other legitimate tie; and in which, according to the doctrine of the Anglican Church and my own sincere conviction they may very safely live and die; and from which they cannot wilfully separate without extreme danger to their souls; I remain your most obedient and humble servant in Christ,

"N. N. Deacon of the Church of England."

SECTION VII.

TAKE THE ABOVE LETTER TO MR A.

ON Friday the 8-20th of November, I took the above letter to Mr A.; and it being St Michael's Day, his name's-day, we went together to dine at his sister-in-law's house; as

also on the following day, when he made me read the whole letter aloud. There was an Englishwoman, a governess or nursery companion, there. Mr A. asked her of what religion she was : she answered to this first, "Protestant;" and then on being questioned further, said, "Independent." Mr A. said, jokingly, "I am of the Dependents." His sister persisted in supposing that I must be of a different religion from the State religion and Church of England, "as that," she said, "is evidently and notoriously Protestant, Heretic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Reformed : " and they both quoted Thomas Moore and 'Geraldine' against that religion, as good and convincing. They both seemed grateful for the letter, which Mr A. said he should like to write out and get translated into Russ, and publish it, if it could serve at all to the cause of unity ; though it would be publishing at the same time the disgrace of his family. I observed that the letter would be in existence, even though he did not copy it now, as his wife would have it ; and I had a copy myself, having written it with the manifold-writer.

SECTION VIII.

SEND THROUGH MR A. BISHOP JOLLY'S TREATISE ON THE CHURCH
TO THE LADIES, WITH A SECOND LETTER.

SHORTLY afterwards I gave Mr A. a copy of Bishop Jolly's short "*Treatise on the Church*," thinking that he might send it to his wife and daughters in a letter through their Foreign Office : I gave or sent him at the same time the following letter dated St Petersburg, November 14-26 :—

"SIR,—Shortly after I had written you the letter you desired on the subject of the difference now existing in your family, it occurred to me that it might possibly be of some use, if I were to give you a copy of a little treatise which I republished myself, in conjunction with a friend, last winter at Oxford ; and of which I chanced to have some copies with me here by a singular, and, at the time, to me a very annoying blunder. A member of the Church of England, himself formerly a Methodist, had written to me to send him out some books, and especially some small tracts, which might be useful in converting Dissenters to the Church, and in giving Church-people truer notions of their religion. At the same time I was preparing a parcel of more learned Works, which I meant to take with me to Russia, to offer as a present to the Library of the Spiritual Academy at St Petersburg. By a stupid blunder of the bookseller at

Oxford, the books and tracts intended for Malta were sent to St Petersburg, and those intended for the Spiritual Academy were sent to Malta, where many of them could be of no use. However, by this accident I happen now to have with me that short tract, of which I beg your acceptance. You can read it over ; and should you think it contains anything likely to excite reflection in a serious mind on the danger of quitting the Apostolic Church for any Lutheran or Calvinistic Society, it will not be too large to send to your wife and daughters inclosed in a letter. The tract itself was written by a bishop, named Alexander Jolly, a bishop of the Apostolic Church in Scotland, commonly called the Scottish Episcopal Church, which is altogether one in religion and communion with the Church of England ; although the same Civil Government which maintains the Anglican Church in England as the National Establishment, has for the last 140 years plundered and oppressed the same Church and religion in Scotland ; having transferred all its property and the fabrics of the Churches to the Presbyterian Calvinists, who are in all respects the same as the '*Calvinistes Evangeliques*' of Geneva, and are historically descended from certain disciples of Calvin who came from thence. These Calvinists of Scotland, leagued with the Calvinists of England, then called Puritans, about the middle of the seventeenth century, marched an army into England ; and took a prominent part in those proceedings which led to the martyrdom of our King Charles I., and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, and to the expulsion of near 8,000 priests from their churches. In Scotland also they murdered two Archbishops. When some years afterwards the son of King Charles I., James II., who had been educated abroad, and whose mother was Henrietta of France, sought to subject again the Churches of his dominions to Rome, the Bishops resisted him only so far as they thought it their duty, praying for him at the same time, and exhorting all the people to remain in their allegiance. But the people would not listen to them. That very people which, forty years before, had murdered the father, King Charles I., and overthrown the Church, expelling the Clergy, proscribing the Liturgy, tearing down Altars, Crucifixes, Crosses, Images, Pictures, and all other ornaments, stabling their horses in the Cathedrals, breaking open the tombs of Saints, and Kings, and Bishops, and scattering their bones upon the pavement,—this same people now pretended to be very zealous to defend the Church against a Popish King. And so they rebelled against him, and drove him out ; and made his son-in-law, William III., a Presbyterian Calvinist from Holland, to be king in his room. This Prince, finding that the Bishops in Scotland would not acknowledge him to be their 'lawful' king, though they were ready in all things to submit to him as a conqueror, overthrew the whole National Establishment of the Church in Scotland ; and set up the sect of the Presbyterian Calvinists in its place. It is no great honour to us English, that the Anglican Church did not share the fate of the Scottish : but some of the Bishops in England were weak or bad enough to yield to what seemed necessity, and to become the servants and instruments of the Revolution : and so, through this weakness of their's, the Church was suffered to remain outwardly the same national Establishment in England. However, even in England, very many, and the best, of the Bishops refused to violate their engagements to James II. ; and were in consequence deprived by the tyranny of the civil power of their sees. In Scotland the Government,

not content with transferring all the property and churches of the Orthodox to the Calvinists, actually persecuted the professors of the true Faith, making them liable to fines, imprisonment, and banishment, if they so much as celebrated the Liturgy of their Church, even in a private house, with more than four persons, besides the members of the family, present. Still, the Church preserved her existence, and the Succession of her Bishops, though the number of those who adhered to her in spite of all persecutions came at length to be very small. And this was the state of things in the middle of the last century, when the Bishop, whose Treatise I offer you, was born. He was brought up in the schools and University of the dominant Calvinists, amid people of the same religion as I fear your family have mistaken for the Anglican at Geneva ; but no worldly prospects could ever divert his mind from devoting himself to the service of God in the true Church. He was accordingly ordained Deacon, and subsequently Priest, in her Communion ; and was eventually, on account of his piety and learning, raised to the Episcopate. He lived as a Bishop above fifty years, having never, through all his life, had a larger income than £100 a year (2,500 francs), a sum which in England or Scotland is much smaller than it sounds on the Continent. He was never married ; and out of his small income always had money at his disposal for the poor, and to buy books of Theology. For many years he also supported a Vicar or assistant Priest. He died only two years ago, having been personally known to some of my own friends, who are now also dead. He left behind him four short treatises, two of which may be called books ; the first this, which I now give you, ‘On the Nature and Constitution of the true Church,’ another on Baptismal Regeneration, the third on the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, and lastly, a series of Instructions on the Services of the Church for all the Sundays and chief Festivals of the year. Of these, the first, which is also the shortest, is especially intended to win over from the Civil Establishment of Calvinism, or from other sects, such as may read it with hearts prepared to prefer truth to worldly considerations. And as it is the work of a most holy and learned Bishop, whose whole life, and that a long one, was spent in the strictest poverty and self-denial in the most despised and trampled portion of the true Church, (and that the very same in doctrine and Communion with the Anglican) ; and as it was written to guard his own flock against that very Religion which I fear your lady and daughters have mistaken at Geneva for the Anglican, but which really is our very bitterest and deadliest enemy ; with which our Churches have been contending now for 300 years ; and against which we have had Martyrs and Confessors ; it may perhaps help somewhat to make those, who now mistakenly think themselves proselytes to the Church of Bishop Jolly, to see more clearly the radical difference between the Episcopal or Apostolical Church throughout the world, and all modern societies self-originated out of Holy Scripture. If there are quarrels between the Apostolical Churches themselves, so that the Bishops of Russia, Italy, and Britain, do not agree together in all secondary points, or receive each other’s people to brotherly Communion in their respective dioceses, as ought to be the case,—still, this can be no reason for rebelling against the whole company of the Apostolical Churches and Bishops throughout the world, as the Protestants and Reformed of the Continent do ; and upon principle too, at least in our days. But we should first assure ourselves, that the Church of our own country,

which baptized us, is the original, and legitimate, and true Church ; that it has never forsaken that essential faith which was delivered to it by its first founders ; that it has never separated from any older Church in those dioceses ; but that all other sects or schismatical Churches have separated from it ; as the ‘ Rascolniki ’ and the ‘ Uniats ’ did from the original Church in Russia and Lithuania ; and as both the British Roman-Catholics and the Protestant Dissenters have separated from the original and Apostolical Churches of Great Britain and Ireland. I am far from denying that there is a vast difference between such sects as the Russian ‘ Duchobortsi,’ the French or Genevese Calvinists, and the English Methodists or Quakers, who rebel against the whole Apostolical Episcopate, and those who, in consequence of the schism of the Bishops themselves, may be led, without any intentional rebellion, yet not, I think, without great previous faults either in themselves or in their teachers, to form new Latin congregations, by separating from the Eastern Church, or from the British ; or new Greek congregations, by separating from the Latin ; or new Anglican congregations, (if the principles of the Anglican Church made that possible), by separating from either of the other two. Still, I think that the ties by which we are all of us bound even to the particular Church which baptized us, will be strong enough, if we do our duty, to prevent our being deceived by the lamentable division existing between the Bishops, so as to rebel unjustifiably against that part of the Church in which it has pleased God to place us. Rather, the more we come to see what the true unity of the Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church essentially is, and ought also to appear visibly to be throughout the world, and what fearful scandals, doubts, confusions, errors, and immoralities have come from the quarrels of the Bishops and Churches in different parts and dioceses, the more we shall be excited to seek the restoration of the unity of the whole, (that unity for which our Lord’s last prayer was made before He suffered), the revival of piety among Christians, and the conversion of the world, by the only way by which we can either rightly or successfully seek it ; namely, by striving earnestly to do our own duty well by that part of the Church to which we belong, and praying continually, both for it, and for the whole body, of which it is but a part. Especially, I would recommend to any person to whom such questions are at all new or doubtful, to add to their daily prayers some few short petitions such as the following :—‘ To think humbly, reasonably, charitably, piously, and rightly, on those points in particular, which divide the Churches :’ ‘ To be rightly disposed towards our own Church, and towards other Churches or communities now separated from it ; and towards the whole Catholic Church :’ and short petitions, such as those in the private devotions of the Anglican Bishop Andrews, for the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church ; as, first, ‘ For the whole, that it may be established in peace and unity ; and that the heathen may be converted ;’ then particularly, ‘ For the Eastern (Russian, Greek, &c.), that it may be freed altogether from the Mahommedan yoke ; and that the whole Greek and Latin Communions may be re-united and reconciled together :’—then, ‘ For the Latin Church ; that peace may be restored to it ; that the Bishops (and especially the Pope of Rome) may have grace given them to do what is right : and that they who are now separated, whether with or without their own fault, may be re-united (as the Lutherans and the Calvinists) :’ To which prayers if any one will add another for the Epis-

copal or Apostolical Churches of Britain, 'That they may be established and purified ; and that their deficiencies may by God's merey be supplied ; and they themselves be reconciled with all other true and Apostolical Churches, whether Eastern or Western,' I shall be amply repaid for the trouble I have taken in writing this letter. And so I beg you again to believe me to be, &c. &c. N. N. *Deacon in the Church of England, and Fellow of St Mary Magdalene College, Oxford.*"

SECTION IX.

CONVERSATION WITH MR A.

ON Friday, December 25th N.S., meeting Mr A. in company, he observed, "So I hear that you have sometimes officiated at the English Chapel, and that you have scandalized some of the people there?" Ans. "How so?" Mr A. "By turning to the East." "It is true I never say a prayer without turning to the East in my heart ; but in that Chapel to do so bodily is impossible." "How so?" he said. "Because the great wooden box which answers the purpose of an *Ἀναλογίστον* ('Naloi') is so placed and fitted." He said, laughing ; "They complain of it, because it is turning your back to the people." Ans. : "This was the complaint of the secretaries 150 years ago in the time of King Charles II. : and our Bishops answered them (at the Savoy conference) thus, 'that to turn to the people is right indeed, when a man has any thing to say to the people ; but that the whole Catholic Church has always been used to turn to the East in prayer to God :' and a soldier must understand very well that he who *leads* must turn his back, and not his face, towards those whom he leads, as they also turn their backs upon one another. In that Chapel, however, you cannot, if you would, turn further round, than so as to look across into the Ambassador's seat : and if one is to turn to the congregation and not to the altar, perhaps the Ambassador, who represents the Sovereign, is to be turned to, rather than the merchants, or any others." That which is amusing is, that here at St Petersburg they are rather put to it for arguments to defend their most un-apostolical traditions : here they cannot explode every thing decent or primitive at once under the name of 'Popery,' as they do in England.

The next day the Arch-Priest B. B. K., Mr A.'s Confessor, told me that he had been greatly pleased with Bishop Andrews' 'Private Devotions,' which I had given him in Greek and Latin ; and he asked why William III. had expelled those Non-juring Bishops in Scotland and England, whose successors afterwards corresponded with the Eastern Patriarchs and with the Russian Synod ?

SECTION X.

CONVERSATION WITH MR A. AND HIS AUNT MDE. E. A.

ON Saturday, January 16th N.S., 1841, after dining with Mr A. I was taken by him to the house of an aunt of his, Mde. E. A., a woman of talent and an authoress, who was living at no very great distance from his own residence, and who, as he said, desired to see me. She asked, "How can you pretend that the Anglican religion is the same as ours, when you have not

the same Mysteries or Sacraments?" (which led to some conversation on this merely verbal dispute) "nor even altars in your Churches?" Answ. "There is always an altar in every Church." "What," she asked, "in London?" "Yes, always, though certainly it is pretty well hidden by wooden boxes and closets, three of which are sometimes piled one over the other just in front of it." Her language, as usual, took it quite for granted that ours is a Protestant or Reformed Church of recent foundation, based upon a certain 'Confession;' one which came out from 'the Catholic Church' at the time of the Reformation. When this was denied, she said, "But what name then has your Church?" Answ. "She has never called herself by any other names than those of 'the Church,' 'the Church of England;' nor added any other titles to this name than such as those of 'Holy,' 'Catholic,' 'Orthodox,' and 'Apostolic,' which have been used from the beginning. She knows no such expression as 'the Anglican Religion' or 'Anglican Church,' otherwise than as we may say 'Gallican Church,' 'African Church,' 'Russian Church.'" "But," she said, "the English talk in my manner, not in yours." Answ. "That is nothing to me: I will talk as our Church herself talks. And if indeed our Church spoke the language of the world, then one's course would be clear: I should have to look out for the old and true and Catholic Church; and should probably be no long time in finding my way to Rome. But as things are, it is true, indeed, that the whole world in a manner for the English, and the English for themselves, as individuals, to a very great extent, in their opinions, words, and actions, renounce the Catholic and Apostolic Church and religion, and profess for their Church heresies which have risen up as it were out of the pit, and darkened the whole atmosphere. But the Church herself has done for 300 years past, ever since the beginning of the evil, the very contrary: and though her life has been apparently feeble enough, yet she has given quite sufficient signs of life, to place it beyond all doubt that there is that in her which might condemn at the Day of Judgment any of her children, who should lightly despise or forsake her: while, on the other hand, there is too much to counterbalance the claims of the Roman Communion to exclusive Catholicism, to allow of the loud voice of that party (even though swelled in a manner by Protestantism itself, and by the infidel or careless world) to prevail with serious or reflecting people, even in the Anglican Church, over the feeble and half-stifled voice of their own mother." Mde. E. A. said, "But if this is so, why do not your Bishops and clergy speak out, and teach the people their true doctrine? If your Church is, or means to be orthodox or Catholic, nothing surely is easier than to say so." It was answered, "She has said so over and over again: but when the Crown and the Nobility, the Bishops and Clergy, with the Universities and the better part of the nation, were united in the wish to serve God and his Church truly, and to stem the inundation of evil, the baser sort made a rebellion, and cut off their heads: and since that time the Church has been preserved only as by a miracle, in the midst of a Calvinised nation; as a principle of renewal in the core of a mass of putridity; it being very doubtful, even yet, whether it will finally be killed and smothered by the noxious atmosphere by which it is surrounded, or will at length recover itself, when the poison has spent its force and crumbled into its own natural corruption, and so rise up again, and re-leaven the whole lump into good bread. To understand this in any degree, it is

absolutely necessary to know something of English history." At length Mde. E. A. said, "It would be a great thing if you could introduce the Divine Liturgy into your Church, instead of having only preaching." Answ. "We have always retained the Liturgy : they are the Calvinists and the Lutherans, who have turned religion into preaching and reading, not the Anglican Church, though some of our Clergy and people may shew a disposition to imitate them." She said, "But tell me ; what is the order of your Liturgy?" Answ. "There are three slightly varying forms in use in our Communion, of which the Scottish is the least imperfect." "But the Scotch Church," she said, "is Presbyterian." "The Scotch Establishment or Established Church is in fact a Calvinistic sect : but 'the Church,' *i. e.*, the original or Episcopal Church, still subsists in Scotland, although it has been oppressed by the Government, and greatly reduced in numbers. The greatest scandal and difficulty perhaps in our Communion is, that they, being free, have not dared to assume their true position, or speak like what they profess to be : and the same may be said of the Anglo-American Church." I described to her the order of the Scottish Liturgy, and mentioned some of its variations from the English, which quite surprised her ; and then retorted upon her her attack, if it may be so called, by noticing her abuse of words in calling all the Latins 'Catholiques,' Catholics. She laughed, and confessed that this was wrong ; but said, the Easterns do not absolutely and unreservedly assert heresy of those Churches, but think the doctrines and discipline of their own Church the best, and most perfect, instancing various grave errors and inferiorities of the Latins ; as, That they have interpolated the Creed, and incurred the anathema of all the General Councils : That they have changed the form of administering Baptism by trine immersion : That they have deferred Confirmation ; in which last point she said the nature of Latinism shewed itself clearly, in that they in a manner sowed the seeds of Protestant error, and threw that upon the intellect, which belonged to the spirit : whereas the Easterns think that the grace received by the souls of infants through that Mystery, the Seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost, should rather be trusted to, to have a beneficial effect upon the future development of the intellect, than be thought itself dependent upon the development of the intellect for its reception : "The same kind of error," she said, "is involved in that other custom of theirs, of depriving baptized children for many years of the Communion. By parity of reasoning, and even *a fortiori*, Baptism itself might be delayed." There was much truth in this ; and one might well be ashamed to think that the practice of our 'Reformed' Church, as well as of the Protestants generally, justify such observations : inasmuch as we, leaning still more to the intellect, have carried out the principle, and extended the delay of Confirmation and of the first Communion much further than the Pope, who first countenanced it, ever thought of permitting. Many of us indeed have lost all sense of the Grace itself of Confirmation in the new relations to the intellect which they have given it. "Then again," she continued, "they have their fire of Purgatory : whereas we think there is much which even the Church must confess herself not to know here, as not having been revealed ; and that a limit is to be set to defining in such things." They allowed that there is a discrepancy between the exclusive pretensions of their Church in some of her Formularies, and the notions practically held by all her members ; notions

which cannot be set aside, so far as the life of the whole Latin Church is concerned, without a flagrant disregard of common sense. Mde. E. A. spoke of the Protestants as denying "la Divinité de la Ste. Vierge," the Divinity of the Blessed Virgin; and when Mr A. her nephew corrected this expression, she did not readily listen to him. He observed afterwards, when we were alone; "You may easily see that if my aunt, a clever and pious woman, and literary too, and of the highest rank, could let fall out of her lips a heresy, such as she did let fall to-night in conversation (for it is a heresy no doubt), that there may be a good deal of misconception and abuse among the common people; and I can suppose that for some such reasons your Church may have omitted, as you say she has, the *Invocations*, which we have in our Offices." He spoke also of the word *Δέσποινα*, 'Lady,' which Bishop Andrews has omitted in translating the commendatory conclusion of the Shorter Ectenia in his Devotions (which had been given to Mr A.) saying, that "Notwithstanding, we may very well call her, with the Church our Mother, 'Our Lady,' 'Queen of Angels and Men,' 'Queen of Heaven,' more honourable than the Cherubim and incomparably more glorious than the Seraphim,' &c. &c." *Answ.* "Certainly there is a point of view in which all these expressions are true and pious; especially in hymns, anthems, versicles or troparia, and rhetorical passages: but whether it is judicious, or not, to put them into daily Offices for all ranks and ages, and to repeat them incessantly, and to encourage their use in a matter-of-fact, dry, and serious manner, as well as in the license of rapture, in poetry and rhetoric, is another question." He admitted that this was true. "Still, poetry, if it have a lawful place anywhere, must have its fittest and highest use in the Church: and the spiritual thought and sense is beyond even poetry; and the Offices of the Church are all, and in all their parts, worthy of the Church herself; and we are each to rise up as high as we can towards her sense, not to demand that they should be cut down to any arbitrary and private standard of our own." "So then," he said, "if there were allowed to be among us in practice any secondary imperfections or abuses, which might strike the understanding of my wife, you think, as an Anglican, that there would still be no solid cause for her to renounce or quit her Church?" *Answ.* "I think certainly not." He said, "But perhaps she may write me word, that you are not a fair or trustworthy representative of the Anglican Church; as when the other day I had some business with my banker, a very respectable man here, a Scotchman, who is one of you, and goes to your Chapel of the Factory," (a Presbyterian, by the way), "I asked him about you; whether he knew you, and whether he and the other English there owned you as of the same religion: but he said, 'Oh no; he is not of our religion: he is of some new sect,' I know not what he called it." Mr A. then enquired, whether our people commonly make the sign of the Cross on entering and leaving the Church, and on commencing or ending their devotions, public or private? and on being told, "No; they do not commonly make it at all; though it is made upon them once, when they are Baptized;" he asked, what conceivable reason they could have for not doing it? At the same time, on its being said, that they are deeply infected with Calvinism, which has chrystallized in this and in many other like habits into a negative tradition, as if they were wiser in these things, and less 'superstitious,' than the Apostles and the whole Catholic Church, he said, "It is incredible that people should be so per-

verse and senseless : however, so long as they abstain not of malice, I have reason enough to see that the essence of religion lies not in such details. If they do not what is decent and becoming, and good for themselves, and customary among all Christians from the beginning, so much the worse for them : that is all." He asked, whether we mix water with the wine before the Oblation and Consecration ; and on being told that in Scotland it might still be done, but is seldom or never done by our Clergy in England, he said, *they* thought this mixture had some connection with the Mystery. It was manifest also that he was shocked at being informed that our Clergy consecrate in the chambers of the sick. "What !" he said, "consecrate at any moment, without any preparation, and on any common chair, table, or cloth, which comes to hand ? We in Russia think that this Consecration, and the Sacrament itself, are so exceedingly holy, that it ought to be performed with all possible reverence, and no-where but on a consecrated altar, or at least on an Antimise : And the Mysteries are also reserved in a tabernacle in the Church, to be carried from thence to the sick." Answ. "So too, the Church of England appointed it to be done in the first English Prayer-Book, which alone was truly her's : and so it was done, no doubt, in primitive times." "But," said Mr A., "do you then Communicate the sick only when they are in danger ?" He asked also, what sort of bread we use ; whether leavened or unleavened ; and whether any precaution was taken to secure its being unadulterated. His aunt, like all of their Church, made a very great point of the Communion under both kinds ; and mentioned the doctrine of the Real Presence as absolutely essential. She seemed to understand all that was said with great quickness ; and once remarked that she "could not help fancying sometimes herself, when she saw the wealth, power, and expansiveness of the British nation, that they must have some better principle and life hidden within them, than appeared on the surface : it seemed as if God had purposes for them to fulfil."

Mr A. mentioned, that on Christmas day, or New Year's day, he had addressed a memorial to the Emperor, urging that the time was come ; and that the country looked to an orthodox Emperor to take the lead in proposing to the other Christian Powers, and in requiring of Turkey, that the Holy City at least should be placed under the protection of Christians. The Count, the High Procurator, had informed him, that he had received, at the same time, similar memorials from all parts of the Empire, and more particularly one from the Bishop of Voronege.

SECTION XI.

MR A. ASKS ME TO WRITE A THIRD LETTER, ON SOME PASSAGES OF A LETTER FROM HIS WIFE, MDE. A

ON Sunday, February 2-14, Mr A. came to the English lodging-house in the street called the Galernay, and left with me a letter, or part of a letter, which he had received from his wife, and upon the contents of which he begged me to write him another third letter, which he might send her. I was then confined to my room with the gout, having

reached that lodging-house a fortnight before, with the intention of spending there only the Sunday ; but the illness lasted two months ; and this gave Mr A. the opportunity of coming to see me, which he could not easily have done, if I had remained in the Priest's house, where I was living, on the other side of the Neva, and at the extremity of the city. I wrote to Mr A. in compliance with his request, the following Letter, dated February 3-15, 1841 :—

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I return you the letter you have been pleased to communicate to me ; and cannot refuse to do as you desire, in letting you know my sentiments with regard to its contents. I confess, however, that I take up the pen to do so with a heavy heart, as I do not see that you are likely to do your wife any good by sending her another letter from me, especially as, from the letter she has now written you, it seems that my anticipations were perfectly correct ; and she does not take the slightest notice even of having received my former letter to you, which you forwarded to her. This, indeed, perhaps it did not deserve ; and might appear to her, while fully possessed by other ideas, all nonsense, or a mere intellectual argument, as she seems to expect much of her own letter will appear to you. I am afraid, however, that she would not let me draw that inference which she seems to draw in her own favour, that *my* letter contained any thing of scriptural truth, *because* it may have appeared as foolishness to those who received it. Alas ! in good truth it does *not* follow, that *because* the wisdom of God may seem foolishness to men, *therefore* all religious reasonings, and doctrines, and observances, which appear unreasonable, overstrained, or foolish to the world, are part of the wisdom of God. ‘Blessed are ye, when men persecute you, and speak all manner of evil of you.’ These are our Lord’s own words. But yet it is too true that we may be persecuted and evil spoken of without any blessing, if we attend not to the limitation which follows in that text, ‘*falsely* ;’ and ‘*for my name’s sake*.’ If, indeed, we suffer for Christ’s sake, happy are we : but we may mistake, and be suffering only for our *own sake*, even when we are most confident that we are suffering for Christ’s : and this will bring us no blessing at all, but disappointment ; from which may the Lord of his mercy keep us all ; and unite us all together in the end with those, who did *really*, and not in word, suffer for His sake ; whose faith was in such sort foolishness to the world, that it persecuted them even to death ; whose faith we certainly ought to follow, ‘marking them,’ as the Apostle enjoins, and ‘following them as they followed Jesus Christ.’ And though we may not actually have to suffer as they suffered, yet we must at least try to hold fast their religion ; and to imitate their reverent, and self-denying, and reasonable, and patient, and child-like dispositions of mind, which were the true basis of that exalted faith, and charity, and constancy, which all profess to admire in them. And this brings me, though I scarce know how to begin upon it ; for I am conscious that I am not such a one as to see clearly to remove the mote from my neighbour’s eye, having still the beam in my own ; but I will say plainly what I think, and leave the event to be as it may please God, Who knows for what motive I write ; I say, then, that I would most seriously and earnestly intreat Mde. A., your

wife, to examine her own conscience, how far she is in the habit of cultivating some of those habits of mind, which must be the foundation of every Christian's conformity with Christ. I would ask myself, if I were in her place, some such questions as the following : Have I been in the habit of praying distinctly and expressly for the grace of humility? of sober-mindedness? And, seeing that I have taken upon me to judge great Bishops and whole Churches, and to follow teachers, and read books, which the Church of my Baptism denounces as heretical, have I been in the habit of praying that I might have right notions on the Church and her authority? and especially on the Russian or Eastern Church? that I might render all obedience, which God wills me to render? and never follow individual teachers, or my own weak understanding, into any dangerous error? Have I prayed that I might do my duty by my children, and they do their's in all these things? How often have I said such prayers? and with what degree of attention and earnestness? Did I ever shed tears while saying them? Now, if such questions as these were asked of one's self, and answered in the negative, then I need say nothing more, till this course has been adopted and tried. If they are answered satisfactorily, then it will be only a little trial of those virtues of reasonableness, patience, and humility, which have been prayed for, to consider such further observations, as I shall make on some expressions of your wife's letter, with the view of suggesting that there may still be reason for us to pray more earnestly and more frequently for the increase of those same graces; inasmuch as there are still some signs, that we have not perfectly attained them. If one tells a really humble-minded person that he is not perfectly humble, or does not pray enough for humility, I suppose he will not think that this suggestion can do him any harm. Rather, he will take it to his profit, and think he cannot lose anything by acting as if the suspicion were well founded, although, perhaps, after all, it may not be so. For myself, I freely confess that all the faults and sins of which I have been guilty in my past life, (and they are many and great,) are mainly to be traced, and I can trace them in my own mind, to a certain presumptuous confidence and self-will based upon pride, of which I was often enough told, but could never believe the danger till it was too late. And now, what would I not give to have my opportunities over again? or to have avoided those faults and sins into which I have fallen? And yet I can say with truth, that I was without any definite sense of the peculiar nature of my danger, or of its connection with that self-will, of which I could not but feel more or less conscious, though I was too proud to own it. And in some similar way other people too *may be deceiving themselves*. I allude thus to my own faults, lest I should give offence, rather than win attention from others, when I come to speak of what seem to me faults in them. And what I say of the possibility of our deceiving ourselves, when we trust 'to our own understanding' in religious questions, contrary to the Church which baptized us, and to the original and Apostolic Church throughout the world, would be serious enough, if we had only our own souls to hazard: but it becomes doubly so, when we have children dependent on us; whose choice for good or evil, whose virtue and piety, or delusion, and *ultimately sin*; whose happiness or misery for ever, and that of their children too after them, even for generations, may depend on the greater or less degree in which we shall have been, upon the whole, and even at this moment, diffident and

jealous of ourselves, humble, reasonable, submissive to lawful authority, patient, meek, and prudent. And with respect to your children at the present time, I would observe that Mr E." (a Pastor, with whom Mde. A. had placed her second daughter, for instruction in religion) "may be a very good man as a Genevese Pastor; but the question and the responsibility for a mother whose Church condemns Calvinism as heresy to consider, is, whether she be *sufficiently sure*, that in rebelling against that Church, and placing her children for religious instruction under men, who by birth, country, education, and circumstances must naturally hold that, as their belief, which the Russian and the whole Catholic Church, East and West, condemns as destructive error; whether, I say, in so doing she is really following the will of God, and the true interpretation of Holy Scripture. Of course, how dutifully she had first cultivated her own Russian Church; how regularly, and with what heart she had prayed for herself and her children, in all humility, reasonableness, meekness, patience, and faith; with what habits of practical obedience to God's commandments in daily life; before she took the resolution she has taken, and made that 'sacrifice,'—all this is between God and her own conscience. But the human heart is indeed 'deceitful above all things;' and who can say 'that he understands his own way?' 'Who can tell how oft he offendeth?' 'Who can say, 'I have cleansed my heart from sin?' 'I am not blind?' 'I see clearly?' Rather we must say, 'Oh, cleanse Thou me from my secret faults! Keep thy servant also from presumptuous sins, lest they get the dominion over me; so shall I be undefiled and innocent from the great offence. Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be always acceptable in Thy sight; O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer!' But how shall we be freed from 'our secret sins,' that is, those of which we are not ourselves conscious? how avoid the great sin of presumption? how have all the words of our lips and the meditation of our heart acceptable to Him, in Whom is our only strength, and Whom if we miss by our own fault, even in the least part of His law, we miss altogether? Let us hear the same teacher of piety and devotion again. 'Lord, I am not high-minded: I have no proud looks. I do not exercise myself *with great matters, which are too high for me*: But I *refrain my soul*, and *keep it low*, even as a *child that is weaned* from his mother: Yea my soul is even as a weaned child.' And in the Gospels we read: 'Take heed how ye cause to offend one of these little ones:' and 'It is better for a man to have a mill-stone hanged round his neck, and to be cast into the depths of the sea,' than that he should cause one of Christ's little ones (what if also his own children?) to offend. And of ourselves, He says that 'Whoso receiveth not the Kingdom of God' (that is, the Christian religion and Church) '*as a little child*, he shall not enter therein.' And again it is written of Mary, who in this was our pattern, that 'she sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.' Now after having thus pointed attention to those dispositions, which are absolutely necessary, if we would either obtain any real knowledge of religious truth, or have any reasonable ground for trusting that we are not now in, nor shall hereafter fall into, any dangerous error, I will proceed to make a few observations on the contents of the letter which you have communicated to me.

Your wife writes, 'If I had not taken the step I have, I could not avoid taking it now.' Why so? In consequence of what? In consequence, she tells you, of her having read a certain book professing to

explain the Revelation of St John ! Now this is to risk our soul, our idea of duty and of the true Church, and the souls of our children, upon one man's *view* (if it had been the view of a whole sect of modern preachers it would have been equally infatuated) of the sense of the most abstruse and difficult part of Holy Scripture, (a part which, for this very reason, has never been appointed to be read in the public assemblies of Christians) and upon our own intellectual opinion, approving the contents of a book which he has written. Now, let me ask her, in the secrecy of her own conscience, before God, as she may die the same night on which she reads these words : Is this altogether the confidence of one, who 'has refrained her soul, and kept it low ; who has not exercised herself with great matters, that are too high for her ; but has made her soul to be like the soul of a weaned child ?' What are the qualities by which this interpretation of the Apocalypse has so won upon her imagination and her mind ? has so recommended itself to her, that her husband is now as it were a heathen in her eyes ; and the last 'Evangelical' secession from Genevese Calvinism, itself only 300 years old, the true 'unity of the Gospel ?' the Russian Church, and, I suppose, the Anglican Church too, and the whole Apostolical Church from the beginning, all one great 'Babylon,' or 'Catholicism,' or 'Popery ?' and the Pope himself, (the first Patriarch at any rate of the Apostolical Church), 'Antichrist ?' What, I say, are the good qualities of this book, or of its author ? Are they the holiness of the writer's character, which may be supposed to recommend his opinions on a deep and difficult subject ? or his reputation in the Church, as one of her Fathers or Doctors ? (But she says herself, that he is not one of the 'Sectateurs de l'Eglise ;' with which compare Matt. xviii. 16, 17, and 1 Tim. iii. 15.) Or is it the reasonableness, method, learning, and reverent piety, with which he treats of the secret mysteries of God ? of which he knows not absolutely *how much*, at what times, or to what persons, it may be intended by the writings of St John to reveal ? Nothing at all of this kind ; but such as the following words imply :— 'Je n'ai jamais lu l'Apocalypse expliquée d'une *telle sorte*, c. a. d. d'une manière aussi *peremptoire*, aussi *irrecusable*, aussi *souveraine*.' Is there not here something very like dry, hard pride of intellect and imagination ? And then, warming as she goes on, and, I think, not knowing of what spirit she is, she proceeds, 'Je *defie* un Papiste d'y répondre, &c.'— 'Mary sat at Jesus' feet, and heard his word.' 'Except ye become as little children, &c.' 'As new born babes desire the sincere milk' (not strong meat) 'of the Word, which is able to save your souls.' And compare the frame of mind, in which Daniel sought to understand the present application of prophetic Scripture ; the reasons for which he sought such knowledge ; and the way in which he prepared and fitted himself for obtaining it. We shall find nothing 'peremptory' or 'sovereign' there ; nor any spirit of 'defiance.' Alas, that she cannot see from whence these 'peremptory' interpretations and scornful 'defiances' proceed ! It is a sad thing to follow the presumption of one's own mind : but to follow blindly the hateful passions and perverse imaginations of men and sects, with which we naturally have no connection, and to instil their prejudices, which breathe neither the innocence and weakness of babes, nor the charity and peace of doves, into our young children, who are entrusted to us to be moulded to the dispositions of angels, and this unconsciously, and with a heated and enthusiastic persuasion that we are

only teaching them the truth,—this is unhappiness indeed. These are strong words, I know : But is it not true that all these confident, peremptory, and sovereign demonstrations of the sense of the Apocalypse come from men and sects, which think themselves wronged by the Pope and his Churches ; which have *gone out* from them, and have been excommunicated by them ; which now *hate* them ; and *judge* them ; and would, if they could, call down fire from heaven upon them ? If any one comes to me interpreting the Apocalypse, to prove the Pope Antichrist, and his Church Babylon, I would make a point of satisfying myself first, that he has not *malice and hatred*, either personal or hereditary, in his heart ; feelings very little likely to lead to any right understanding of difficult parts of Holy Scripture. I would examine as closely as possible, to see whether he be ‘in charity’ with the Pope. I will not at present ask whether it be his place and duty to *judge* the Pope, though there is One who has said ‘Judgment is mine,’ and ‘Judge not, lest ye be judged.’ I will assume, that this or that author, man, woman, or girl, is a competent judge of the Pope and all his Churches, by the help of the text of Holy Scripture ; and that they are also right in specially studying the Apocalypse for themselves, without regarding the interpretation of the Fathers and Doctors of the Apostolical Church, or their cautions and warnings of the difficulty of the book ;—I will assume, I say, that they are justified in studying the Apocalypse by their own light, or by the aid of any book which may fall into their hands, and in regarding it as that part of Scripture which is specially intended, and best adapted, to guide them to Heaven, ‘*les mener au ciel.*’ But, as I said before, if they *are* to *judge* the Pope, and the whole Church East and West, and *condemn* it too, and reject it, and find the truth in a new self-formed sect ; and all this is really to follow from the Apocalypse ; then, before I read one word of the book of the interpreter, be he who he may, or pay the least attention to the confidence or enthusiasm of those who have read it, and who are ready to give up all to follow it, as if they were following Christ himself, I will at least try the author and the admirer, and know ‘what manner of spirit they are of.’ Let me see at least that they have the requisite qualities of *Judges*. I will not ask whether they are in the habit of *praying* for the Pope specially, or for the Apostolical Churches, which they think so corrupt ; nor will I say any more about God’s moral law, or His example, who bade us *love* our enemies, and who Himself even died for those that were His own enemies : But I will appeal first to the common sense and conscience of mankind, even of heathens, in matters of *accusation* and *judgment*. If the vilest and most despicable of men be accused even of the smallest crime against the laws of society before a regular tribunal, how careful are the laws and the governor, that he shall not be wronged ? The least sign of interest or ill-will against the accused is enough to destroy the value of a witness ; if not to prevent his evidence from being taken ; and it absolutely incapacitates a juror ; while the judge is set to represent impartiality itself, and even more than impartiality, equity, on the side of the accused ; and is instructed himself by the law, and instructs the jury, that wherever there is the least shadow of doubt, they must always give the benefit of it to the accused. This is the law for human justice : and surely much more must the law of divine charity require this of us weak and sinful creatures, when we either presume, or are obliged, to judge in some degree those who are not our servants. Now, let it be supposed

that Mde. A., your wife, or her 'Evangelical' author, whose brightness has turned the old Gospel of all the saints into 'blackness' for her, and their Church as it were into 'blood,'—let it be supposed, that they sit on the seat of judgment as lawful and competent judges. Let it be supposed, that being asked, as in the presence of God, before men and angels, whether they are impartial and in charity with the accused, (*i. e.* with the whole Apostolic Church, and especially with the Pope), whether they sincerely desire to find the accused innocent, they can answer truly, as they think, that they are free from all hatred and prejudice; and that then the whole Apostolic Church, East and West, Roman, Russian, British, and the rest, of all times in fact, and of all countries, from the Apostles to the present day, is brought before their tribunal, and accused of having fallen into idolatry and apostacy, so as to have become 'Babylon,' no longer the mother of saints and the spouse of Christ, but the murderess of souls, and the object of God's wrath denounced in the Apocalypse; while the true religion having been long lost, has at length been recovered out of the Bible by certain new Apostles: Suppose also that we, who are to judge of this charge, were originally taught all the Christianity we knew in a branch of that antient and Apostolical Church against which so horrible an accusation is made, that we cannot recollect that it ever taught us to do any thing morally wrong, while we must confess that we have often neglected or disobeyed precepts evidently good and holy, which it did teach us: with what feelings, I ask, should we commence such an examination? Ought we not, however strong the apparent evidence, to be overwhelmed with distress and perplexity at the very idea of our being called upon to judge the whole Apostolic Church with its Bishops from the Apostles downwards? Ought not our understandings to be confounded at the very proposition, that those men with whom, and with their successors, Christ promised to be present in baptizing and in teaching to the end, have in fact, and that for many ages, as a body, become ministers of Antichrist? that the whole Apostolic Church, which our Lord promised should be 'as a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid,' should have become 'Babylon?' that the first Bishop of the same Church should be Antichrist himself? But suppose Mde. A. and your daughters (poor ladies) to have stronger nerves, so as fearlessly to judge the Pope and the Church, and to excommunicate their relatives, even though some of them seem to have the 'virtues of Angels,' 'd'une Ange,' and, though women, to smile with pity and contempt at the idea of reading Scripture in submission to the interpretation of the Church our Mother, '*like little children,*' '*comme de petits enfans sur les bancs de l'école,*' (compare 1 Cor. xiv. 34. 'They are commanded to be under obedience; and, if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home.') Oh most unfeminine and unamiable language! I am sure she thought not much, when she wrote those words: May we ever be as little children in such matters! May we never wish to get up and leave those 'bancs de l'école!' But to return: They can and will judge the Pope and the Churches: they are at least impartial: they know enough of all questions of interpretation of Scripture, of the doctrines and practices of the Church: they do not hesitate to judge the 'Angels of the Churches' with the Churches themselves: Well; be it so: and let us grant even more: let us suppose that there have really been, and are still great and horrible abuses in the Church;

as great, if you please, as there were in the Jewish Church in the days of Simeon and Anna (who did not, however, found or follow any new sect); so that there may be reason for God's judgments falling upon both Kings and Bishops and people: Still, with all this, the *Pope* cannot well be made out *worse* than he who is said to have disputed with the Archangel Michael; nor can *we* raise ourselves *quite* to the comparative level of the Archangel, with regard to him whom we judge. And yet what a lesson does the Apostle draw for us from the consideration even of the *fallen* Archangel's *dignity*, and of the Archangel Michael's sense of it? '*The Lord rebuke thee!*' was all *he* ventured to say: he '*dared not*' bring a railing accusation. But *we* cannot speak on similar subjects, *we*, worms and sinners, judging those whom God has set as Stewards and Angels 'in His Household, to give them their meat in due season,' and whom, if they abuse their dignity, or neglect their ministry, He alone has power to judge, and 'cut asunder, and appoint them their portion with the apostates,'—we, I say, cannot speak in judging the Pope and vast Churches, without running beyond the bounds of *truth* in our 'railing accusations,' and showing a spirit which is clearly not that of Him, who prayed for His murderers. 'L'Apocalypse si intelligible pour LES SECTATEURS de l'Eglise, qu'ILS ont même osé l'appeler le rêve d'un fou.' Is this *true*? If *not*, what manner of spirit is that party of, which fills one's mouth and mind with such calumnies? Again, 'Dans laquelle quel sang a coulé? le sang de ces mêmes Prêtres Papistes, qui ont fait couler des flots du sang des disciples de Jesus Christ?' Is there not here something like an air of triumphant vengeance? Yet, when certain, who were in truth disciples of Christ, wished for vengeance from heaven upon the Samaritans, who had insulted their Master himself, He rebuked their zeal in those deep and awful words, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of.'

With respect to the subject of the interpretation of the Apocalypse as applied to the history of Churches and Empires, it is one upon which I cannot pretend to enter: for, I say it not in scorn, but with all seriousness, it is far too deep and difficult for me. And besides, it seems to me as I have said (and I hope she has humility enough not to take it amiss), that your wife is not at present in that frame of mind, in which any person can derive any edification, or fairly expect success, from entering into such enquiries. I will only observe here, that there is some apparent inconsistency in supposing 'the Church' to be 'Babylon;' (for she seems to include both the Russian Church and the Church of England, so far as it has the same nature; and uses the words 'Papisme,' 'Catholicisme,' and 'l'Eglise,' somewhat promiscuously, in opposition;) there is some inconsistency, I say, in supposing '*the Church*' to be *Babylon*, and the *Pope* to be *Antichrist* and the '*Man of Sin*' at the same time. For '*the man of sin*' sits in the *Temple of God*, which therefore remains still the *Temple of God*, as it was before. But if the Apostolical Church, in which the Pope sits, be '*Babylon*,' then it is no longer the '*Temple of God*,' (else, why should the '*Evangeliques*' leave it?) but the temple or synagogue of Satan, as they are used unceremoniously to call it. Again, though that is perhaps no argument with some people, the Fathers of the Church have a very ancient and constant tradition, that the great and special Antichrist is not a succession of Christian Bishops, but an individual character; the false Messiah of the Jews; whom they, who rejected the true Messiah, and who have so long expected in vain such a one as they had pre-inter-

preted to themselves from the Prophets, shall at length see offering himself to them ; and shall follow ; and shall obtain success for a time ; whom the Lord shall destroy with the Spirit of His mouth, and with the brightness of His coming.

“ In conclusion I will only observe, to avoid any misunderstanding which might otherwise arise from the tone of this letter, that I am no ‘Papist ;’ but, as I hope, a sincere and devoted member of a Church which is excommunicated and warred upon by the Pope ; and my understanding assents to the side of my own Church : yet I do not see that this is any good reason why we should entertain evil passions against the Pope or his Churches, or be forward to judge him : rather we should pray for him the more ; be more and more careful that *we* do all that *we* can and ought, towards peace and unity ; while we constantly maintain that truth, which has been delivered to us to defend. And so, with such prayers as I, who am a sinner, can give you for the restoration of unity in your family ; and hoping that, if you do your duty, and are patient, and reasonable, and affectionate, you may yet see what you desire, I remain my dear Sir,” &c. &c. N. N. *Deacon in the Church of England,*” &c.

SECTION XII.

CONVERSATION WITH MR A.

ON Wednesday, February 5-17th, Mr A. came again, and took away with him the above Letter to send to his wife.

He said that he had been reading the Treatise of Bishop Jolly ; and he examined some passages, during that same visit, in Mr Palmer’s Treatise on the Church, and some others of Archbishop Bramhall on the Invocation of Saints and Reverencing of Images or Pictures, and on the Catholicity of the Eastern Church. He perceived the nature and extent of the differences between us ; but was upon the whole very well satisfied.

He said that he had never before had any idea what was contained in the Anglican Church, but supposed it to be Calvinistic or Lutheran, or something between the two, and utterly heretical : only one thing had remained on his mind, and had struck him, as distinguishing it from other Protestant bodies ; viz., that he had been told, when a boy, during his education, that the Eastern Church acknowledged the Episcopate to have been preserved in the Anglican Church, though in other respects it was Protestant and heretical, like the rest. He was disappointed to find that Mr P. defended the early Calvinists ; but was satisfied with his defence of the Eastern Churches ; and would not listen for a moment to the notion, that their Church accuses the Latin Church of absolute heresy, or pretends for herself to be alone the whole.

SECTION XIII.

[*The contents of this Section relate to a certain figure, under which the Church may be represented ; and to the custom of the Church in praying for the departed. Not being necessary to the narrative, they are for the present omitted.*]

SECTION XIV.

GIVE MR A. COPIES OF DR ROUTH'S LETTER AND OF MY OWN
LETTER TO THE METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW.

ON Friday, February 14-26th, Mr A. came again ; and I gave him on this occasion a copy of the President of Magdalene College, Dr Routh's Letter, and also of the Letter which I was about to present myself to the Metropolitan of Moscow, in conformity with the same, expressing the desire, if possible, to Communicate in their Church. [For both of these Letters, the reader may be referred to the published Work.] Mr A. said he would translate these letters into French, and send them to his wife and daughters, and shew them about to people at St Petersburg. I also gave him afterwards a collection of Anglican testimonies on the three points, of the Procession ; the 2d Nicene Council ; and the Intercession and Invocation of the Saints ; together with a translation of most part of the Non-juring Bishops' and the present Scottish Communion Office ; all which had been written in Latin to be given to the Metropolitan of Moscow, if called for, as an Appendix to the Letter. The priest with whom I lived over the river, afterwards translated them into Russ ; and Mr A. himself revised the translation ; and some months later having taken it with him into Switzerland, he left it with the Chaplain to the Russian Embassy at Berne. He had once talked of publishing it.

SECTION XV.

MR A. TRANSLATES AND SHEWS ABOUT THE LETTER TO THE
METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW.

ON Thursday, March 11th N. S., dined at Mde. O's, and met there her cousin Mr A. He had translated, as aforesaid, the Letter to the Metropolitan of Moscow, which was presented the day before, and had read it aloud to her a night or two previously. They then talked of printing it, and she of shewing it to the Emperor ; but they gave up this idea afterwards, and agreed only to circulate or shew it about among their friends. They spoke of the danger of fresh schisms, if any thing were done, which was not clearly, and to the popular mind, in conformity with established principles.

SECTION XVI.

LETTER FROM THE ELDEST DAUGHTER, MDLLE. L. A., GIVING
HER REASONS FOR HAVING LEFT THE RUSSIAN, AND FOR
HAVING EMBRACED THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION.

ON Wednesday the 10th of March N.S., Mr A. came to the English lodging-house, and brought the following letter from his eldest daughter, addressed to myself, which had been delayed by a number of accidents, and from the reception of which there commenced a new stage in the affair ; it was dated Geneva, December 8, 1840 :—

“SIR,—We have yesterday received my dear father’s letter, together with your own to him enclosed in it. My dear mother would, I am sure, have answered it herself, but is unwell, and so unable to occupy herself with any serious matter. She has not been able even to read your letter as yet. So I beg of you to consider what I am about to say as concerning only myself: for I am quite sure that my mother will be much better able to answer your arguments than I am: and I hope she will be well enough to do so soon.

The first thing I see in your letter is, that you appear to believe our entering among the members of the Church of England [to have been] the effect of *human influences*, as of foreign English Chaplains, or of the Genevan ‘*Methodistes*.’ The only thing I can say is, that when we came to Geneva from Italy, we did indeed go to the Church of the ‘*Methodistes* ;’ we even saw and made the acquaintance of some of their principal preachers: but we soon *retired* from their Church and society; for we saw that they wanted many qualities, such as charity, and others besides, which are required in true Christians: and it is now one year and a half that we have not seen any of them: for it is written, ‘By their fruits ye shall know them:’ (Matt. viii. 20.) and their fruits were no good ones. From that time to the time of our Communion in the English Church we had no conversation or discussion with any clergyman or other religious person at all. I studied the Bible, praying God through Christ to render it clear to me; and it was with His grace that I found it (the Bible) contrary to the greatest part of

the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek Church. After this, I studied the English Prayer-Book ; and found that all the hymns, prayers, and every thing contained in it, were in unison with the Bible. In the meantime, I nowhere found in the Bible any such words as these, ‘ Remain in the faith in which you were baptized, that you may be saved :’ but on the contrary, ‘ Search the Scriptures ;’ the like to which also says St Paul. And if you read the third chapter of St John, I mean the conversation between Jesus Christ and Nicodemus, and many others, I am sure that you will understand the conviction that I have, that we must *obey* the Bible, in preference to any other authority.

“ I thought then, that as the Greek Church *was not* according to the Bible, and the English *was*, it was my duty, being convinced of this, to enter the latter. It is written, ‘ To-day, if ye will hear my voice, harden not your hearts,’ (Ps. xev. 8.) It was then that I went to the English Church, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with her mode of service, and of preparing myself to receive the holy Communion in her, which I had *no more doubt upon*, and which I was quite *decided* to do. I acquainted my mother with my determination ; and she only told me to ‘ act according to my conscience, and pray to God for His help ; and not do any precipitate act, of which I might repent hereafter, if lightly done.’ So I went to the English Church. I did *not* even *know*, when I entered it, either the name or the face of its Chaplain. I had at that time some other doubts *quite indifferent* [*i. e.* irrelevant] *to my former subject* (I mean *that of receiving the Communion in the English Church*), *respecting the doctrine of the Trinity* :¹ and it was on account of these doubts, that I resolved to apply to the clergyman for some conversation after the service. Well ; as soon as it was ended, and I saw the clergyman (whom I thought to be the Chaplain of the English Church of Geneva) descend the pulpit, I went up to him, begging him to grant me half an hour’s conversation ; and it was only when seated in his parlour, and talking about my subject (that of the Trinity) that I found him out to be Lord E. C., a Dean of the Church of England [of the Church of Ireland] who was residing only

¹ The italics in these four lines are not in the original Letter.

for a few days in Geneva, and not the Chaplain of the English Church. Lord E. C. was so kind as to remove (through different texts of the Bible, and arguments taken from thence) all my doubts upon the doctrine of the Trinity ; and of course I made him acquainted with my determination ; which he *approved* ; (and I do not think he is a person who approves or disapproves any thing lightly, or without reflection) ; and he even had the kindness to remain a fortnight longer in Geneva, for the purpose of administering himself to me the holy Communion : for I was unwilling to acquaint the Chaplain of the Church, or any other person, except Lord E. C. (whose kindness I shall never forget) with my resolution. So I went to the Lord's Supper in the English Church of Geneva, and received the holy Communion there for the first time from the hands of Lord E. C. and Mr H. the Chaplain ; but the former of these two alone knew who I was, and for what purpose I was there. Mr H. only knew to whom he had given the Communion, when the whole town knew of it. I have entered into all these details only to prove to you, Sir, that Mr H., the English Chaplain here, has never in his life had any thing to do with my entering the English Church ; and that he is as innocent of, it as you are. I hope that I have convinced you of this by stating the facts, as they occurred.

“The second thing which I find to notice in your letter is, that you seem to consider the Greek religion quite consistent with the English Church, and in consequence, also with the Bible. I will take the liberty to propose to you a few questions, and reasonings, to which I hope you will be kind enough to answer.

“I. It is said in the Commandments of God ; ‘Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not *bow down* thyself to them, nor *serve them*.’ (Exod. xx. 4, 5.) Now I see the Greek Church full of images : I see people come and bow down their heads, and kneel before them : I see the priest incense them. In the Holy Week, or week before Easter, there is in the middle of the churches (on Thursday and Friday) a slab sepulchre, upon which is the likeness of our Saviour, surrounded with lights, and

people bowing down their heads and knees, and then kissing the sacred likeness. Is not that to '*bow down and worship them*'? Do these things exist in the English Church?

"II. It is written in the Gospel of St John (ch. xix. 6.), 'Jesus saith unto him, *I am* the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me:' and at the 13th verse; 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that I will do:' and at the 14th; 'If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it:' and (ch. xv. 16.) 'Whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, He will give it you:' (also v. 23, 24, of the same chapter): And while giving them these commandments, He says also (John xiv. 15), 'If ye love me, keep my commandments;' and (v. 21) 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me:' and at v. 23; 'If a man love me, he will keep my words:' St Peter says (Acts iv. 12.) 'Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved:' and St John says, in his First Epistle, ch. ii. v. 1; 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous:' and the second verse. Now, in the Greek Church I hear in every ceremony or mass as many prayers to the Holy Virgin and the Saints for *their intercession*, as to God; and *not one* to Our Saviour for *His intercession*. Is that consistent with the Bible? And do these prayers exist in the English Church? And here I will venture a remark. I think that if I should address myself to the Holy Virgin or Saints for *their* intercession, it would be the same thing as if I said to Jesus Christ; 'You died for my sins: You purchased with your blood the right to deal between God and me. Well; I have not faith in your death: I think your death and blood insufficient to redeem me; and in consequence of this, I will apply for my salvation to creatures, which borrow their own salvation from you.' Christ died for us; and therefore has the right to save us, and *pray for us*: but Saints and Martyrs gave up their lives for Christ, and not for men: they therefore have no right to purchase the salvation of mankind. And if Christ, the Son of God, was obliged to die for the privilege of saving us through *His* mediation, how can poor sinners have the same right, when they did not give up their lives for mankind? I believe, that only a holy

and perfect Being can deal between God and sinners ; and not any of their fellow-sinners.

“ III. I do not find in all the Scriptures one text which approves the worship of the Holy Virgin. Jesus Christ, who ordered every thing for our future conduct, never said a word to countenance the worship, and prayers, which are addressed to her in the Greek Church. Yet I see in the Gospel, that on every occasion that He could have elevated her above the rest of mankind, He did the contrary. See St John, ii. 4 ; ‘ *Woman*, what have I to do with thee ? ’ St Matthew, xii. 46–50 : and St John, xix. 26, 27, ‘ He said unto His mother, *Woman*, behold thy Son ! Then saith He to His disciple, Behold thy mother.’ Is then this worship, addressed to a creature of God, consistent with the Bible ? And does that worship exist in the English Church ?

“ IV. In all the New Testament I have not found one text to prove the Transubstantiation, or that the bread and wine of the Communion are really changed into the Body and Blood of our Saviour every Sunday or Festival at a certain moment of the Mass. Jesus Christ said, ‘ This is my Body ; ’ and, ‘ This is my Blood : ’ but while speaking to them, it could be neither : for He, Christ, was talking, and was not dead. Jesus Christ says also, ‘ I am the rock : ’ [a mistake probably for that passage, ‘ They drank of that spiritual rock which followed them : and that rock was Christ ’] : ‘ I am the true vine : ’ ‘ I am the straight gate : ’ Yet He is none of these things [literally], and consequently not bread and wine [either]. When our Saviour instituted the Holy Supper, He said, ‘ Do this in remembrance of me : ’ How can we then do that in remembrance of Him, if He Himself is present, not in spirit but in body, in the holy Communion ? (See St John, vi. 35–53.) Jesus Christ says that ‘ If any man eat of this living bread, he shall live for ever.’ He said this a long time before His death. And if indeed we are saved only by eating *His body*, what has become of all the souls of those, who, believing in Him, died between the time at which He said this word and His death ? I find in all the New Testament that we can be saved only *in one way*, that is, by our faith in Christ. Where then is our faith, if we do not believe His death to be sufficient for our salvation ; but think it necessary that He should for this end

come down from heaven every Sunday in the bread and wine of the Communion? And finally, when the Saviour breathed His last, He said, 'It is finished.' He meant by these words His Sacrifice. How, then, can that Sacrifice be complete, if it is renewed every Sunday in all the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches? Is then the Greek Church consistent in all this with the Bible? And does that doctrine exist in the English Church?

"There are yet a great many things in the Greek Church which are not according to the Bible, but of which, as being of lesser importance, I will not speak. And now, will you be so kind as to tell me, Sir, if, convinced as I was, and am still, that *the truth* is not in the Greek Church, I could in conscience remain in it? No. I should have been of those, who sacrifice Christ to worldly considerations, and are ashamed to confess Him before men, and whom therefore He will not confess before His Father, but will cast them away from Him in the day of Judgment. It was for this reason that I sacrificed my love for my dear and excellent father to God. How much it cost me He alone knows.

"I beg of you, Sir, to have the goodness to answer *each* article of my letter. I hope you will excuse its length: and pray do answer me by the authority of the Bible, and not by that of 'Councils' and 'Bishops.' What I have just written may not satisfy you, if you consider it as an answer to your letter: but I beg of you to remember that I am no theologian, but a poor girl, who often fails in her efforts for her salvation, and who hopes to be saved through her faith in Christ. Believe me, Sir, your's sincerely, "L. A."

"P.S.—Two or three days after I had written this letter we removed to Paris [for a short time]; and I could not send it at once, because I wished to keep a copy of it. It is only just now that I have been able to finish copying it. That is the reason that I send it later than it ought to have been sent."

SECTION XVII.

REPLY TO THE ABOVE LETTER OF MR A.'S ELDEST DAUGHTER.

To the above letter I wrote the following answer, which Mr A. came and read over on Tuesday, March 4-16th, before going to dine together at Mde. O.'s, where we were

to meet the French Ambassador, as shall be mentioned in another Section hereafter :—

“MY DEAR YOUNG LADY,—I cannot say how much pleasure I have felt in reading your letter, inasmuch as I learn from it that you are in no danger (nor, as you think, and I will also hope, the other members of your family), from Calvinistic Methodism, but sincerely believe yourself to be a convert to the Church of England. I had before, I confess, no sort of expectation that any good could result from my writing letters upon the subject of your change, (though I knew that these things are in God’s hand), and only suffered myself to be persuaded to do any thing of the kind, from sympathy for the distress which I saw your father suffered, and from the circumstance of the English Church, or ‘Anglican Church of Geneva,’ being the term used to designate the new religion or sect to which you had been converted. For I was fully persuaded, from some expressions occurring in passages of letters” [see above] “which your father read to me, that you were really converts to Calvinistic Methodism : And whatever I might think of the reasonings of that system, I yet knew too much of its *spirit*, to anticipate any great effect from what an English Clergyman might be able to say. This impression, I confess, was strongly confirmed by a letter of Mde. A. your mother, which was communicated to me, and in which she speaks of having joined ‘l’unité de l’Evangile,’ an expression certainly not borrowed from the English Church ; (see the Offices for Baptism, and that for the Visitation of the Sick and Dying) ; and as if the mere reading of an Exposition of the Apocalypse (by some foreign Calvinist) would now necessarily influence her to take the step she had taken, even if she had not taken it already. She spoke also of the ‘Sectateurs de l’Eglise,’ as if in contrast and opposition to her own Biblical ‘unité de l’Evangile.’ I recur to these passages and expressions only as offering some explanation, if not justification, of many parts and expressions of my two letters, which I now feel may have been (so far at least as *you* were concerned) improper and irrelevant ; and which I am sorry to have written. However, you will, I am sure, and your mother too, make some allowance for the total ignorance of all the circumstances of your change, in which I was when I wrote. The letter, which I have now the honour of answering, is perfectly reasonable and straightforward, and written in such a tone as inspires me with a confident hope that nothing more is needed than a little time, together with further explanations, and a more accurate knowledge of the Church of England, to which you now consider yourselves converts, to bring this whole matter, hitherto so distressing to all parties, to a happy termination.

“I think it was indeed a most fortunate circumstance, and one for which you and your friends have every reason to be thankful, that you should have been led to disengage yourselves from the Calvinistic Methodists, with whom you allow that you had in the first instance consorted, *and even frequented their Temples* ; and that, while you were still under the influence of that false principle, (the source of all heresy and schism), that you were to follow *not* the Bible, *but* your own personal interpretation of the Bible, and while you thought it your duty to be laying even the foundations of your faith over again for yourselves out of the Bible, and had gone so far in this dangerous

work that you had partly *unlaid* the very foundation itself, the belief of One God in Three Persons, you should have had your attention turned upon the English Prayer-Book, and should have been so brought into communication with an English Clergyman, who, at any rate, removed your doubts about that first and indispensable Article of Faith, the belief in the Trinity. You say, indeed, that he removed them by texts of Scripture, apparently with some emphasis : but I must take the liberty to observe that no mind is free from some traditional bias ; nor, even were it otherwise, is every mind so constituted as to draw for itself, or even allow when drawn by others, what yet are the fairest inferences from holy Scripture. If your own mind was so disposed as to be ready to understand and accept a fair inference upon this subject, you may thank God for it, and under Him that moral training of reasonableness, teachableness, humility, and reverence for holy things, which you have received in your childhood from that mother, the Russian Church, which you now judge, and condemn, and desert. But it is important to observe at the same time, that it was by the principle of rejecting human authority, and re-inventing, if I may use such a word, all the faith to yourself from the Bible, that even you had come to *doubt* of the main article of the saving faith : whereas if you had followed the tradition and authority of your spiritual mother ever so blindly, without being able so much as to read, you would still have been safe under her guidance, (whatever faults she may have in secondary matters), at least in all the articles of the saving faith. And if that false principle of which I speak had brought you into such danger, (though by God's mercy you were in such a frame of mind as to be capable of being re-settled in the truth, when it was put before you, and were kept in the same state of mind till a person was brought in your way capable of removing your doubts, think, I pray you, what would be the consequence if you set a whole people of all ages and conditions, of every degree of knowledge and ignorance, if, for instance, you set the whole people of Russia, who have now for 900 years, following the teaching and tradition of their Church, all invariably, as a body, believed the great doctrine of the Trinity and all other fundamental articles of the Faith, and handed them down to their children, and to yourself among the number,—what, I say, would be the consequence, if you set them all at once to reject the authority of the Church, as contrary to the Bible, and to prove their religion every man according to his own interpretation ? If one who really had an honest heart, and prayed sincerely to God, and only erred perhaps through a pardonable mistake, was so near making shipwreck of the essential faith, what would be the consequence with the multitude in general ? Is it not evident that they would be of all manner of opinions ? And as it is too true that the majority seem to be always very weak, if not absolutely bad, (whence the world even in Christendom is called ' wicked '), error would be almost sure to be the general opinion rather than truth, even upon fundamental points. And the well and piously disposed, (in the confusion of opinions and arguments), instead of thanking God, (as in the beginning of the English Catechism), that by the profession of the true faith handed down by the tradition of the Church and professed for them by their godfathers and godmothers before they could speak, much less read, and by the new birth of water and the Spirit in baptism, they were made members of Christ, and heirs

of the kingdom of heaven, and have now nothing to do but *act* upon the promises then made for them, and to secure their glorious inheritance—(And does not then the Church of England at least bid us continue in the faith and Church in which we were baptized; for there is only one Church, 'the holy Church throughout all the world')?—instead, I say, of thus thanking God and running without hindrance 'the race set before them,' well and piously disposed people would be ever painfully seeking the first elements of religious truth and faith. Within the Church, even if any man be himself a sinner and reprobate, he is yet obliged, so long as he is only outwardly a member, to support her tradition of the saving faith: but if the contrary system had been established in Russia, as it is at Geneva, you yourself might perhaps have been born of a family whose views of the interpretation of the Bible were Socinian, and your whole mind might have been moulded to the habitual assertion of that heresy. So neither was Lord E. C.'s orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity owing to any thing else, under God's grace, than to the influence and tradition of that Church, of which he is a servant, pledged to teach, (as the baptized child is pledged to believe), not whatever he of himself may judge to be the sense of Scripture, but her doctrine, the doctrine of the English or Irish Church, the tradition of that faith, which was once for all delivered to the saints, to the hearts and lips of men, not to the pages of books, on the day of Pentecost. For He who had ascended up on high, and led captivity captive, did indeed, as He had promised, send down gifts to men, even for those that had been before his enemies, that the Lord God might dwell among, or rather in them. For on the same day on which, many hundred years before, the Old Law had been given to the people of Israel, engraved on tables of stone, amid the thunderings and lightnings of God's wrath against transgressors, on that same day, yet once again, as it is written, He shook not the earth only, as before, but the heavens also, giving the New Law, engraved on the tables of the heart, by a baptism of fire to the Apostles, in the upper chamber in the city of Jerusalem, on Mount Sion. For the heavens were shaken indeed, and the earth, and the house where they were assembled; and there was a sound as of a mighty rushing wind; and the Holy Ghost came down as in the visible form of fire, and lighted upon the heads of the Apostles, and ran over from their hands upon their successors, and upon the company of the Confirmed or (Anointed), and filled the whole house, which is the Church. In this marvellous history of the first day of the Christian Church, we have the type of the whole process of its formation and increase, even to the end of the world. The baptism of fire to the Apostles contains in itself all those gifts or Sacraments by which they were commissioned to frame and put together, as by joints and bands, the mystical Body of Christ. They first preach to the Jews; as afterwards also to the Gentiles: those that are converted they bid to be baptized into the faith of the holy Trinity, involving and containing in itself the incarnation of the Son, and the procuring for us the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the application and conveyance to us of His graces by the Sacraments in the unity of the Church. Of those that were Baptized and, as we see from other passages, also Confirmed at the same time by Imposition of Hands, (afterwards by holy Chrism), we read that they continued afterwards stedfast, 1. in the Apostles' doctrine; 2. in the Apostles' Fellowship; 3. in the Breaking of The Bread, *i. e.* in the celebration and participation of the blessed Eucharist; and 4. in The

Prayers, *i.e.* the public Prayers, and especially the Liturgy, of the Church. In all this there is not a word of the Bible as the source whence men are to teach themselves ; nor is there any hint that the Apostles were to be succeeded in their office of teaching by their writings, interpreted by private judgment. On the contrary, we read that they appointed men like themselves, to whom the Holy Ghost was given by the imposition of their hands. We read that they charged these their successors to ‘ teach and rebuke with all authority ;’ not to suffer any to teach contrary to them ; to reject or excommunicate heretics who should choose to themselves their own way or interpretation ; and what is more, to commit the same work to others again after themselves in succession. And this their institution of the hierarchy is the plain fulfilment of what Christ himself had prefigured and appointed : For before He suffered, He had represented His Church as a household, in which some servants are set to rule and feed their fellow-servants till the Lord comes : and when after His resurrection He actually sent the Apostles, He expressly promised to be with them in teaching, baptizing, and disciplining all nations, even to the end of the world ; which necessarily implies their continuance in this office, either personally, or by their successors. By the grace of this promise the Russians also and the English were in due time baptized. And Christ then promised salvation to those who should ‘ *believe.*’ Believe what ? The message certainly, the Gospel, the faith, which those men, whom He at the same time sent, were to teach ; not a *faith*, or rather opinion, which any others, self-sent or interpreting for themselves, should teach in opposition ; but ‘ *the faith,*’ which they, the Apostles, are sent to teach, and which we know by Christ’s promise they shall infallibly continue to teach till the end ; nor, again, a part of it only, but it, that is, the whole of it, ‘ whole and undefiled ;’ nor, that faith which *some of them* teach, if in any thing they differ, as St Paul and St Peter may seem to have differed at Antioch ; but that which ‘ *they,*’ *i.e.* their united company, teach. But the whole of that faith which the united company of the Apostles and their successors have taught hitherto, and will continue to teach to the end, is in one word ‘ the Catholic faith :’ for the word Catholic means universal ; not the universality of indifference, nor of contrarities, but of one homogeneous Apostolic Church ; not the doctrines of heretics or schismatics who have left her and are condemned by her, either taken confusedly with hers, or alone, but that Universal or Catholic Faith, which has been, is, and will be held at all places and all times alike in the Apostolic Church. Of this faith, accordingly, in perfect agreement with Christ’s word, the Church of England and the Church of Russia equally say, ‘ Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith ; which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.’ For Christ also says of the same faith, ‘ He who believeth not,’ *i.e.* either wilfully refuses, in whole, or in part, that faith which the Apostles teach, or having once received and held it, afterward falls away, ‘ shall be damned.’ In all this there is, as I have said, no mention at all of the Holy Scriptures. But upon the modern theory we ought rather to have found a commission given to the Apostles to compose certain books, and a direction to mankind in general to preserve, multiply, and peruse them, with a promise that they should attain eternal life, who should read and obey them. However, it is plain that the Scriptures are neither intended nor adapted to convey the first knowledge of

the principles of the faith. They everywhere suppose that these have been taught authoritatively and systematically already. And as the Scriptures of the Old Testament were addressed not to the world, but to the Israelites only, so those of the New also are addressed only to the baptized and obedient members of the Apostles' Fellowship. Thus St Luke addresses his Gospel to Theophilus, a man already converted, baptized, instructed, and a Communicant, 'that he may know the certainty of those things in which he has been catechized.' But nowhere is there any address to the world, to the heathen, to the unbelieving Jews, or to those Christian heretics, who had begun even in the Apostles' times to exist. It is true, indeed, that Christ says to the Jews, 'Search the Scriptures;' and that the Jews of Berea are praised for searching the Scriptures, to see whether the Gospel then first preached to them agreed with their contents: But the Scriptures of the Old Testament were the inheritance of the Jews, just as now the whole Bible is the inheritance of the Church. Christ then told the Jews, just as the Church of England after His example tells her children now, to search their own books, the books which God has given us as a treasure of all truth and wisdom. The Jews were bidden to search their Scriptures then, not to reject Christ, who spake, but 'because they are they which testify of Me:' and in like manner we are bidden to search our Scriptures now, not to reject the Church, which speaks, but because they are they which testify of her. Christ, the Head of the Church, said to the self-willed and rebellious Jews, 'Search the Scriptures, the books given you to bring you to me, and to keep you in the faith of me, but which ye have misinterpreted after your own wills and imaginations: search them; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and in that ye think well, if only ye read them aright: Search them again, but with a better heart than before: for they are they which testify of me. I am the life which they contain, if ye have the grace to find it; not such a false Messiah, as ye have falsely interpreted to yourselves, and the desire of whom turns your life into death, and makes you reject the true life.' So also now the Church, which is the body and spouse of Christ, and in which alone, as in the Ark, is promised life or salvation, says to her rebellious and self-willed children, 'Search the Scriptures; not as ye are too much disposed to do, to reject me and my faith, or to misinterpret to yourselves some other strange or new Church out of the confusion of human opinions; but, Search the Scriptures; they are your inheritance, so long at least as ye remain in me and are my children, though disobedient; and in them ye think ye have eternal life; and in that ye think well, if only ye read them aright; Search them then again, but with a better heart than before; for they are they which testify of me.' So there is a perfect analogy between what Christ said of old to the Jews, and what the Church says to Christians now; the end and use for which the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament were written, being not to supersede the teaching either of Christ or of His Church, but to bear witness to the teaching and authority of both: for it is the same Spirit which speaks in the Church as He which inspired the Scriptures. The Creed and the catechetical or dogmatic teaching of the Church is the very pith and marrow of Scripture; and Scripture, again, is the mirror and witness of the Church. You allude to the Bereans, who were commended for searching the Scriptures, to see whether the things spoken to them were so: But you should have noticed that those Bereans, being Jews, were rightly referred for proof to their own

holy books, just as the Gentile Athenians and Lycaonians, and Felix the Roman Governor, were referred by the same Apostle to the natural law of God graven upon the consciences of all men. But we nowhere find that baptized Christians are to begin laying the foundations over again, or rather unlaying them, by searching the Scriptures, as if doubtfully, 'to see *whether* the things which they have received are so.' God forbid ! Our business is, as we say in the Anglican Catechism even before we can read the Bible, 'heartily to thank our heavenly Father that he hath called us into this state or way of salvation,' into which we were baptized on condition of three things, one of which was, that we should believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, as held by the Church, and then repeated for us, word for word, from her Creed. This is our business, to 'thank God;' to acknowledge ourselves 'bound to believe and to do as was promised for us;' to 'pray unto God to give us His grace, that we may *continue in the same state* of salvation even to our lives' end.' And again, as St Luke says, it is our business to search and study the Scriptures, 'that we may know more and more the certainty of those things, wherein we have previously been catechized;' and as St Paul says, 'to build up ourselves, and one another, in *our most holy faith*,' 'not laying over again,' by doubting or questioning, 'the foundations, of repentance from dead works, and faith,' (the whole Faith or Creed of the Church), which are required before Baptism, 'of the doctrine of Baptisms, and Layings on of Hands,' (Confirmation, Ordination, and Absolution), 'of the Resurrection from the dead, and eternal Judgment;'—'Let us not,' he says, 'try to lay over again these foundations;' but let us 'go on unto perfection.' And whenever, as in the above-mentioned cases, of the Athenians, the Lycaonians, and Felix the Governor, the Apostles do address themselves to heathens, they do not, after the modern plan, commence by trying to prove to them the inspiration of the Scriptures, or inviting them to read, and search, but in a very different way : And it is only when they have become disciples, and candidates in training for admission into the Church, that they are encouraged, under guidance and discipline, to read the Holy Scriptures : and then, when they are baptized, they must continue their profession of the same faith, and their submission to the same authority, unless they would forfeit the blessings then covenanted to them, and be 'rejected' or 'cut off,' according to St Paul's word, by the Apostolic authority. (See Article XX of the XXXIX Articles of the Anglican Church. 'The Church *hath authority in Controversies of faith*;' and for the consequences of Excommunication, see Article XXXIII of the same).

"I have entered thus at length into the question of our obligation to hold that faith which the Church delivered to us in our baptism, for two reasons ; first, because, though you now think yourself a member of the Anglican Church, and have been happily prevented from following out to its full consequences your erroneous notion about the Bible, still I cannot help fearing, from some expressions in your letter, that you hold yet somewhat of a Calvinistic or Lutheran idea, and certainly not the doctrine of the Church of England, on the office or duty of private judgment in interpreting the Scriptures. You say at the end of your letter, 'I beg of you to answer *each* article of my letter ;' (if it please God I will do so) 'and *pray* do answer me by the authority of the Bible;' (hitherto all I have said has been built upon texts of

the Bible) ‘and not by that of Councils and Bishops.’ In conclusion you beg me ‘to remember that you are no theologian, but a poor girl who often fails in her efforts for her salvation, and who hopes to be saved through her faith in Christ.’ Now, I must say this seems to me a little hard : If I were a theologian, which I am not in book-learning, for I have as yet but little of it, but if I were ever so learned about Councils and Bishops, what necessary opposition is there between such learning and the faith of any other person, whether man, woman, girl, or child, who hopes to be saved through Christ ? May I not be allowed to have the same hope ? Or your father, by what do you think he hopes to be saved, if not by his faith in Christ ? and by that only ? or rather, not by our faith, but by Christ Himself, and his mercy. And if you find yourself weak, and often failing in your endeavours, is that any reason for putting ‘Councils’ and ‘Bishops’ contemptuously between inverted commas, as if you were strong enough to interpret Holy Scripture without any of their interference or assistance ? Or if you did not mean that, yet why, if I am to answer your questions, and ‘Councils’ or ‘Bishops’ can help me to a better understanding of them myself, for what conceivable reason are we both to pull them all, as it were, by the beard, and tell them we can go alone, and will have none of their leading-strings ? The Scripture says, ‘Two are better than one, and a three-fold cord is not quickly broken :’ and again, ‘Ask thy father, and he shall tell thee, thine elders, &c.’ and do what we will, we cannot go alone, nor interpret for ourselves : in spite of ourselves human influence and authority will creep in and bias our judgments. We have only to look around, to see the truth of this, upon the motley Babylon of sects which have rebelled against the Apostolic Church, all upon the principle of interpreting the Bible for themselves : And yet each of them is named after some man, as Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Whitefield, &c.; or after the recently invented doctrine or system of some man, which is all the same : and the deluded people follow professedly the tradition and doctrine of their first founders, like sheep bleating out their own misery as they wander in the way of destruction, while they boast and fancy all the time that they are following the Bible, or at least no other human authority or responsibility than their own. Even you yourself seem to attach some weight to the opinion of a gentleman, to whom you have in one respect, no doubt, reason to be grateful, saying, ‘and I do not think he is a person who approves or disapproves of anything lightly and without reflection.’ Now if I, even though I *were* a theologian, were weak enough, or humble enough, to feel something like a similar respect for the opinion of St Ignatius, who lived with the Apostles, and was torn to pieces by lions for the faith of Christ; or of St Polycarp, who for the same faith was burned alive at Smyrna; or of St Cyprian, who was beheaded at Carthage; or of St Cyril, St Basil, St Chrysostom, or any others; and if in a question of the interpretation of Scripture I were disposed rather to defer to their opinion, and to mistrust my own, if different, would this really be so very unreasonable ? Or if I were inclined in any such question to pay very great respect to their concurrent testimony, or to the voice of a Council of two or three hundred bishops, to any one of whom alone I ought to defer, would this really make me so very black; or establish so irreconcilable an opposition between my interpretation and the true sense of Scripture; between the theologian vainly exercised in the wisdom of this world, and the poor and humble

girl who is conscious of her own weakness, and hopes to be saved only through her faith in Christ? and who, therefore, prefers to interpret Scripture solely by her own understanding, or at least with no other help than that of a free and equal discussion with any person of equally free and independent principles, whom chance may throw in her way? No, really, I *am* fool enough, if it be folly (but I am sure you did not intend the full force of your antithesis) to think that the opinion of an old Father who passed his life in prayer and fasting, and converted many souls to God, and at last, perhaps, poured out his blood for the name of Christ, is, on any point of Scripture interpretation, probably to the full as good as my own independent interpretation would be : and if two such Fathers agree, much more so : and if all of them, and Councils too, say the same thing, then I can no longer doubt. Therefore, I propose to you to consider that sentence of your letter as unwritten, and to permit me to consider you to be just as ready to listen to St Chrysostom's opinion upon any point, as to mine or to your own ; and even to the judgment of a Council, if there should be any need to refer to one ; and also to believe that you do not seriously think the faith and hope of a ' theologian ' to be necessarily different from that of the poorest and humblest child. But I will say no more on this subject.

" My second reason for having written at such length upon the duty of holding the faith delivered to us by the Church in baptism, and not trying to lay this the foundation over again by a mistaken use of the Bible, is this ; that what I have so written on this point will serve in some degree for an answer to your first question, as to what I can mean by speaking ' as if I considered the Greek religion quite consistent with the English Church, and in consequence also with the Bible.' Indeed, you are perfectly right. I do consider the Greek Faith quite consistent with the English Faith, (I may add also with the Roman Faith); because I have been taught from a child to believe that there is only ' one *Body*, and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one *Faith*, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, &c.' I have been used to say in the Creed, ' I believe one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church ;' not, one Greek Church and religion, and another Romish Church and religion, and another English Church and religion ; but one confession of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; one Baptism, into one Body, of one Church ; one Eucharist ; and by right, though now suspended outwardly by misunderstandings for our sins, one visible Communion also throughout all the world. You will find all this in the English Prayer-Book : at least I learned it there first. And whenever I find in any antient author, whether ' Bishop ' or not, an enumeration of the articles of the saving faith, or whenever I ask what faith people promise to believe, in order to be saved, in their Baptism, I find it to be in Russia, and at Rome alike, just the same as that which we promise to believe in England. And therefore, since these Churches (though in different parts of the world) are evidently one in their Apostolical origin, having never separated from any older Church in their respective dioceses, and are still one in their Apostolical government, and in holding and handing down one and the same Catholic and Apostolic Faith or Creed, in the very same sense and words, (with the single exception of the verbal difference caused by the Pope's addition of the clause '*Filioque*' to the Creed), while all other communities and sects whatever of heretics and schismatics have come

out from, or have been excommunicated by, these Churches, and do not hold the same Creed, denying the sense at least of some part of it, but follow the private interpretations, or rather mis-interpretations of some recent teacher and founder, and his spurious tradition, instead of the old Apostolical and divine tradition, which alone agrees with the true sense and interpretation of Scripture ;—Since, I say, the Russian, the English, and the Roman Churches all agree in that faith which they propose to people coming to be baptized as the condition of salvation, (see the Baptismal Offices, and the Catechism); which they sing in the most solemn service of the Liturgy, and at other times, in the Church, (see the Nicene Creed in the Liturgy or Communion-Office, and the Athanasian Creed before the Liturgy, in the Prayer-Book) ; which they repeat in Morning and Evening Prayer ; and which the ‘ Bishops’ of the early Church advised all true Christians to repeat every evening and morning before they retired to rest, and when they rose ; which same also they propose to the sick and dying, to examine whether they be true Christians or no ;—I think that my opinion, nay, my confident belief (which I hope never to part with while I live), that the ‘ Greek religion’ and the ‘ English religion’ are in fact but one and the same religion of the one true Catholic and Apostolic Faith and Church, need not be considered so very extraordinary, or surprising : And I feel comfort in believing, and in knowing, that there are in my Church and country thousands of hearts, whose prayers for the Church nightly and daily rise to the throne of grace not only with a vague and general wish for its good estate, but with a distinct inclusion of both the Greek and the Roman Churches together with our own, a deep pain for our present needless, scandalous, and ungodly divisions, and an earnest petition for the restoration of that unity, for which our Lord Himself prayed so earnestly on the night that He was delivered up for the sins of the world, and just after he had instituted the Sacrament of unity. Yes, assuredly, I do believe the religion of the Russian and Anglican Churches is one religion.

“ You say indeed in your letter, that you ‘ found the Bible contrary to the *greatest part* of the doctrines (and ceremonies) of the Greek Church, but all the Prayer-Book of the English Church quite in unison with the Bible.’ But tell me now, among the things which the English Prayer-Book contains, and which are in unison with the Bible, is there not the Creed beginning thus, ‘ I believe in God the Father, &c.’ (commonly called the Apostles’ Creed) ? and another, ‘ I believe in one God,’ &c. (commonly called the Nicene Creed) ? and another, called the Athanasian, beginning thus, ‘ Whosoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith : which faith, except every man do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly : And the Catholic faith is *this*, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, &c.’ and at the end again, ‘ *This* is the Catholic faith ; which except a man do keep faithfully, he cannot be saved’ ? Now, is there any single article in these Creeds (excepting only the verbal difference above-mentioned, which further has by right no place in the Creed), is there any single article, I say, which is not held equally by the English, Russian, and Roman Churches ? And what can you find me, besides these Creeds, or rather this Creed, and the sense contained in it, which any man since the days of the Apostles, until the unhappy quarrel in the Hierarchy, has dared to add to it as a necessary article of the saving faith ? For in truth, as it is expressly said in the

Athanasian Creed, '*This is the Catholic Faith,*' once for all, as the Apostle affirms, delivered to the saints by the Holy Ghost in the Baptism of Fire on the day of Pentecost, and from that day to the end of the world handed down in the Church by the ministration of the Clergy and the grace of the same Holy Ghost, through a continuous succession of Baptisms and Ordinations. For in Baptism the 'deposit' of 'the faith' is delivered to the 'faithful,' as individuals, to hold and confess, in order to their personal salvation: in Ordination the same faith, and no other, is entrusted as a deposit to the Bishops and Priests to teach, in order to the salvation of others. And the belief of this faith, to which nothing can be added, and from which nothing can be taken away, 'whole and undefiled,' is the condition of salvation, provided it be accompanied by good works. And the profession of this faith is the 'Christian Verity,' and 'the Catholic religion' afterwards mentioned in the same Creed. Now then, the Prayer-Book of the English Church, (in which you may also again refer to the Baptismal Offices, the Catechism, and the Visitation of the Sick,) the Prayer-Book, I say, being witness, is not the faith or religion of the Russian and Greek Church the very same as that of the English Church? and are they not therefore both equally consistent with the Bible? But you say you found the '*greatest part* of the doctrines of the Russian Church' contrary to those of the English, and of the Bible. Alas, you must have strangely confounded the relative importance of points of doctrine, when you wrote thus. You yourself had only just before told me that your principle of re-inventing religion for yourself out of the Bible, had already led you to doubt of the very foundation itself, the doctrine of the Trinity, when you fell in with an Anglican clergyman, who succeeded in shewing you the true sense of Scripture on this point. Now *this is the very Faith itself*: one cannot rightly call it *an article* of the Faith; for it is the whole of that form into which we are Baptized: and that form contains by necessary implication all the rest of the longer Creeds. '*This,*' says the English Prayer-Book in the Athanasian Creed, '*is the Catholic Faith, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;*' of which all that follows is but the development and amplification. This prime article of the faith of the Russian and of the whole Catholic Church, or rather, *This*, which is itself *the whole Faith*, you doubted of, and even thought your doubt irrelevant to the question of your joining the English Church; but were recalled from your doubt by the first English Clergyman you met with; he so bringing you back to the Faith of the Russian, no less than of his own Church; to that one Catholic faith, 'which except a man keep faithfully, he cannot be saved'; into which you had been baptized, but which you were in danger of losing. Now, after this, you should indeed have thought twice before you wrote, that you had 'found the *greater part* of the doctrines of the Russian Church contrary to those of the Church of England, and of the Bible': for if 'the Faith,' by which both Churches hope to be saved, is one and the same, even '*This,*' which you received from the one, and were restored to by the other, then it can never surely be correct to say, that in '*the greater part* of her doctrines' the Greek Church differs from the English.

"The fact is, that, of the four points you mention as differences, the first two, respecting Images or Pictures, and the Invocation of Saints and of the Blessed Virgin in particular, are not 'Articles of the Faith,' by which the Greek Church hopes to be saved at all, but merely secondary

matters, of ecclesiastical usage and tradition, whether right or wrong : The third and fourth points, of the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist, and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, offer no real differences between the Churches ; as I hope to be able to shew you, if you will have the patience to read to the end of my letter. I will speak first of these two latter points, because they are really of the very highest importance ; and without a correct belief on one of them, the Real Presence, (which implies the Sacrifice), the belief of the Creed itself, of the saving Faith, cannot be said to be entire even in the individual Christian. I earnestly entreat you then to give me a serious attention on this point ; and I pray God that I may speak rightly myself upon it, so as neither to misrepresent that truth which I advocate, nor to prejudice you against it.

"The first of these questions is this, How are Christ's words '*This is my Body,*' to be interpreted ? The Church, from the beginning, has always accepted them simply and unrestrictedly, as they were spoken, has believed them unreservedly, and has repeated them. She has ever set bread before God ; and, seeing that it is naturally only common bread, she has prayed Him to send down His Holy Spirit upon it, and make it to be the Body of Christ. After it was so blessed, the Church has ever called it the 'Body of Christ,' the 'Mystery or Sacrament of the Body,' the 'Holy Bread' ; believing and teaching, that what it was not by nature it now *is* by grace, having been changed by the Holy Ghost. And in catechizing children, and heathens also whom they were preparing for baptism, or had just baptized, the primitive Christian teachers used to begin their instructions so as to teach very plainly, that not only were they to hold to Christ's words, but also to believe that they are most true, though *in what manner* it might be above human reason to explain. Thus they would say, 'He, who made the world by His word, and the creature bread also, at the beginning, took bread, and blessed it, and spake the word, '*This is my Body :*' Since therefore the Lord himself has declared that it is His Body, who shall dare to say that it is not His Body ? And again ; 'At the marriage-feast at Cana in Galilee He changed water by his will into wine : and shall it after this be thought incredible, that He should change wine into His own Blood ?' Such passages as these, which are only the uniform language of the Church, shew clearly enough her sense of the depth of the mystery. At the same time the early Christians, like our Lord Himself, and like St Paul, do not hesitate to call the holy Gifts even after consecration 'Bread' and 'Wine' : and in many passages the old Catholic Fathers and Bishops expressly deny that the change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ is any such gross, carnal, or physical change, as to destroy or take away the natural substances or things. They say, indeed, that they are *transmuted*, which is much the same as *transubstantiated* ; but they say also no less that they are *transfigured*, and *transformed* : and they explain their whole doctrine on the subject by the analogy of Baptism. For the child which is brought to the font to be Baptized a child of Adam and of wrath, is changed, is born again in the water, to be a member of Christ, a child of grace : and this change is most real, and essential : and yet after his natural substance he remains the same child that he was before. Now, when a man is *naturally born*, he needs to be *naturally fed* : and the *food* of bread, and wine, and flesh, is given and prepared and adapted by God, *to sustain natural life*. So, in

the same way, when we are *born again spiritually*, there is a certain *spiritual meat and drink* given by God to *sustain our new and heavenly life*: and this is the Body and Blood of Christ verily and indeed given and received in the Lord's Supper under the forms or species of Bread and Wine. (See the English Catechism; and the end of the First Book of Homilies.) *As the natural life, or living creature, that needs natural food, is changed into the supernatural and new creature, by being born again of water and the Holy Ghost, though the same creature, after the order of nature, still continues to exist, nor is his natural substance taken away or destroyed; so also the natural food of bread and wine is changed by the Holy Ghost into the supernatural and heavenly food of Christ's real Body and Blood; and yet the natural substances of bread and wine continue after the order of nature to exist as before.* This is the language and doctrine of the antient Church, and also, so far as I can understand, of the Eastern as well as of the British Church now, as I hope to shew you by and bye. At present I merely state it as one opinion or view. It has been held indeed, I repeat, so far as I can learn, from the very time of the Apostles, by all the Fathers, Bishops, and Councils of the Church, excepting only the Latin Church in recent times, and such as have become infected anywhere with their novelty: nevertheless I do not claim at present any more for it on that account, than an impartial consideration, as for one of two views, or classes of views, which have been held, and are still held, respecting the interpretation of our Lord's words, 'This is my body.' The other and opposite interpretation is that which is now commonly held by Calvinists, and even by Lutherans, (and too often also by Anglicans, though it is certainly not the doctrine of their Church or Prayer-Book, any more than it is that of the Eastern Church.) This interpretation is, that our Lord spake only figuratively or spiritually, the word 'spiritually' being used in the same sense as 'not really,' or 'metaphorically.' According to this view, though our Lord said, 'This is,' He meant only 'This signifies,' or *stands in the place of;* or, to go a little further, 'This gives the benefits of my death,' or 'the virtue and efficacy of my Body;' or, to go a little nearer yet to the doctrine of the Church (and this is the utmost such interpreters will ever allow), 'This gives instrumentally,' or 'is joined with, as the means of receiving, the very thing itself, that is, my Body and Blood.' I have now stated the two classes of opinions (taking no notice at present of the Popish error, or tendency to error, which is joined in the Latin Churches inconsistently with the first); and I claim no sort of authority or deference for the first of the two on the ground of its being the doctrine of all the Fathers and Bishops, but will do as you bid me, and attempt to examine by reasoning from holy Scripture, which of them is the more correct interpretation. In doing this the first thought which strikes me is, that if the modern view of the Protestant sects be true, it is difficult to conceive how our Lord, who foreknew all things, should have placed, as it must seem, so needless a stumbling-block in the way of His Church, when it was just as easy for Him to say, 'This signifies,' as 'This is,' and just as easy for Him to have varied or explained His metaphorical expression, if it had been so, as for Calvin and his school to do it for Him 1,500 years after. And though the common Protestant interpretation may seem at first easier to understand, yet it is on the other hand certain that the Ecclesiastical interpretation more closely follows, and repeats, and imi-

tates Christ's own words, whatever may be otherwise its intrinsic truth or error : whereas the Protestants go very near indeed to speaking thus ; ' He said, indeed, It *is* ; but he meant, It is *not* : He said, It *is*, an expression requiring to be guarded from misunderstanding by our being very careful never to repeat it, but always to explain it in other words : He said, It *is* ; but He did not mean that we should either say or believe so : In fact, He meant just as if He had used some one or other of those phrases, which we constantly substitute for ' It *is* : ' and if He had used one of them Himself instead, it would have been exactly the same thing, so far as we can see, and would have saved a great deal of trouble and misunderstanding.' Thus do they in effect set aside and correct Christ's words.

" In examining from Scripture whether the words, ' This is my Body,' are to be interpreted to be strictly, though most mysteriously and incomprehensibly, true, or only a figure of speech, I think it will be useful to mention first some general truths, on which I doubt not we shall be agreed, but which if they were always present to our minds, and followed out to their consequences, would make us feel that there must be a very deep *reality* both in the New Birth by water and the Holy Ghost in Baptism, by which we are first made members of Christ's Body, the Church, and also in the consecration of the blessed Eucharist, by which what is naturally only common bread and wine becomes heavenly and spiritual food, after a supernatural and incomprehensible manner, for the support of the new and spiritual life. We know from holy Scripture that all this outer world, all the inferior creation, animate and inanimate, was made for the sake of man, who was set as a king over all, made in the image of his Maker, in Paradise, the Garden of God, a type of heaven. We know also that this outer world was so accommodated to man's nature and senses, and both to the attributes and perfections of the Creator, as to make it possible for man, by means of ideas got from the outer world, to attain, under the teaching of God's Spirit, to a knowledge of spiritual and heavenly truth ; which could not have been so, unless God had placed a certain likeness and image of spiritual things in the natural creation. For instance, the natural sun in the material heavens has been made on purpose by God to represent to us, if we will understand, the *true Sun* of the spiritual heavens. I say the *true Sun* ; for it is evident that the original is before the picture ; and the picture is for the sake of the original, not the original for the sake of the picture. And so we may say generally, that this outer world, with the pictures of which it is full, which are soon to pass away, is all made for the sake of the inner and spiritual world, which is much more true and real, and which is to last for ever. So again, God could have made man at the beginning, and the living creatures too, and the plants, to live the one without eating and drinking, the others without needing a continual supply of nourishment : But he did not so. And one reason why He did not so was, because He willed to give us by sensible analogies an idea and knowledge of the dependence of our souls for life on Him ; they requiring and receiving from Him spiritual nourishment, as our bodily life requires meat and drink. If man had not been made to live by *food*, the word ' *bread*' could not have existed ; nor could the knowledge have been communicated as now to man, that the spiritual essences of God's creation live by some mysterious communication of nourishment from the Divine Word, the Eternal Son of God, *as* in this natural world men, and animals, and plants

are naturally and materially fed to the support of their natural life. But man, being made to live by bread, and water, and wine, could so understand by likeness or analogy the truth, that the Eternal Word is the 'bread of angels,' and also his own 'spiritual bread,' his 'water of life,' his 'cup of salvation.' And before the fall a special type of this spiritual bread was appointed in the fruit of the tree of life. After the fall, man, having become the necessary object of wrath to an all-holy God, was excluded from Paradise, and could no longer eat of the spiritual bread : for the communion between God and man was broken, and the channel of spiritual nourishment cut off. From thenceforth not bread alone (or vegetable food), as in Paradise, but *flesh* of innocent creatures, whose life and blood had first been offered, instead of that of the guilty, and poured out before God, was given to man for his food ; bread however being still always joined in every sacrifice and meal : of which bread and flesh conjoined this was the signification, that now man could only be fed again with the food of angels, when He, who is the 'Living Bread' should have come down from heaven, and having taken upon Him our flesh, should have satisfied the Divine Justice for us in our nature, and should then re-communicate to us that very same nature which He had taken from us, united with His Divinity, for our restoration : 'that *as in Adam all die, even so in Christ should all be made alive.*' And if we do indeed believe that the spiritual and eternal things are *more real* than the sensible and temporal, and that the latter, as images and instruments, are made for the sake of the former, then we must see that the spiritual New Birth in Christ is something, if we can conceive it, *more real* even than our natural birth from our parents ; and our spiritual feeding and food, in like manner, something more real even than our natural feeding and food. Now we are *most certainly* born *naturally* of Adam's real flesh and blood, children of wrath, and inheritors of death : there is no doubt that we have been born : there can be no doubt that we shall die : these things are realities and certainties, if any things are. We are born, I say, of Adam, inheritors of death ; of death both of body and soul. If, therefore, by a *true* and *real* participation of Adam's nature we are *truly* liable to death, we must also have a *true* and *real* participation of Christ the 'second Adam,' if we are by any just parity of consequence *truly* to *live* again. Else, if we partake of Christ only in a figure, we shall live again only in a figure. But 'flesh and blood,' the Apostle declares, 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God : neither doth corruption inherit incorruption : there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body : and so it is written, The first man, Adam, was made a living soul ; the last Adam is a quickening spirit : Howbeit, that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy ; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy ; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly : for that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit : And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' This participation, then, in the nature of Christ, the second Adam, is to us, and ought to be considered by us, the greatest of all realities : and we shall see presently that it is begun in us by the New Birth of Baptism, that it is carried on and increased or repaired by the Lord's Supper, and that it is to be finally fixed and perfected at the resurrection.

“I will propose to you yet one more argument based upon a similar analogy out of the holy Scripture, to shew how very *real* must be our participation of Christ, if we would have life in us not by any meditation, or feeling, or remembrance of our own mind and will, but by a real, true, and essential, or substantial communication of His very substance to us. We have observed before that all the inferior creation was made for man ; for the first man Adam, and our first mother Eve, who was made from him, and for him. But we may carry this thought on yet a step further, and say, that since God foreknew the fall, and had provided already ‘ the Lamb slain from before the foundation of the world,’ and as the restoration of man after the fall was not to be only a bare remedy for that mischief which the malice of the Serpent had wrought, but also something far better than even the original design, (if I may so speak, in accordance with human ideas), therefore we must infer, that as the inferior or natural creation was made for the sake of the natural man, so the natural man himself, with the whole natural creation, was made to be subordinate to the second, or spiritual, or enduring creation of Christ, the second Adam, and His Church. And so, if there was anything in the first or natural creation typical, or representative of anything answering to it in the new or spiritual creation, we must believe, that as the old creation itself is for the sake of the new, which is more excellent and lasting, so the things of the new or spiritual creation have a *reality* greater than that of their shadows, types, likenesses, anticipations, and preparations in the natural. Hence it follows, that if the *sacrifice* of innocent creatures *in the old dispensation* was a type, and they who *offered* were always, as part of the ritual, to *eat* of the sacrifice, we Christians in the new and spiritual covenant must *eat* of *our* sacrifice also no less really, but, if possible, much *more really* than the Jews partook of theirs. Again, if *natural birth* be typical, as we now know it is, we must believe that the new or spiritual birth is no less, but if possible even more real. And if *the sustenance of natural life* by eating bread and flesh, and drinking water and wine, after our natural birth, be both typical and real, then the eating of the Spiritual Bread and Flesh, (which, since the Incarnation, are one thing) and the drinking of the Spiritual Wine mixed with Water, must be no less, but, if possible, *even more real*, in like manner. But these things I only mention incidentally, as illustrations: the main argument which I wish to draw is from the consideration, that the natural creation of man is subordinate to, and preparatory for, the spiritual new creation in Christ, the second Adam, and His Church ; and particularly that holy Scripture in many passages represents the first Adam as typical of the second ; our first mother Eve, (‘ the mother of all living,’) as a type of our spiritual mother the Church, the Spouse of Christ, which, much more than Eve, is the mother of all living ; and the formation of Eve from the rib and side of Adam as prefiguring the formation of the second or spiritual Eve. Nay, so far do the holy Apostles go upon the principle which I have been endeavouring to illustrate, that they do not explain or illustrate the mystical union which is betwixt Christ and His Church by the analogy of ordinary marriage ; but contrariwise, they deduce the duties and relations of the ordinary married state from the consideration of that archetypal union and relation, which is between Christ and His Church ; as if this were the great, the original, and the only true and lasting mar-

riage, and all others only passing shadows or types of it, permitted to exist for its sake. If this, therefore, be so, and the analogy drawn by the Apostles themselves between our first parents and Christ and His Church be correct, then we must undoubtedly believe, that as surely as our first mother Eve was formed and moulded in the first or natural creation from the side of Adam, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, so surely, and with even a greater reality, if possible, in the second new spiritual and heavenly creation is the Church, the second Eve, formed and moulded from the very side and substance of Christ. 'The Lord God,' it is written, 'caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept. And he took one of his ribs, and closed up instead the flesh thereof. And the rib which the Lord God had taken from Adam made He a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh : she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.' Certainly, if it had so pleased God, He could have made Eve from the dust of the ground as easily as He had before made the man. But this was done in the first Adam, to signify what should be accomplished afterwards in the second. For Christ also, the second Adam, bowed His anointed head, and slept a deep sleep on the Cross : and one pierced His side with a spear, and there came out blood and water. From that most sacred stream of water and blood, which issued from the pierced side of the Redeemer, the Church is spiritually indeed, but yet most really and truly, formed and moulded by the most holy and unspeakable and tremendous Sacraments. Christ took upon him our nature, that He might give it us back again with Himself. He washes us truly in His own Blood, and gives us the spark of life by the new birth of water and the Holy Ghost ; and He feeds us afterwards truly with His own holy Body, and with His own most precious Blood 'under the forms of Bread and Wine : ' wherefore also the Apostle has dared to say, 'We are members of His body ; of His bones ; and of His flesh.'

"Lastly, from these principles let us go on to shew from holy Scripture that this our participation of Christ, and the formation of the Church from His very substance, is wrought by the two great Sacraments or Mysteries of Baptism, (for the beginning), and of the holy Eucharist or Lord's Supper, (for the continuance and increase). And this, I think, will be best and most simply done by a plain recital, in chronological order, of what occurs in the Gospels concerning each Sacrament. In giving this, we cannot fail to be struck with the exact parallel existing between the notices of the two. Both were announced by Christ after He had drawn attention by the working of miracles. The announcement in each instance was similarly misunderstood by the carnal mind of His hearers. To their objections He answered in both cases alike, not by such explanations as modern Protestants give, as, that He spake only figuratively, but by most solemnly repeating what He had said before, with a double asseveration of its truth, 'Verily, Verily ;' at the same time adding, that His words were not to be carnally but spiritually understood : 'spiritually,' not as thereby meaning 'not really,' but rather, as He shewed by His manner, 'most really ;' seeing that, as we have said before, spiritual things are the most real of all things. After the announcement, His words remained in both instances alike unexplained, and difficult, no doubt, to understand, till the actual institution of the one and the other Sacrament ; and then, one would think, it must have been

impossible to mistake their meaning. The history of the institution of each is recorded; and also the history of their actual use and celebration from the beginning in the Christian Church, from the very time that our Lord had ascended up on high, and the Holy Ghost was given, to render the ministration of them efficacious. Christ Himself, speaking beforehand of the Kingdom of Heaven, which He was to establish upon earth, said thus to Nicodemus, '*Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Nicodemus saith unto Him, How can a man be born again? &c. Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit, &c. And no one hath ascended up into heaven, but He who came down from heaven, even the Son of Man, who is in heaven. And, as Moses lifted up the Serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*' (John iii. 3-16.) In like manner, at a later period of His ministry, one year before He suffered, after the miracle by which He fed five thousand men with five barley loaves, about the season of Easter, He said to the Jews of Capernaum, '*Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath eternal life: I am the bread of life: Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead: This is the bread that cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world. The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. . . . Doth this offend you [or make you to stumble]? What if ye shall have seen the Son of Man ascend up thither, where he was before? It is the Spirit which quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing: the words which I have spoken unto you; they are spirit, and they are life.*' (John vi. 47-64.)

"In both these two passages our Saviour speaks of the Sacrifice of Himself, which He was to offer on the Cross, and of belief, that is, faith in Him as the condition of salvation by that Sacrifice to men. But in the first passage He adds to this faith a '*new birth,*' or '*regeneration*' of water and the Holy Ghost, as the means of '*entering* into His kingdom,' or beginning to have life in Him; and in the second He adds further the '*eating* His flesh and *drinking* His blood,' as the means of having (or continuing to have) life, after life has been first given in some other way, (that is, by the new or spiritual birth above mentioned). Further, in both cases, on carnal doubts and incredulity being manifested, He affirmed that what He had said was most really and strictly true (repeating it in the same words), though in some spiritual way, and not as the objectors supposed. And lastly, He connected in both cases the accomplishment of what He said with His own re-ascension into heaven, and His power there as God to work what He would by the Holy Spirit. Now, even after the

explanation and asseveration which He made, we may well suppose, indeed we cannot but suppose, that His words were still in both cases very dark, even to those who were resolved to follow Him : and it might well have been a question to Nicodemus, (as we know it was to the Capharnaïtes and disciples in the other case), what they could mean. That they were no mere figure of speech, no bare metaphor, those words of our Lord, ‘ Verily, verily,’ twice repeated in both instances, might well assure them. Still, the whole would doubtless remain on their minds a mystery unexplained. But afterwards, when the Sacraments were actually instituted by Christ, they could not possibly avoid immediately recollecting what had passed before : and no doubt could possibly then remain as to His meaning. For when, after He was risen from the dead, He said to His Apostles, ‘ All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth : go ye therefore and teach all nations, *baptizing* them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; and lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world,’ who could doubt any longer what He had meant three years before, when He said to Nicodemus, that the *entrance* into His Kingdom should be by a new birth *of water and of the Holy Ghost* ? And in like manner, when, the night before He suffered, He ‘ took Bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat ; This is my Body ; and took the Cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it : for This is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many : Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance [in the original, ‘ for the memorial or commemoration’] of me ;’ who, after this, I say, could avoid remembering that remarkable conversation at Capernaum the year before, and perceiving, that this was that of which He spake, when He said, ‘ Except ye *eat* the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you’ ? And accordingly, no sooner had our Lord ascended up on high, where He was before, (see St John, ch. iii. 12, 13 : and ch. vi. 62, 63), and received gifts for men, and shed down the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, than the Apostles immediately began, according to His commandment, (having now to enable them the co-operating grace of the Holy Spirit, from which alone is the efficacy of all Sacraments), both to admit men into the Kingdom of Heaven, then first begun to be set up on earth, (see Daniel ii. v. 44¹) ; to admit men, I say, into the Messiah’s Kingdom, by the New *Birth* of water and the Holy Ghost in Baptism, and to *feed* them afterwards by the Flesh and Blood of the Incarnate Word, of the Son of Man, under the forms of Bread and Wine, in the Holy Eucharist or Lord’s Supper. For St Peter immediately began to preach, and converted and Baptized that same day three thousand souls : And it is written of those that were so Baptized, that they ‘ continued stedfastly after their Baptism, 1. in the Apostles’ Doctrine ; and 2. Fellowship, (which implies obedience) ; 3. in the Breaking of the Bread, (that is, in the participation of the blessed Eucharist) ; and 4. in the Prayers,’ (for so it is in the original). Thus with regard to both these two great Sacraments, (which are emphatically ‘ the Sacraments of the Gospel,’ prefigured by Circumcision and the eating of the Paschal Lamb under the Law), we find, *first*, mention made of each of them by Christ separately, before their institution ; then, *secondly*, the history of their institution afterwards, agreeing with the mention made

¹ This *Fifth* Kingdom of the Prophet Daniel it was that the Jews expected, and about it doubtless Nicodemus had inquired.

of them before, and explanatory of it ; and *lastly*, to complete the whole, the history of their positive use and celebration on the very first day of the founding of the Church, and afterwards. Since which time to the present, during more than eighteen hundred years, the Apostles, and the Bishops their successors, (assisted every one by the priests and deacons in his proper diocese), have never ceased, in like manner, to admit men by the *New Birth* of Baptism into the *one Holy Catholic and Apostolic* Church, and to *feed* them, after their admission, with the *spiritual food* of the most precious Body and Blood of Christ, under the forms, or kinds, or species, of bread and wine, according to His holy institution : and so, assuredly, they will continue to do even to the end of the world ; till ‘the Kingdom of Heaven,’ begun in grace on earth, shall be perfected in glory.

“ Having thus, according to the best of my ability, given you, from the general principles contained in Holy Scripture, and also from those passages which have the most plain and direct reference to the Sacraments themselves, some proof of their deep and mysterious reality, I think I may now draw the conclusion that the opinion and language of the Catholic and Apostolic Church (of which the Anglican and Russian Churches are equally parts), is to be preferred, as more Scriptural, (even though it may seem to some less intelligible) to the contrary views and language of modern sects. I have also some little weakness of submission towards it besides, on the ground of Christ’s promise to be with the teaching authority of the Church ; and on the ground, that I have always been used to regard the Church, in which I was baptized, as having a real motherly authority over me ; and even to feel perhaps a prejudice of affection towards her, inasmuch as to her I owe my baptism, all the instruction in Christianity which I received as a child, the prayers and example of good friends and relations, the participation of other Mysteries, and, in one word, my hopes of Heaven : but these are feelings which of course I have no right (after your letter) to expect you to enter into ; though I cannot but suspect you might still be able to find some little sympathy with them, if you would examine your own heart. However, you desired proof from Scripture, without any mixture of the authority of Councils or Bishops ; and I have given you what you desired. I only pray most heartily and sincerely, that what I have said may be of use to you : and then, if by God’s blessing it should be, I would beg you to observe, that I have only brought you back to that point from which you had diverged, namely, to the doctrine and tradition of your spiritual mother, the Russian Church. For in truth, though it is true that you will find in some Russian books, and in the opinion perhaps, of many individuals, the peculiar notions of the modern Latin Church with respect to the *manner* in which the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ, (just as on the other hand you will find many English books, and very many English people, who speak more or less the language of the Protestant sectaries on the same subject), still the public doctrine enforced by the Russian Church is not that of Popish transubstantiation, any more than the public doctrine of the Anglican Church is that of the Protestant sects. I make no doubt that you have with you a Russian Catechism : If you have, you will see that though the word ‘Transubstantiation’ is there used, the Church guards against its being understood in the Popish sense, to imply any definition of the *manner* in which the elements are changed, *i. e.* by the destruction or

abolition of the natural substance, so as to leave only the likeness or 'accidents' of bread and wine, without their natural substances. This Latin error and novelty, which is directly contrary to our Lord's own words, and to those of his Apostles, and to very many testimonies of the Catholic Fathers, is not, I repeat it, the formal doctrine of your Russian Church. She declares that she uses the word 'Transubstantiation' in the same sense as she had formerly used those of '*transformation*,' '*transfiguration*,' '*transmutation*,' and '*transelementation*:' and these words the English Church has never ceased to recognise as orthodox. And the mere word 'transubstantiation' too, it is admitted by our Divines, may very well be used in the same way; though they are naturally, and properly, indisposed to use it, because it is commonly associated with the erroneous Popish doctrine, that the natural substances after Consecration cease to exist. You will perceive why I have underlined the words *transformation* and *transfiguration*, as shewing that the true and Catholic language might just as easily be made to prove that the 'accidents' (*form* and *figure*) also are taken away, as that the 'substance' is. Further, I would observe, that the errors prevalent in the Communion of the English Churches upon the doctrine of the Sacraments are very much more dangerous than those which may be more or less prevalent in the Russian Church. For if you deny the reality of the Sacraments, I mean, that they really *are* to us the Graces which they represent, you deny the very means and hinges of our salvation, which consists in the true, real, substantial, or essential participation of Christ; that we may be as truly and essentially (though after a spiritual and heavenly, a mysterious and supernatural manner, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which He gives from the right hand of the Father) *in Him*, and *of Him*, 'bone of His bone, and flesh of His flesh,' as we are truly and essentially (after the order of nature) of the bone and flesh of our first father Adam. The error which denies this is *heresy*; and if wilfully maintained, is inconsistent with the integrity of the saving Faith. Of course a merely involuntary error of idea or language, with good and pious intentions, arising only from want of sufficient information, is a very different thing: but still the error in itself is an essential one. For if the belief of the Trinity is emphatically 'the Faith,' the Sacraments are the very bond and conjunction between God and man, (through the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, by the gift of the Holy Ghost), and the means by which man's faith in God becomes effectual to his salvation: so that 'The Faith' is not perfect, without the right belief of the Sacraments. For 'the Faith' is not abstract truth, but the belief of God as revealing Himself and working with respect to us, for our salvation. We might as well then deny the Faith itself, as deny the means by which God communicates Himself to us, or refuse to receive and use them, when offered to us. On the other hand, the error of believing that the natural substance of bread ceases in every sense to exist after Consecration, even if it were held by the Church of my country, (which I thank God, it is not, nor by the Church of Russia), would be, at least to me individually, comparatively a trifle. For the main point is to believe, that, when I receive this Bread, I really receive the Flesh of the Son of God; or, in His own words, that this Bread *is* His Flesh. What does it signify to me, if I think of my bones sleeping in the earth, perhaps for thousands of generations, and rising again out of the dust to meet my Saviour and my Judge at the last day,—what, I say, does it signify to

me, whether the natural substance of bread remains, or does not remain? Truly, nothing at all. I do not go to the Altar to look for common bread, (or for natural flesh of a lamb, as in the old Law), but for the 'Bread which cometh down from Heaven,' and for the 'Cup of Salvation.' If natural bread and wine be there, yet I see it not; I look not for it; I see only the Body of Christ and His Blood after the words of Consecration: and if it were not there (as the Papists say it is not), still it would be nothing to me, so long as I were equally assured that I really receive that, by which my body may rise again out of the grave; that, by which we are really joined to Christ our Saviour; so that we are made one with him, and he with us; we dwell in him, and he in us. On the other hand, I admit that it is of very great consequence to the Church at large, that both she, and all particular or local Churches in her, should teach the true and orthodox doctrine not only on the essential and saving faith, but also on all secondary points: and it is evident that the most lamentable consequences, perhaps the destruction of many souls, may be occasioned by the schisms and errors (even though they be errors on secondary points) of particular Churches. So the Popish novelty of 'accidents' hanging suspended upon nothing, after their natural substance has been destroyed or done away to make way for the corporal or carnal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, has given great occasion to weak and vicious people to blaspheme against the whole of religion; and has prejudiced vast numbers of people, who really did desire to be Christians, both against the Church, and against the true doctrine of the Sacraments of the Church.

"I will conclude this whole matter by writing out two extracts, the one concerning the doctrine of the Anglican, and the other concerning the doctrine of the Russian Church. The first is from a '*Treatise on the Church*' by a Presbyterian of the Anglican Communion of the same name with myself, a treatise which is much used by students, and the second edition of which is inscribed by permission to the Archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh. It states the doctrine of the English Church thus:—

'This Catholic and Apostolic Church has always avoided any attempt to determine too minutely the mode of the true Presence in the Holy Eucharist. Guided by Scripture, she establishes only those truths which Scripture reveals; and leaves the subjects in that mystery with which God, for his wise purposes, has invested it. Her doctrine concerning the true Presence appears to be limited to the following points. Taking as her immoveable foundation the words of Jesus Christ, 'This is my Body; This is my Blood of the New Covenant;' and 'Whoso eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal life:' she believes that the body or flesh, and the blood of Jesus Christ, the Creator and Redeemer of the world, both God and man united indivisibly in one person, are 'verily and indeed given to, taken, eaten, and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper' ⁽¹⁾ under the outward sign or form of bread and wine; ⁽²⁾ which is on this account the 'partaking or communion of the Body and Blood of Christ.' ⁽³⁾ She believes the Eucharist is not the sign of an *absent* body; ⁽⁴⁾ and that those who partake of it receive not merely the figure or shadow, or sign of Christ's body, but the reality itself. ⁽⁵⁾ And as Christ's Divine and human natures are inseparably united, so she believes that we receive in the Eucharist not only the flesh and blood of Christ, but Christ himself both God and man. ⁽⁶⁾

‘Resting on these words, ‘The *bread* which we break, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ?’ and again, ‘I will not drink henceforth of this *fruit of the vine*,’ she holds that the nature of the bread and wine *continue* after consecration ; and therefore rejects *Transubstantiation* [that is, in the Romish sense of the word ; for elsewhere, and in speaking of the Russian Church, the same writer admits it may be used, and is used in an orthodox sense], or that ‘change of the substance’ which supposes the nature of bread entirely to cease by consecration.

‘As a necessary consequence of the preceding truths, and admonished by Christ Himself, ‘It is the Spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing ; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life,’ she holds that the presence (and therefore the eating) of Christ’s Body and Blood, though *true*, is altogether ‘heavenly and spiritual,’⁽⁷⁾ of a kind which is inexplicable by any carnal or earthly experience or imagination ; even as the Sonship of the Eternal Word of God, and His Incarnation, and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, are immeasurable by human understandings.

‘Believing, according to the Scriptures, that Christ ascended in His natural body into heaven, and shall only come from thence at the end of the world,⁽⁸⁾ she rejects, for this reason as well as the last, any *such* real presence of Christ’s body and blood as is ‘*corporal*,’⁽⁹⁾ or organical, that is, *according to the known and earthly mode of the existence of a body*.

‘Following the example of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his Apostles, and supported by their authority, she believes that the ‘Blessing’ or ‘Consecration’ of the bread and wine is not without effect, but that it operates a real change.’ Vol. i. p. 527–530.

[Notes on the above passages, and references to authorities.]

‘(1) Article XXVIII of the Church of England. And in the Catechism ‘The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.’ And in the Communion-Office, throughout: ‘Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood:’ &c. &c. [And it is to be observed, that the Communion-Office now in use in the Churches of England and Ireland is not nearly so full and perfect in bringing out the sense of our Church, as the two other later Liturgies, which are in use in our Communion in Scotland and in America.] (2) ‘The outward sign or form.’ Catechism. ‘Hereafter shall follow Sermons . . . of the due receiving of His blessed Body and Blood under the *form* of bread and wine.’ Advertisement at the end of Book I. of Homilies. (3) 1. Cor. x. 16. Article XXVIII. (4) ‘Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony ; no bare sign ; no untrue figure of a thing absent.’ Homily xxvii. P. 1. (5) The faithful receive ‘not only the outward Sacrament, but the spiritual thing also ; not the figure, but the truth ; not the shadow only, but the body.’ Same Homily. Bishop Poynt says, ‘The Body of Christ is both a verity and a figure ; a verity, inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is *virtually* changed by the operation of the Holy Ghost into the Body and Blood of Christ ; a figure, so far as regards the outward visible (or sensible) thing, which is so called.’ Dialecticon. p. 6. (6) ‘He hath given *His Son*, our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that Holy Sacrament: &c.’ Exhortation in the Communion

Office. ⁽⁷⁾ Article XXVIII. ⁽⁸⁾ As in the Creeds, ‘He sitteth at the right hand of the Father, from whence he *shall* come to judge the quick and the dead.’ ⁽⁹⁾ ‘No adoration is intended, or ought to be done . . . unto any *corporal* presence of Christ’s *natural* flesh and blood.’ Declaration after Communion-Office.’

“So much for the doctrine of the Anglican Church upon this subject. And as for that of the Russian, I have already referred you to the Russian Catechism, in which it is expressly said that the word ‘Transubstantiation’ is not to be taken or understood to define the *manner* of the change. If there are many people in the Russian Communion who do attach to it the Roman sense, this might perhaps be a good reason for the Church to disuse the word, as the Anglican Church has done, and confine herself to those words, which were universally received before the novelty was invented : but certainly this can be no kind of reason for you to renounce the Communion of the Russian Church, any more than the horrible frequency of much worse errors among English people, contrary to the authoritative doctrine of their Church, is any reason for me to renounce her Communion. And if any further proof were wanting to shew you that not only the Russian Catechism, but many also of the most learned divines of that Church are free from the Romish opinion, I will cite to you two or three instances, which have come to my own knowledge. Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, in answer to a question of M. Dutens, a Frenchman, upon this very point, writes thus :—‘The Eastern Catholic and the Greeko-Russian Church does indeed admit and use the word *Transubstantiation*, meaning thereby not a *physical* and *carual* transubstantiation,’ [which the Latins now do hold], ‘but one that is *sacramental* and *mystical* : and she uses this word in no other sense than all the most antient Fathers of the Greek Church have ever used the kindred, and like words of *change*, *transposition*, *transelcementation*, &c.’ On which the same English author, whom I have quoted above, observes, that *this* doctrine is quite agreeable with that of our own Church. Again, Methodius, Archbishop of Tver, says, ‘The Disciples did eat *bread*, and drank *wine*, which were given them by Christ after He had consecrated them ; and were taught by Him to believe, that in receiving this food they received the Body and Blood of the Lord ; and to do this for a memorial of Him.’ Lib. Hist. p. 207. More at length, Theophanes Procopovich, in his ‘Orthodox Christian Theology,’ speaks thus :—

‘The outward visible element’ [‘*form*’ in our Catechism], ‘or matter, in this Sacrament is *bread* and *wine*. We find passages of the Fathers speaking of this as if it were double, visible and invisible, earthly and heavenly. So St Augustin :—‘This is what we say, and desire by all means to prove to you, that this Sacrament is made and consists of two *things*’ [or ‘*parts*,’ as in our Catechism], ‘the visible species’ [of the Elements], ‘and the invisible’ [grace, which is the] ‘Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ.’ And Ireneus, (B. iv. Contra Val. c. 3) :—‘The bread which is of the earth, after it has received the invocation of the Lord, is no longer *common* bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two *things*, the one earthly, the other heavenly.’ This bread of the Eucharist, [Theophanes continues] must be, *as to its substance, true*, or complete : &c.’ [And again] ‘Concerning the *manner* or mode in which the Body and Blood of Christ become present in the Eucharist after Consecration, or, as some speak, concerning the efficacy and operation of the Consecration, there are many

disputers, and many different opinions. Some will have it that the Consecration in the Celebration of the Eucharist produces no other effect than that of sanctifying the symbols, and setting them apart to a holy use. This is the opinion of the doctors of the Reformed, [not of the Church of England, as we have seen] : nor cannot they indeed hold any other opinion; seeing that they have followed their own corrupted or perverted reason so far, as to empty both all other Sacraments, and also this Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of all their force and virtue, and to maintain that the bread and wine are *only figures* and symbols of Christ's Body and Blood. Another party, that of the Lutherans or Protestants, [as distinguished from the Reformed or Calvinists,] are for *so joining together* [by Consubstantiation] the earthly matter of the Eucharist, that is the bread and wine, with the heavenly matter, that is, the true Body and Blood of Christ, as to say, that the Body is *with, in, and under* the bread, the Blood *with, in, and under* the wine, so that both the Body and the Blood should be truly and really offered to the Communicants *together with* the bread and wine, and the Body of Christ should be eaten, *without any change or conversion at all*. This doctrine, like the former, is erroneous : but I shall not here stop to refute it. And these two opinions err on the side of defect, or believing too little concerning the Eucharist. A third there is, that of the Romanists, which, like most of their other errors, is chiefly derived from this, that they make Divine Worship and religion to consist entirely in outward things; and so are ever prone to ascribe to them a power and efficacy, which of themselves they by no means possess. For, as they say of the other Sacraments, that they confer grace '*ex opere operato*,' i. e. by the mere thing itself, (of which error we have treated above), so of this Sacrament also they say the same thing. And hence they will sometimes boast, that they are makers of their Maker; and pretend that by the power of their Consecration they call down the Body of Christ from Heaven into, or rather into the place of, the bread . . . And so all the priests of the Romish Communion think that they have found out exactly the *mode or manner* of the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist; and are for ever repeating *their word* '*Transubstantiation*,' till one is sick to hear it. [I should observe, that when Theophanes wrote this, the word had not been admitted into any authoritative document of the Russian Church : else, if it had been, no doubt he ought not to have spoken so decidedly against the mere word, which may be used in an orthodox sense; but should have contented himself with shewing, as the Catechism does now, that it is not to be taken in a gross or carnal sense.] For in their presumptuous attempt to explain and define the *mode* of this mystery they most certainly go beyond their measure in Divine things. St John Damascene says well, 'If ye ask *how* the bread becomes the Body of Christ, and the wine His Blood? I answer, The Holy Spirit comes upon them, and makes them to *be so*, in a manner which it is beyond the power of man either to conceive or express.' [The Russian Catechism quotes the same Father, to the same effect. Further on, after a long account of the whole controversy, and the history of the word, Theophanes concludes :] We, following exactly the pure and sound doctrine of the antient Greek Church, in our Liturgies use no other word than '*change*,' and stop short of all attempts to define the *manner or mode* [of the change] which we say is Sacramental and mysterious. And so, neither agreeing

with the Romanists, nor with the dreams and imaginations of the Reformed, nor inclining to the sentiments of the Lutherans, we believe with our whole heart, and teach, and confess, as is agreeable with piety, That in the Eucharist, after the Consecration, there is under the species or form of bread the true, real, and substantial [or essential] Body of Christ, and under the species or form of wine the true and real Blood of Christ. But the manner or mode of their presence we dare not attempt curiously to search into : nor ought we ; seeing that the Apostle has taught us that we ought to bring all our understanding under the obedience of Faith.

“ These testimonies are surely enough to prove that you may hold, and indeed ought to hold, on this subject, the very same doctrine as is held by the English Church, without renouncing the Church of Russia.

“ I may add further, that during my stay in Russia I have taken particular pains to ascertain what is the doctrine of the Church ; and what are the prevalent opinions about it. And this is the result of my observations :
 I. That the people in general know nothing whatever about the scholastic question, but believe simply, as all good Christians ought to believe, that the bread truly becomes by consecration the Body of Christ :
 II. That among the higher classes, and among the most learned of the Clergy, there have been ever since the middle and end of the 17th century some, who held rather the Roman idea as well as language ; others, who publicly rejected either the idea, or the language, or both ; and that these last have never been molested on that account, nor treated as heretics by the Church :
 III. That the cause of this difference lay chiefly in a verbal inconsistency in the Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila, and in the XVIII Articles of the Synod of Bethlehem (which followed the Orthodox Confession), in admitting the Roman language and definition of the mode altogether, while it was said nevertheless, that the Church by no means intended by this word to define the manner of the change :
 IV. That this inconsistency, after having been pointed out or alluded to by various Russian divines, has lately been delicately corrected in the Catechism published by the Synod in the name of the Russian Church, by omitting the definition of the manner, (by separation of ‘substance’ and ‘accidents’) ; while the orthodox declaration against all attempts at such a definition is copied from the earlier documents, which are referred to for it, and is pointedly insisted on as limiting the sense in which the Russian Church admits the word ‘Transubstantiation.’ So that now, (though the effects of the former inconsistent admission of Romish language are still very commonly to be met with), not only can any one who pleases reject the Roman error without rejecting the Russian Church, but it is true to say, that that Church herself, though very quietly and discreetly, has rejected or discountenanced it.
 V. I have not found so much as one Russian who held distinctly and consistently the Roman doctrine ; but they who thought they did, and who really approached nearest to doing so, always mixed up some ideas and expressions which were quite inconsistent with it.

“ It may be well, in concluding all that I have to say upon this point, to observe, that both concerning the Sacrament of Baptism, and this of the Eucharist, there are *three* different forms of thought and expression which are all orthodox, and also three corresponding forms of thought and expression which are heterodox : and the truth and the error in each case are so near the one to the other, that they may often be expressed

in the very same words. For, *first*, the Church, of herself, and following only her own natural disposition, in her own province, regards in the Sacraments *only*, or chiefly, *the order of grace*, and *not* the order of nature. She says, that before Baptism we were children of Adam, after Baptism we are so *no longer* : we are *changed*, transformed, *created anew* ; the old man is dead, and buried with Christ, and *abolished* ; and we are *born* again : as if our former self was *destroyed*, and we were now a new self. And so also of the Eucharist she says, that before Consecration it was bread, natural food ; now it is changed ; now *it is no longer bread*, but the Body of Christ. This language is most true and orthodox, and it is the uniform language and belief of the whole Church : but it is true *not literally, naturally, or carnally* ; not according to *the order of nature*, but according to *the order of grace*, which is above nature, but has nature for its subject. The error which closely borders upon this aspect of the truth will be produced, *if we use and understand the same language according to the order of nature* ; as if the child that is baptized were physically destroyed, and physically born again, a new natural substance being substituted under the ‘appearance’ or ‘accidents’ of the former ; or as if the change in the Eucharist were physical, taking away the natural substance of bread, and substituting the natural and material Body of Christ, which is the doctrine of Popish Transubstantiation.

“*Secondly*, we may say of both these two Sacraments, if we view the order of grace and the order of nature *together*, something very like Consubstantiation, the error of the old Lutherans. For we may then say of the baptized Christian after baptism, that he has now a double nature, part earthly, part heavenly ; two natures, one from the first Adam, and one from the second Adam, which is Christ : that the ‘new man’ must still contend with the old Adam, till the whole body of sin shall be utterly abolished. (See the English Offices for Baptism.) [As of Baptism itself too we say, that it is double, one part a natural washing with water, the other part a spiritual washing by grace.] And of the Eucharist also we may say with the early Fathers, that this Food contains, or consists of, *two things* or parts, the one earthly, the other heavenly ; or, with the English Catechism, of *the outward visible part* or ‘sign,’ or ‘form,’ which is ‘bread and wine,’ and of *the inward spiritual grace*, which is the true Body and Blood of Christ. This language, like the first, is orthodox, so long as we rightly distinguish the *order of grace* from the *order of nature* ; but like the first, may easily be misused or misunderstood, so as to become erroneous. If, that is, instead of *one natural creature and one new creature* of the new Birth *by grace* joined together in the Baptized Christian, we were to imagine that there are naturally and physically joined together (under the ‘appearance’ of the same person as before) *two natural souls*, and *two natural bodies* : or if, in the Eucharist, we imagine that the *natural* and material Body of Christ is joined together or consubstantiated with the natural substance of bread, which is the error of the old Lutherans : For they asserted such a *union* of the natural Body of Christ with the bread, as to deny that the bread is really ‘*changed into*,’ and ‘*becomes*,’ and ‘*is*,’ the Lord’s Body, *i. e.* so as to deny our Lord’s own words : for He said ‘*This is*,’ not ‘*This is joined with*, my Body.’

“*Thirdly*, if any thing call the attention of the Church or of the individual Christian back from the *order of grace*, upon which we most naturally dwell, to the *order of nature*, upon which it has been engrafted

or superadded, as for instance, if we hear any one confound the two orders together like the Romans, and assert that the bread after Consecration is no longer bread after the order of nature, but that the Body of Christ has taken its place, not only after the order of grace, but naturally, physically, corporally, carnally, materially, and even organically, (though all these words may be used in two respects), then it is perfectly orthodox to say, that the bread is still *naturally* bread, even after Consecration, just as much as it was before Consecration. And so the Fathers of the Church, as St Chrysostom, Pope Gelasius, and others, have repeatedly and expressly said. [Nor is it right to expunge, correct, or explain away their language, in order to make room for a novel and erroneous terminology ; but rather we should take pains to understand it, and to see how it really harmonizes with other expressions, that seem different and even contrary.] But if any one asserts that the bread is bread even after Consecration, in such a sense as to deny that the bread is truly ‘*changed into*,’ and truly ‘*is*’ the Body of Christ, (only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, after the order of grace, and not carnally or naturally), or so as to deny that the *outward part or sign* in the Lord’s Supper, *i. e.* the Bread and Wine, are truly *joined with*, and convey ‘with, in, and under them’ (to use a Lutheran expression) that *inward and spiritual grace* which they signify, and which is the true Body and Blood of Christ, (the two orders of nature and grace being viewed conjointly), then we shall have the common error of the Calvinists and Zuinglians, or ‘Reformed,’ and of all the sects sprung from them, and of nearly all the modern ‘Protestants,’ who make the bread and wine to be mere signs or figures. The corresponding error with respect to Baptism would be to say that the old creature, the natural man, sprung from Adam, simply and absolutely remains, and is so far from being destroyed to make way for a new creature, that the baptized person is *only born again in a figure ; not really ;* and that Baptism is only a bare type or sign, and not also the reality ; *nor joined with* the reality.

“Lastly, in answer to your question, ‘If it be really the Lord’s Body, how can He say, *Do this in remembrance of me?*’ It may be enough to observe, that *all* which the Church *does* in celebrating (and even in receiving) the Holy Eucharist, is literally done *in remembrance* or *commemoration of Him* : But what she *does* is one thing, and what she *receives* of God and of Christ is another. *She* pleads the *memorial* of His sacrifice, or rather the sacrifice itself, through its divinely appointed memorial, here on earth : He communicates to her in return *Himself*, His very true self, the ‘*Bread of Angels*,’ by His finger, that is, the Holy Ghost, which He reaches forth from heaven. And further, as we have seen that the Eucharist Itself (if we view in it the order of grace and the order of nature conjointly) is double, part earthly and part heavenly ; at once a sign or figure, and the reality itself ; a sign according to the order of nature, the reality according to the order of grace ; so, we may well be said also *to receive* even the Eucharist Itself after Consecration (with respect to its outward part, which we call rightly by the name of the whole) *in remembrance* of Christ, *i. e.* of His outward, and natural, carnal, corporeal, bodily, material, organical, visible presence, which is now removed from us into heaven, and for the manifestation of which from thence we look, when He shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. But in the mean time, while we receive the outward thing in remembrance, we also receive the

inward communication in reality. And this is so, if we speak of the two orders of grace and nature as distinguishable, but as conjoined in fact. But the more usual and natural language of the Church is that, which so dwells by faith on the order of grace, as to lose sight of the order of nature altogether; and which so unhesitatingly says that Baptism *is* Regeneration; that the baptized person *is no longer* what he was by nature, but *a new creature*; and that the Bread and Wine *are now no longer* bread and wine, but the very Body and Blood of Christ.

“II. In speaking of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, you make nearly the same mistake as you had made before in charging the Russian Church with the error of maintaining the *Romish* doctrine of Transubstantiation: for neither in this point is there the slightest difference between the English and the Russian Churches. But just as the word ‘Transubstantiation’ is capable of two senses, and is expressly declared by the Russian Church not to be used in the gross or Popish sense, so also is the word ‘Sacrifice.’ On this subject I shall not need to write very much, as it is impossible for you to read over the Service of the Russian Liturgies, without perceiving your mistake. The ‘Great Oblation’ or Offering in the Russian Liturgy is at the words ‘*Offering to Thee Thine own of Thine own, from all, and for all.*’ But this is *before* the Invocation of the Holy Spirit to descend upon the Bread and the Cup and make them the Body and Blood of Christ. Consequently, even if the Popish doctrine were true, that, when consecrated, they lose altogether their natural substances, (which it is not), still, as they are offered for the last time in the Russian Liturgy *before* they are consecrated, it is evident that the Priest does not pretend, like the Papists, to offer our Lord’s natural Body in his hands to God the Father, nor to repeat that Sacrifice which was offered once for all upon the Cross. But he offers in his hands Bread and Wine, the divinely appointed symbols or antitypes of Christ’s Body and Blood. He offers these, an unbloody *commemorative* Sacrifice or Memorial, *after*, just as the Jews offered their bloody sacrifices, as *anticipatory* and typical, *before* the offering of that one great and only true Sacrifice, which taketh away the sins of the world; and from which all other sacrifices, whether before or after, derive their efficacy. The Priest offers, as I have said, in his hands Bread and Wine: but in his heart (and the people with him) he represents, and offers, and pleads to God, for himself and for the whole Church, that one and only original Sacrifice, of which he in his hands offers the appointed representation and memorial. This is a thing so self-evident, that I really wonder how any Russian (and I have met with some others, but not one who did not see his error the moment it was pointed out) should fall into such an error, as to accuse the Russian Church of repeating, or intending to repeat, the Sacrifice of Christ like the Papists. On this point also, I will write out for you two testimonies, one for the English Church, and one for the Russian.

“The English author of the ‘Treatise on the Church’ quoted above, writes thus of the ‘Sacrifice of Popish Masses’ condemned in the XXXIX Articles:

‘The Church of England has always acknowledged the Sacrifice of the Eucharist. The Thirty-first Article is directed against the vulgar and heretical doctrine of the *reiteration* of Christ’s Sacrifice in the Eucharist. It was only *those* Sacrifices of Masses, *by which it was commonly said* that the Priest offered up Christ’ [*i. e.* literally and strictly, in his hands,] ‘for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt,’ which are

pronounced in that Article to be ‘blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits;’ but not the Sacrifices of Masses, or of the Liturgy, as understood by the Fathers, and in an orthodox sense. The Article was directed against the errors maintained and countenanced by such men as Soto, Hardinge, &c. who, by rejecting the doctrine of a Sacrifice by way of commemoration and representation, and not literally identical with that on the Cross, and by their crude and objectionable mode of expression, countenanced the *vulgar error* that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist or Mass was in every respect equal to that on the Cross; and that it was in fact either a *reiteration* or a *continuation* of that Sacrifice. The Article was not directed against the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as explained by Bossuet, Veron, and others, with which we have no material fault to find. Cranmer himself (who was at one time much inclined to Zuinglian opinions), acknowledged that it might be called a Sacrifice; and our theologians, such as Bishops Bramhall, Beveridge, Patrick, Wilson, &c., and Mason, Field, Mede, Johnson, &c., always have taught the doctrine of the Eucharistic Altar, Sacrifice, and Oblation, according to Scripture and Apostolical Tradition: and the Articles of the Church of England recognize the Clergy in their various Orders, as ‘Sacerdotes,’ [The Articles were composed and subscribed first in Latin] ‘*Priests,*’ *i. e.* Ministers of Sacrifice. To this testimony it would be easy to add a hundred more, if necessary. And in the Scotch and American Liturgies, the formal *Oblation* and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit have been restored; so that they are, in respect of these, exactly like the Liturgies of the Russian Church. In the Liturgy in use in England the sense of the Church is less fully brought out: and the Form is admitted by all our divines to be imperfect: but that does not in any way justify us in putting upon it a new sense, contrary to that which our own, and indeed the whole Church, has always taught and believed.

“In like manner, I could give you as much evidence as you pleased for the agreement of the Russian Church with the English in this doctrine: but I will cite only one passage, from the same work of Theophanes Procopovich which I have already used.

‘The Eucharist is often called ‘a sacrifice,’ with various epithets, as, ‘the holy sacrifice,’ the ‘tremendous’ and ‘mystical,’ the ‘unbloody,’ the ‘reasonable sacrifice:’ the reason of which was, not that the Christians in old time supposed it to be a sacrifice *in the strictest sense of the word* (for in that sense there is only one once offered); for that was altogether contrary to their belief, as we will show hereafter; but chiefly for the four following reasons:—*i.* Because in this service there was a collection, or giving, and offering to God [oblation] of alms, of bread and wine, &c., which were a spiritual sacrifice: the symbols or elements themselves to be used in the Communion being taken (and prepared) from the bread and wine so offered (*Prosphoræ*), and the alms being distributed to the poor: *ii.* Because in this service there is a *Representation* and *Commemoration* of that Sacrifice which was offered on the Cross: and for this reason also they call it ‘the unbloody sacrifice,’ because it *represents* that Bloody Sacrifice: [He might have added also, by way of contradistinction of the unbloody offerings of bread and wine to the bloody sacrifices of the old law:] *iii.* Because it is the Eucharistic ‘sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving:’ *iv.* Because in old language every holy action and service is called a sacrifice.’ p. 598, vols. viii. and ix. [Again, the same author says,]

‘The Eucharist is a sacrifice of Divine worship, spiritual, reasonable, unbloody, *commemorating* and *showing forth* the death of Christ, and procuring for us from God (according to His Divine institution) its benefits.’ [And again,] ‘The oblation of Christ on the Cross was made by the literal suffering and death of a living Being, Who was slain; without which there can be no sacrifice in the proper and strict sense: but the offering or oblation in the Eucharist consists of prayers, and of the *Commemoration* of His death, and of that Sacrifice which He offered on the Cross.’ . . . And then he pursues the same subject at great length. In the Russian Catechism there is not one word to justify the notion of a literal *repetition* of Christ’s sacrifice on the Cross, nor of a *continuation* of it: and I really cannot understand how you came to have such an idea as you seem to have of the doctrine of the Russian Church upon this point.

“I affirm, then, confidently, that as a member of the Russian Church you both may hold, and ought to hold, in your own Church the same doctrine on the Real Presence in the holy Eucharist, and on the Eucharistic Oblation or Sacrifice, as is held by all the Fathers and Doctors of the Church of England, and by that Church herself. And even if it were not so, no individual should separate from his Church for any error in her short of heresy and apostacy, (in which case she would cease to be a Church), but should do his duty, and maintain the truth in his station: and then, if the authority of the particular Church unjustly excommunicated him, he might with a good conscience appeal to the protection of some other more orthodox Bishops elsewhere.

“Now we may turn to two points of very secondary importance compared with the Trinity and the belief of the Sacraments, but which still are of great importance, no doubt; I mean, the external respect paid to Icons or Pictures, and the Invocation of Saints. Whatever the doctrine of the Russian Church may be on these points, it is not held or taught by her as a necessary part of the saving faith: and on the other hand, whatever abuses may be connected with that doctrine, or with common practice and opinion, the Anglican Church has never charged the Russian with any heresy or fundamental error on this account. And the mere existence of abuses or errors in the particular Church, to which one may belong, is no kind of justification for us to *quit* her. Nothing, as I have said, but defect in the essential and saving faith, can justify any such step: and then we should not be quitting our Church, but our Church would have first quitted us, and would indeed be no Church at all. And this is, as it seems to me, your great mistake, that if there is any thing in that part of the Church in which God has placed you, which either is, or seems to you to be, wrong and contrary to the Bible, you think you are therefore immediately to commit a kind of spiritual matricide, and leave the Church, to seek some other which is either absolutely perfect, or at least more perfect according to your judgment. I can only tell you that if you fancy you would necessarily find Scriptural *perfection* in the Anglican branch of the Church, you are much mistaken. But the principle itself is utterly wrong, and unscriptural. It is indeed true, that we must by all means assure ourselves that the Church to which we belong is a true part of that one Catholic and Apostolic Church which we confess in the Creed: and if we should unhappily find that it has fallen into essential error, *i. e.* into heresy, strictly so called, and has not kept ‘the true Catholic Faith,’ then we ought to quit it im-

mediately, and join the true Church. But, I must repeat it, you can produce no authority, either from the Bible, or from the Anglican Church, for quitting the Church, or any part of it, merely because it may seem to be deformed by some *secondary* errors or abuses, however important they may be. It is most true indeed that no Church can have any authority to make you embrace and profess error, whether small or great : and if any Church were to attempt it, as some unhappily have done, or do still, and *excommunicated* you for your resistance, then you might have a clear conscience before God : the *abuse* of the power of the keys would not be ratified in heaven : and there would no doubt be some more orthodox Bishops, who would refuse to ratify on earth the unjust violence of their brethren. But by taking the first step yourself you put yourself in the wrong. Was not the Jewish Church corrupt enough, and contrary to the Scriptures, in many of the traditions of her rulers ? And yet where do we ever find an instance of good people quitting her on that account ? It was only when the man had been ‘*put out of the Synagogue*’ for confessing the truth, that ‘Jesus found him,’ and ‘took up him whom his father and his mother had forsaken.’ And even then, it was ‘in the Temple.’ ‘Jesus findeth him in the Temple.’ Even after he was excommunicated, he still frequented ‘the Temple,’ and was found *in it* by the Master of the House, Whose servants had abused their authority. The first question then for you to consider is, whether the doctrine of the Russian Church on the subject of Icons or Pictures, and the Invocation of Saints, be *heresy*, and apostacy from the true Faith. *If it is*, I can say nothing against your conclusion, that you ought immediately to quit an heretical or apostate Church, and join yourself to the true Church, wherever she may be found. But if it be not *heresy* or apostacy from the true Faith, then, even though it be an error of a secondary kind, the Church still keeping the true Faith, and remaining a true Church in essentials, you should, by patience and affection, and firm but respectful assertion of the truth, in your proper station, and without going beyond it, try how far the dutiful behaviour of a good child may correct (as it certainly would, if many, or even a few would take that course) even the faults of a Mother. (For the Church, in which we were baptized, is our spiritual Mother, so long as she be not absolutely heretical, even though perhaps in some points a faulty one : and it is but a poor return for the inestimable blessings she has conferred upon us in things *essential*, if we are to fling ourselves out of the house, as soon as ever we discover that she is not *perfect* in *secondary* matters. And besides, one *might find reason* to distrust our own judgment a little, even where we seem to be most sure that she is wrong.) And if our good and dutiful conduct should seem to be utterly vain and without effect in this world, still ‘our work is with our God.’ And again, we cannot possibly tell what effect, even in this world, might be produced by even one man, woman, girl, or child, who should set themselves humbly, patiently, meekly, reasonably, and perseveringly, to do their duty without speculating about the consequences. Joseph was taken from the pit and from the prison to be ruler over the whole land of Egypt, and to preserve Israel and his House. Daniel was a poor boy (though of noble blood), and a captive in the palace of a heathen king : and he was advanced to be the restorer of his people, and the first Prince of all the Satraps under the King of Babylon. Esther was in like manner a captive, and a slave,

of a people whom the king's favourite had devoted like sheep to the slaughter : and she was preferred to be Queen, and became the deliverer of her people. And, above all, the most holy Virgin Mary, from the lowest depth of humility, both of her own mind and of worldly circumstances, was advanced to be the Mother of our Lord. And with these examples before us, nobody ought to say, 'Even if I do right, when all the world seem to act on contrary principles, what will it profit?' But without pursuing this train of thought further, I will return to what I said before, that we cannot do otherwise without actual sin. We have no choice : we must be *excommunicated*, before we can be free from that obedience which we owe to our own Church.

"With respect to the particular questions, of Images, or Icons, and the Invocation of Saints, I fully allow that *if* the doctrine of the Russian Church was precisely that which your objections to it seem to imply, it would be in the strictest sense *heretical* ; and the members of that Church would be 'idolaters' and 'polytheists,' virtually denying God and Christ, both by openly breaking His chief commandments, and teaching men to do so, and by establishing a host of independent mediators and saviours concurrently with Christ ; as the Galatians, who are reproved by St Paul, wanted to join Christ and the old Law together as their joint means of salvation. But this is *not* the doctrine of the Russian Church ; nor anything like it. I know that Protestants, and even members of the Church of England, will often speak as you do on these subjects : and I can excuse them, because, not having the same customs among themselves, and the lamentable division of the Churches having raised evil passions and prejudices on both sides, they misrepresent, unintentionally and ignorantly I would fain hope and believe, the things which they so zealously oppose. But one who owes her Baptism and Baptismal faith to a Church in which these things are held and practised ought not, I think, even though living among the Calvinists of Switzerland, to have so readily adopted such exaggerated views and feelings. Rather she should have been disposed to view these things in the most favourable light, and in that sense in which they are really taught by her Church. That the Protestant arguments contained in your letter are really exaggerated, it is easy to prove, by only taking the trouble to notice how those violent people contradict themselves. For first, although they argue against the 'breach of the Second Commandment,' and the 'introduction of more mediators than one ;' and though they very often tax all the Greek and Latin Churches with 'idolatry,' yet the very same people, and almost in the same breath, will admit them to be Christian Churches ; will not dare to say that they are absolutely heretical ; and in England will generally know and admit that *their own Church has never renounced Communion with them, but is ready to Communicate with them in spite of their Images and Invocations ;* (as was formally offered by those Scotch and English Bishops who, at the beginning of the last century, corresponded with the Eastern Patriarchs and with the Russian Synod.) This is notoriously the sentiment of the Anglican Church. And not only so, but the most zealous Calvinists will admit the *sanctity* of many members even of the Roman Churches ; as of Fenelon, for instance ; and few will dare to say that *Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory, Augustin, John Damascene, &c.*, even stripping them of their Saintship, and all the Church of their times, countenanced 'idolatry,' or recognised 'many mediators ;' though it is notorious

that the Invocation of Saints is to be found in all these writers ; and that one of them at least, St John Damascene, lived after the custom of paying an outward reverence to sacred images or pictures had been received in the Eastern Church : nay, he wrote expressly in its defence. As for the Church of England, in her Prayer-Book (as in the heading of the Collect, ‘ A Prayer of *Saint Chrysostom*’), in her Calendar, and above all in her Homilies, I may add also, in the Works of all her great Divines, she calls all these Fathers ‘ Saints ;’ and quotes their opinion and doctrine as of the greatest authority in the interpretation of Holy Scripture ; which it would be a most extraordinary thing to do, if they were all heretics, and idolaters (or some of them, at least, idolaters), and polytheists. Therefore, unless we would bid adieu to common sense, and to the Church of England too, we must allow, that those heinous charges are exaggerations, and will not bear strict and accurate investigation.

“ I will not now enter into any lengthened examination as to the precise degree of error or abuse which may attach to these customs in the Eastern and Russian Churches, as that is a subject which would require me to write at still greater length ; and I fear I shall have sufficiently tired you already : nor is it at all necessary for our purpose. I shall be very glad and willing to do it at any future time, if you should desire it, and if it can be of any use to you : but at present it is enough to shew that the errors, *if they be errors*, of the Russian Churches on these points are not heresies, nor apostacy from the true faith ; and consequently can be no justification to us for quitting them ; at least not till we have been excommunicated for refusing to comply with something positively erroneous or sinful. This, I hope, has been sufficiently done. It remains then only, as a practical matter, to consider how far the Russian Church does require of us the profession of any opinion, or the performance of any act, which is positively and necessarily, *in itself*, and *as commanded by the Church*, the one erroneous, the other sinful : because, if *we* are not obliged to confess or to do any thing erroneous or sinful, the error or abuse, which may popularly attach to certain opinions or practices innocent in themselves, and in the intention of the Church, but liable to abuse, and perhaps injudiciously cultivated or exaggerated, this, I say, is no business of ours, but of those whom God has set to govern.

“ III. Now, with respect to Icons : The Church teaches that the usage of bowing before them, and kissing or saluting them, which on some occasions she enjoins, is meant only as an outward expression and public testimony of that affection and honour, which we ought to feel towards their originals. We bow to one another, and it is not idolatry : nay, sometimes even to the picture of the King, or Queen, or Emperor, or to their empty throne ; and no Protestant is scandalized. In the same way, if from a feeling of affection we kiss the picture of our father or of our mother, nobody blames us ; nor, if we made a habit of doing so every night and morning, would it be any sin. Why ? I ask. Why, truly, because common sense draws the distinction ; and there is nothing to excite prejudice or passion on the subject. So, again, in a hundred places in the Bible, men are, without blame, related to have ‘ fallen down,’ ‘ bowed down,’ ‘ adored,’ and ‘ worshipped’ other men and angels, and even inanimate substances ; and nobody even stops for a moment to question at such passages. (I speak now not only of the Hebrew and Greek originals, but also of the Latin version of St Jerome, and of the

English authorized version.) For in truth, we all know very well that God forbids us *not* to give *any* honour, but to give *His* honour, *i. e.* divine honour to creatures, or to their representations. It is really shocking to find such multitudes of people so hotly and unreasonably bent upon making out vast Churches to teach Idolatry. But if we were to deal with them as they deal with the Church, we should stop them at once with the objection, ‘God forbids to *make* any likeness; and then forbids to worship it: you allow common sense to interpret this, so as to give you liberty to *make* what images you please, even of heathen gods and goddesses, so long as you do not make them in order to worship them: but you do not allow the same common sense to draw the distinction between divine honour in bowing and kissing, and a human or secondary honour of respect and affection *in a church*, though you would think a man a lunatic, who should refuse to admit the same distinction, wherever the usages of society require the same acts to be done, or private feelings prompts them, *in the world*. Again, even in church, the Priest, when he bows to the people, when he kisses the Bishop’s hand, when he kisses the *Book*, or the rim of the Altar, is *not* an Idolater; but when he kisses the Picture of Christ, or of any Saint, he *is*! What nonsense is all this! I am such an Idolater, that, I confess, my heart bows towards, and kisses the doors of the House of God, as soon as ever I see them; and is quite ready to fall down and *adore* or kiss (for that is the meaning of the word) the very dust of the pavement; and much more the Pictures, and every thing else that is in the Church.

“IV. In the same way of the Invocation of Saints: You are not required to believe that any Saint hears a single word of any address or invocation: and the doctrine of the Church is not to pray to them as other mediators, any more than as all good Christians are mediators and intercessors one for the other, as St Paul bids us to be. But if we ask the prayers of those who are still on earth, and if the prayer of one man is more effectual than that of another, according to his relative holiness, and his degree of acceptance with God, then surely it cannot be so very wicked to desire the prayers of those members of Christ’s Body who are now in a higher state, no longer in danger from their own infirmities, but with increased charity for us who are still in danger, and enjoying a more immediate presence of Christ, in Paradise, or, as the highest degrees of Paradise are sometimes called, in heaven. I know that the common Protestant opinion is, that the souls of the faithful (which the Church of England says are ‘with Christ, in joy and felicity, in rest and peace’) after death are in a state of sleep, or as it were of temporary annihilation, in a state of utter insensibility; not ‘groaning’ with ‘the whole creation’ for the redemption of their bodies, nor expecting, with a mixture of certainty and trembling, the final sentence of God’s judgment at the last day, but in a state of physical certainty of their happiness or misery; so that they are in a manner independent both of God and of us; and need not, nor can be benefited by, our prayers; while, on the other hand, they give themselves no trouble about us; nor indeed can; being in a manner annihilated for the time. But even the maintainers of such opinions must allow, that upon Protestant and scriptural principles I am quite *free* to think that the departed spirits of the just *may* both pray for us, and be themselves benefited by the prayers of the Church, all in the unity of Christ. And if I do think so, and if the Church of England thinks so, as also the

whole Apostolical Church, it is at least *no sin*. Thus far there is no heresy. But further, if, thinking that the spirits of the just pray for me, I speak to them, and ask them still to pray for me, I do not see how this either is *a sin*. My neighbour may perhaps say, 'You are mad;' or 'Why, they cannot hear you.' Well; suppose they do not hear me, what then? I lose my labour perhaps: that is all. Still, there is *no sin*. Nay, perhaps I do not lose my labour either; for God hears the wish of my heart, even if I do not move my lips. And without entering further into speculations concerning the nature of such addresses to absent or departed friends, it certainly is natural to us, in poetry, in oratory, in hymns and psalms, and whenever we are under the influence of any strong feeling, to talk to and address every thing, whether animate or inanimate. And if David in his Psalms addresses in this way angels and spirits, and his own soul; and the Three Children in their Hymn, which you may find in the English Prayer-Book; is it forbidden to the Christian Church in her Hymns and Troparia, and sacred poetry, to address in a similar manner, for union both in prayer and praise, the whole spiritual creation of Christ's Body, and all and every one of its members? Protestants often enough, too often, sing quantities of *very human* poetry in their religious worship; and because it is in a hymn nobody takes much notice of the irreverence or impropriety of particular thoughts or expressions. But to return to the practical question: The Russian Church merely teaches you, like the Church of England, that the spirits of the saints departed are 'with Christ,' and pray for us and for His Church on earth: and while she recommends doubtless addresses to them from the living, which the Church of England has deemed it more prudent to omit, she at the same time distinctly teaches that every address whatever to every Saint and to the Holy Virgin is to be made *not apart from, but in Christ*, and in the very same sense as that in which we ask those members also of Christ's Body, who are still on earth, to pray for us in the unity of God. Therefore, whatever abuses or errors may practically attach to the existing system, the principle, so far as the individual is concerned, is innocent, and may be complied with without sin, or anything like sin. And what is still more important to observe is, that the Russian Church imposes no sort of obligation on you personally to *invoke*, that is (to get rid of the ambiguity of the word), to speak to, or address, or ask the prayers of, any single Saint; but you may live and die in her Communion without doing anything of the kind.

"Having said thus much, I think it due to the frankness and evident sincerity, with which you have proposed to me your objections against the Greek and Russian Churches in these points, and also due to my own Church, to tell you with equal frankness, that I fully admit that there is a very great practical difference between the Churches of England and Russia in these things: and that I concur as an individual in the judgment of my own Church. I think that there have been, and are still, very gross abuses connected with the existing system both in the Russian and in the Latin Church, abuses which have not been corrected by the Church, as they ought to have been. Indeed, the practical abuses have been so great, as to justify in *some degree* that accusation of 'idolatry,' and of 'interference with the absolute perfection of Christ's mediation,' which is commonly charged by the Protestant sects, and by many members of the Anglican Churches, on the Eastern Churches themselves, and on their doctrine: although, in truth, such abuses are contrary to a cor-

rect and pious understanding and acceptation of what those Churches teach and practise ; and, even at the worst, do not come up to the strict meaning of idolatry, nor to the introduction of a plurality of Mediators. For, if we consider, every irregular affection towards the creatures has *more or less* the nature of idolatry, and of the same error as that reprobated by St Paul in the Galatians : and yet, a mother who loves her child so as *in some degree* to love it apart from Christ, is not, strictly speaking, an ‘idolatress’ : nor does a poor peasant, who attaches a little too much value to the prayers of his Bishop, or of the Church, so as to neglect *in some degree* to *strive with his* **WHOLE** heart and strength to enter in at the strait gate, strictly and absolutely establish two mediators. And yet, in a practical and general way, such faults and abuses may well be called *idolatrous* ; and the persons, who are guilty of them, do *more or less* fall under the curse of ‘putting their trust in the creatures’ apart from Christ, and ‘going in their heart from the Lord.’ So that, in a general and practical way, I admit with pain, that if there is much anarchy, irreverence, self-will, and erroneous opinion, contrary to Scripture and to the Church, and much neglect of good, pious, Christian, and Catholic practices among my own people of the Church of England, there is, or seems to me to be, both in the Greek and in the Latin Church, a great deal of idolatrous abuse and superstition, and of such addresses to the Holy Virgin and to the Saints so repeated and so trusted in, as do not seem (I heartily hope I may be mistaken), to be naturally or properly made *in* Christ, but rather apart both from Him and from His Saints, who are nominally but not really honoured.

“ In conclusion, having now, as I hope, sufficiently complied with your request of answering each question in detail, I will say a few words on your actual position and relation towards the Anglican and the Russian Churches. According to the doctrine of the Anglican Church, a Russian, who is in Communion with his own Church, can Communicate in ours without any renunciation, *without any conversion at all* : nor do I think that the English Clergyman who first gave you the Communion ever dared to propose to you to *renounce* the Russian Church, or pretended to *reconcile* or admit you formally into the English. But as a convert nobody can be received into the English Church without the act, or at least the deputed authority, of a Bishop. For instance, last year an acquaintance of my own had in part occasioned the conversion of a Dissenting Preacher. The course which had then to be pursued in order to procure his regular admission into the Church was this : A letter was written at his request to the Bishop of the diocese, who thereupon directed the applicant to go to the Priest of the parish in which he had been living, to acknowledge his fault, or sin, or error, in having followed and taught heresy, and to request the pardon and reconciliation of the Church ; which he at the same time authorized the Priest to confer by the ordinary form of Absolution. But, certainly, the Church of England has never pretended to convert the Russians as heretics. She would give you, or any other, the Sacraments, whenever you happened to be staying in her dioceses. And in the same way the Chaplains of any stray English congregations on the Continent, which are only by unhappy necessity separate from the local Bishop,—they too might give you the Communion, if you asked for it not as a convert, but as being already an orthodox Christian in all the essential Faith, and needing no

conversion. On the other hand, both Popish and Protestant separatists, who have rebelled against our Church in her legitimate dioceses, are, according to her canons and laws, to be Reconciled on their conversion by confession of their fault, abrenunciation of their errors, and ecclesiastical Absolution. I know that Discipline in these things is almost a dead letter among us at present : but still there is an essential difference between giving the Sacraments to a person who *has a right* to them according to the rules of our Church, and giving them to a person who, in strictness and propriety, must be formally Reconciled before he can receive them. I will go so far as to say, that I have no doubt, that if the thing were desired, and were thought of sufficient consequence, it would be easy to procure a formal declaration from the Spiritual Heads of the Anglican Church, that they do not, and cannot, consistently with the rules of the Church over which they preside, recognize any conversion of members of the Russian or Greek Churches to theirs, though they are always ready to give the Sacraments to Christians belonging to those Churches, who may be for the time residing within their dioceses. With respect to the English Chapels abroad, they are not Churches, but mere congregations separated only by necessity from the Communion and obedience of the Latin Bishop of the diocese, in which they may be. For though there are many more, and much more important, differences between the Popish Churches and ours, than between ours and the Greek, still, we do not judge even them to be heretical ; nor have we ever by any Synodical act separated ourselves from their Communion : but they separated from ours. And as they will not give us the Sacraments in their dioceses, except upon terms with which we cannot and ought not to comply, *i. e.* the denial of the existence of our own Churches, and profession of all the Papal errors and opinions as Articles of the saving faith, we are justified by a necessity which is not of our making in having Chapels and Chaplains for ourselves, separate from the Bishop of the diocese. And if you were in any place abroad, where there is such a Chapel of the English, and were convinced, and knew, that the English Churches are true Churches, and have never ceased to believe any part of that Catholic and Apostolic faith which is necessary to salvation, and the Latin Bishop or Priest of the place refused you the Sacraments, (as he no doubt would, and indeed must, just as he refuses them to us, unless you would submit to the same impossible conditions) then you might perhaps with a good conscience frequent the Chapel of the English, and receive the Sacraments from their Clergy. From all which it results, that, if I state rightly the doctrine and principles of my own Church, there is nothing at present in that which you have done with respect to the Anglican Church, which is improper in itself, except that, strictly speaking, before going to an English Chaplain in a Latin diocese, you ought to have demanded the Sacraments from the Clergy of the place, and then only, on being refused, (as you would have been refused), have gone to the English. The only error has been in the views and principles upon which you acted. Instead of making use of the English Chaplains to obtain the Sacraments where you had no Russian Chaplain, you fancied yourself now separated for ever from the Russian Church, and joined to another Church and religion : for you knew not that you were baptized not into the Russian, but into the one Catholic and Apostolic Church ; so that you were already as much a member of the English (and of the Roman Church too), as you could

be, except by the accident of residing a longer or shorter time in their dioceses. We English, too, are by our Baptism already as much members of the Russian Church as we can be : and to renounce one part of the true Church, and join one's-self to another part, as if it were the whole, is only to commit a kind of sacrilege ; and is a thing utterly null and void, and impossible in itself. If you were at any time to come back into Russia, and to separate yourself from the Church there by your own act, you would be simply a schismatic : and though you might frequent the Chapel of the English Embassy all your life, at St Petersburg, you never could make yourself to be really or by right a member of the Church of England. The only possible way to be a member of one part of the Catholic Church more than another, is by living in its dioceses. For by right a Catholic Christian is a member of the diocese of London when in London, of Rome when at Rome, and of Moscow when at Moscow. If the Bishop refuses him the Sacraments, or requires from him any thing beyond that which a particular Church has a right to require, then indeed he is free to obtain the Sacraments by the charity of some more orthodox or charitable Bishops, who may maintain, or allow to be maintained, Chaplains of their ordination even in other dioceses, for the benefit of those who are unjustly refused the Communion by the local Bishops. There is an old canon or law of the Catholic Church, which deserves to be well considered both by Latin, and perhaps also by Greek Bishops, in the present unhappy state of misunderstanding and alienation between the Churches. It runs in some such words as these : ' If any Bishop unjustly refuse any other Bishop (and his people) the Communion, let him be treated in turn as if he were excommunicate himself, till he return to a better mind.' This canon abundantly justifies both us and the Russians in having Chaplains on the Continent within the dioceses of the Popish Churches, so long as we maintain them, as separate, only on the ground of our being unjustly refused the Communion by those Bishops. But if we take the first step ourselves, and refuse the Communion of the Bishop in whose diocese we live, though he holds and teaches the whole Catholic and Apostolic faith, (whatever secondary errors he may teach besides), then we put ourselves in the wrong. And besides, the notion that, because one part of the Apostolical Church may be faulty, more or less, there must be some other to be found absolutely true and perfect in all its details, will turn out, if we should be unhappy enough to try it, extremely fallacious. In truth, it is only reasonable to suppose (what we should assuredly find by experience to have been the case) that so great and lamentable a breach (or rather breaches, for there are more than one) in the unity of the visible Church, has not been without very unhappy consequences to every one of the divided parts, and to the whole body. To heal which schism the only way is, that we should all try to do our own duty in that station in which God has placed us ; praying to Him continually both for the whole body, and for our own part of it in particular ; and being very careful, so far as our individual power and responsibility extends, to give occasion neither to error nor to sin, small or great. And for yourself, if I have succeeded in showing that in essential matters there is no real difference between the Russian and Anglican Churches, but that they both equally hold '*the Faith*,' and are both equally, in their respective dioceses, parts of *the one* true Church, then it follows that, if you went from Russia into England, you would desire to Communi-

cate in the English Churches, and even ought to do so ; (and I am happy to be able to add that there is no impediment, either practical or theoretical, in our Church to any Russian doing so) ; while, on the other hand, if I go from England into the Russian dioceses, as I now have done, I ought to seek, as I do seek, the Communion of the Russian Bishops. And if I go to any separate English Chapel, I do so only because the Bishop here will not or cannot give me the Communion upon Catholic principles, and upon those principles on which he is theoretically bound to give it. As long as he acts thus, our having a Chapel apart from him is justifiable, and no longer. But the moment that he becomes willing to give us the Communion without requiring us to renounce and condemn the Catholic Church in the English dioceses, or to profess to be converted, and to become members of the Eastern Church, as if it were itself the whole, from that moment, whatever errors in secondary matters the Russian Bishop may seem to us to hold or encourage, we should be simply Schismatics if we remained voluntarily separate from him.

“I have only one thing further to remark : that is, that if what I have said be in any degree reasonable, the same feelings which made it so painful to you to separate yourself (though it was in truth only an ideal separation) from the Russian Church, ought to insure at least an attentive and candid consideration of reasoning, which seems to clear your father and relatives from the sins of idolatry and polytheism ; justifies you in conforming to the Russian Church, at least till you are unjustly excommunicated ; and at the same time, if I mistake not, offers you a truer and more reasonable view of that Holy Church, which is ‘in all the world,’ than you could ever have obtained by being *converted* to the Church of England, whether you took her for the whole true Church, or for a part confusedly united with a Babylon of other sects. If I am right in my view, you may have the comfort of believing, that if there is any good thing in the Anglican Communion, *it is your’s* already, without the cruel necessity of giving up whatever there is of good in the Russian. In the same manner, we too have a share in whatever there is of good in the Russian Church, without renouncing the Anglican as heretical. And you are members of the Anglican Church in fact, no less than of the Russian, even though you may happen to live under the Bishops of the Russian dioceses : and we in like manner are members of the Russian Church no less than of the Anglican, even though we happen to live in the Western dioceses ; because we are none of us baptized into this or that particular Church, but into the one Catholic Church ; of which the particular Churches of Russia and England are equally parts. And if that unity of Communion which necessarily still exists in Christ our common Head, and which ought to exist also visibly and outwardly on earth, and which did exist more or less for 1200 years, is now suspended and interrupted by the quarrels of the Bishops upon secondary points, this certainly ought to excite us to increased exertion of all the faculties of our minds and souls to restore, and to seek from God the restoration of peace to His Church. As, when the body is wounded, the clefts of the wound or cut smart, and feel acute pain ; which pain prepares the way for their knitting and growing together again, and so healing ; in just the same way, we should not selfishly kill and bury away out of sight vast Churches, because we fancy that there are great abuses in them ; but we should endure the pain, whatever it may be, of feeling that we belong to

a divided Church, which, with the sacrament of unity, has lost also its original brightness and perfection. And if you ask, What then can we do to help to remedy the evil? I will give to you the answer very briefly, and an answer against which nothing can be said. It is this: *By striving to live if possible the life of the primitive Saints.* With this I shall conclude this long letter; of which, I assure you, it would give me no little pleasure to be enabled to think, that it had been of any use to you. I should in that case be more than repaid for the trouble I have had in writing it; &c. &c."

This letter was dated from *The Galernay, St Petersburg, March 4-16, 1841.*

SECTION XVIII.

CONVERSATION WITH MR A.; THE XXXIX ARTICLES.

ON Sunday, March 9-21, and again on Wednesday 12-24, Mr A. called, and said, that though he was inclined to give me credit for sincerity, he yet found so many appearances against me, that he could not help trying to find some way to get at the truth; and I must not take it amiss if he took any opportunity which occurred, to learn what other people said to my opinions or representations. He said he banked "with a merchant here, a Scotchman, and in all respects a very estimable man" [a Presbyterian, by the way], "who goes to your Chapel here, and is one of your Anglican Religion like the rest. Having some business with him the other day, I asked him whether he knew you, and whether he and the other English owned you as one of their religion: but he replied, 'Oh no, he is not of *our* religion: he makes the sign of the Cross; and is a member of some new sect; I forget what he called it.'" Mr A. then asked, "What title then does the Church among you take?" Answ. "'The Church of England;'" "The Church;" "the Apostolic Church;" and in her public and synodical acts she has never spoken of herself otherwise, than as a part of the true, Orthodox, Catholic and Apostolic Church." "Well," he said, "but why then does not, or cannot, your Archbishop of Canterbury take the title of '*Archbishop of the Catholic Church in,*' or '*of England?*'" It is very strange, and a desperate evil for you. Can you shew me, in any books or documents, the Church using this language, and calling herself '*Catholic?*'" Answ. "She has never called herself anything else: but for the last 150 years we have had a double face and a double language. The civil power has been essentially Protestant, and even heretical and latitudinarian, in its policy, being based upon the Protestant and popular Revolution of 1688. It then thrust out all the Bishops of Scotland, and even persecuted their Communion there: but in England, though there had been since the time of Charles I. a vast number of sects, there was no one sect powerful enough to take the place of the Church, as a civil establishment. For this, and for other reasons, the State retained in England the Hierarchy and the Church, as the established religion, while it persecuted and proscribed the same religion in Scotland, considering both the old Anglican-Episcopal and the new Scottish-Presbyterian Establishments alike as its mere creatures and slaves, and wishing to fuse them both together into one vague Protestantism. For in some sense it is true that our Church had been called, and was, Protestant even before, as protesting against certain errors by denying them: though this way of speaking was indeed historically a

gross abuse of words. The civil Government then, after 1688, though the Church refused to call herself 'Protestant,' or to fraternize with other Protestant communities, yet feeling itself based on a revolutionary and sectarian opposition to a Popish King, adopted the word and idea of Protestantism to embody its principle ; called the Church 'Protestant ;' and in the administration of the Oath at the Coronation of all succeeding Sovereigns made her call her own religion 'the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law.' From that time, at any rate, if not from an earlier, the Church as a spiritual body keeping her own language, doctrine, and pretensions, has had a double face, one religious, the other political. For the civil Government, and in its language, we are '*the Establishment ;*' '*the Established Church,*' or the '*Parliamentary Church,*' '*the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law :*' but for good Christians, as such, the Church is, according to her own pretensions and language, '*the Church,*' '*the Church of England,*' '*the Apostolic Church,*' &c. But as the mass of mankind are not over good, or religious, or discerning, the common language is half and half ; and leans rather to the views of the civil power. The common phrases, which are used in a mixed sense, neither quite Erastian or Protestant, nor quite Catholic, are such as '*the Church of England,*' '*the Established Church,*' '*the Church of England as by law established,*' &c. But few comparatively disentangle the two contrary principles so far, as to use the term '*the Church*' in a strictly Catholic sense ; still less, so as to use the word '*Catholic*' itself, on the one hand ; or so as to use the words '*Establishment*' or '*Protestant*' in a purely Erastian or heretical sense, on the other." Mr A. said, "I cannot at all understand this." Ans. "You may observe that the Scottish or Anglican Bishops, who corresponded with the Russian Synod between 1716 and 1724 call themselves '*Catholics*' throughout." "Ah," he said ; "they were only a few. So now you may have perhaps three or four Bishops Catholics, and thirty or forty heretics. Tell me now, is the Archbishop of Canterbury a heretic ?" Ans. "What do you mean by asking such a question ?" "Nonsense !" he replied, "you must understand me. As things are with you, have you any security that even if the present Archbishop is otherwise, the Government may not, whenever he dies, appoint another, who is a heretic ?" "They scarcely could appoint one who should be openly so ; but they might go pretty near to it, I confess." He said, "I cannot think there are *many*, '*Catholics*' among you ; three or four, perhaps." "No," it was replied, "we are not quite so bad as that." He said : "Your own conversation shews that it must be pretty nearly so. I cannot conceive how a Government should, as you say yours has done in Scotland, *establish heresy*. I can conceive their tolerating it, as they do here : but the idea of *establishing* a sect seems absurd." "Indeed !" it was replied ; "the thing is only too easy both to conceive and to do, and only too likely to be done, everywhere, if only there be a sect sufficiently numerous and powerful, and any political expediency in its favour." "Again," he said, "I cannot conceive a people nominally belonging to the Church, and yet generally infected with heresy, (as you admit to be the case with the Government, Parliament, and People of England) ; belonging to a Catholic or Orthodox Church, and yet refusing to their own Church even its proper names and titles ; disbelieving its doctrines, calling both it and themselves '*Protestant,*' '*Reformed,*' '*Established,*' and any thing, rather than '*True,*' '*Orthodox,*' '*Catholic,*' and '*Apostolical.*'" Ans. "Yet this is only the same thing which you have

in great abundance among yourselves. The difference is, that with you the mischief is confined to the higher ranks ; and the Government partly from fear, partly from policy, partly perhaps even still from hereditary faith, is Orthodox. And so, your Government not depending so much on popular opinion as ours, the evil does not work at present with such power, as among us. But in England the Government is very popular ; and that confuson of opinions which with you is confined to the higher classes, (and that too only in their use of foreign languages) is universal among us. And so, since they are all more or less infected with Protestantism, and neither know nor care for, nay, rather suspect and dislike Catholicism or Orthodoxy, they will not either for themselves or for their Church speak Catholic language. And even the Church herself, as the law of the land applies to her certain epithets of Protestantism which are capable of being allowed in an orthodox sense, has submitted to the imposition of this phraseology (which naturally repeats itself in common language), and contents herself with speaking Catholic language in her own acts, and in the writings of her theologians, in her own province of Divinity." "I cannot," he said, "understand such a divergence and contradiction between the Government and the Church, the two being all the time united : nor can I understand how any power can refuse me my name of 'Christian' or 'Catholic', or deprive me of it." "Nevertheless," it was objected, "the very same abuse exists among yourselves: you abuse the word '*Catholique*' exactly as we do, at least when you speak French or German or Latin." "Oh," he said, "'*Catholique*': [*Catolique*.] But our Church always calls herself the Orthodox '*Catholic*' [*Capholic*] and Apostolic Church. And the word '*Orthodox*', which has recently been ordered also to be used in all State documents and official papers, expresses every thing." "That word," it was answered, "is good enough; as are also our similar expressions, 'The Church,' 'the Church of England,' 'our Apostolical Church : ' but they are at best only defensive, and but partially neutralise the evil effects of dropping for yourselves, and conceding to Rome, the sacramental word 'Catholic.'" He said : "But the language and doctrine of our Church is all fixed : the sects are quite distinct : an orthodox Russian Christian cannot hesitate for a moment, when asked to what Church or religion he belongs ? nor can he answer by any other names, than such as really and properly belong to his Church. But with you all this is different. The Parliament and the Government, the infinite majority of the members of your Church, and the whole world besides, speak of their Church and religion in language contrary to yours. Your own people speak on contrary principles, and maintain that they are bound by their religion to duties contrary to those, which you acknowledge. This is what I cannot understand. Count N., as I told you, could scarcely understand a word I said, when I spoke as indeed I still wish to believe of the Anglican Church : and he would have laughed at me for a fool or a visionary, if he could have taken the trouble fully to enter into my ideas. I cannot understand why, if your Church pretends, as you say, to be Catholic, it should not be usual (as you confess it is not) to address and style your Archbishops and Bishops as the Orthodox and Catholic Prelates of the Orthodox and Catholic Church or religion in England."

Mr A. then asked, What was the necessity or use of making the XXXIX Articles, which he had found mentioned (and misrepresented) in a French Dictionary of Theology. After listening to some explan-

ations, he said, "But you do not mean, that you believe them all? or that they can all be defended?" Answ. "Every word of them." "Seriously?" "Most seriously." "But why, then, was there no necessity for making or adopting them in *our Church*?" Answ. "Because circumstances differ at different times, and in different parts of the Church. Perhaps you *do* need some of them; others perhaps not, being uninfected by those errors against which they were intended: for instance, perhaps you do need Articles VI, XX, and XXI, and that against the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation, while perhaps you do not need so much that against the Popish reiteration of Christ's Sacrifice, because the very structure of your Liturgy is the best of all possible defences against it." He asked, "How do we want any about the Eucharist? The thing necessary to believe is, that under the species or 'appearance' of bread we receive the very Body of Christ: and no Russian is ignorant of this. They all believe this; every one of them: but if the Papists deny that the 'appearance' and 'outward form' of bread remains, what is that to us?" Answ. "This is just what the Papists do *not* deny: but you have mistranslated the word '*species*' after their way into '*appearance*': and we can never allow that the natural substance is destroyed, or ceases to exist, or that the bread, *after the order of nature*, is no longer truly and substantially bread." "At any rate," he said, "there is no need to make any definition about the matter." "That is true," it was replied: "but if an error is started and enforced, then the contradiction of the error becomes necessary. In the old sense, '*under the species*' meant, as it means still with us, not '*under the bare appearance*,' but '*under the sensible thing which appears*,' under the thing itself, substance and accidents, not under a mere appearance or phantasm of a thing which has no subsistence." "Certainly," he said; "I have no objection to make to that: but still I am sure that it is orthodox to say in some sense, that after consecration *it is no longer bread*." "Certainly," it was replied; "It is no longer '*mere*' or '*common*' bread (as the Fathers sometimes add, and Popish translators again expunge these words), but the Body of Christ: and speaking after the order of grace, and not after the order of nature, we must say absolutely and unrestrictedly '*It is not bread at all*, but the Body of Christ:' which is the very same thing as what is meant by the former expressions. But if any one (as did the Apollinarians) misunderstand this, we subjoin, that *after the order of nature* it is still bread as before. But our faith regards not the order of nature (for what is that to us?) but only the order of grace. We go on in heart with Christ's words to the spiritual or ghostly substance, and see only that after consecration: the natural thing we look not back to; for it is but a shadow or 'appearance' (if you will) to the eye of faith, veiling while it certifies to us the true substance of that Bread, which cometh down from heaven, and yet is made, and lies, upon the altar. As a Jesuit once said to me at Geneva not amiss, '*The bread and the wine are the 'accidents,' the 'substance,'* he implied, being the Body and Blood of Christ."

Again, on the Friday following, March 14-26, Mr A. recurring to the above conversation, expressed his pain at our Twenty-Second Article; which I defended as practical; and told him, that neither the outward respect now paid to Images, nor the formal Invocations of their Church-Offices, were primitive. He again spoke as if the XXXIX Articles were

a Catechism, or Confession of the faith necessary for all people, and as if all things blamed or rejected in them were rejected as heresies. He said, "Every body would understand the thing condemned in Article XXII to be the formal doctrine of the Roman Church ; and not only so, but also equally the formal doctrine of the Eastern Church ; as her practical system is much the same." Answ. "Doubtless our opinion is quite opposed to that of your Church, which values the use of these things, and the edification to be derived from them, more than she fears the abuse : but such differences between particular Churches involve not necessarily any breach of Communion ; and are as nothing to individuals ; who naturally follow both the letter and sense of that Church to which they belong." He said, that when his daughter, whom he should have wished to have a special affection for the blessed Virgin, began to reject the Invocations of the Church, he wrote about it to their Chaplain at Rome, a very good and pious priest, whose answer was, that ' we were Baptized on condition of believing the Creed ; and our acceptance of Baptism was a kind of pledge or oath to hold it firmly : Either then we believe it, or we do not believe it : If we do, one article of it is, *I believe the Church* : How then can we reject her doctrine of the Invocations ?' Ans. " Herein lies the difficulty, that this Church, which we believe, is divided ; and one part speaks on some points contrary to another part." He said, " I obey *my* Church." Answ. " That is all very well : but some minds are led to see and feel, that *their* Church is not *the* Church ; that is, not the whole Catholic Church ; and perhaps also to think, that the balance of truth or of authority is against their own on some points." " Women at least," he said, " have no business to meddle in these matters : And our Church receives as œcumenical the Seventh Council, which sanctions the Invocations." He added, " My daughter will certainly pick out that Twenty-Second Article to answer you with." Answ. " If such a sense, as you and many others seem to attach to it, namely, that it condemns absolutely as heresy all positive opinions whatever on the five points mentioned, were the true sense, and I believed it to be so, I should perjure myself five times over in subscribing that Article : for I believe there is a positive truth on every one of those five points, as, I. The intermediate State, and Prayers for the Departed : II. Canonical Indulgences : III. Lawfulness and Use of Images and Pictures, and that a certain respect is due to them, and doubly so, if, like other Church vessels, they have been blessed or consecrated : IV. That natural Invocations *in Christ* are innocent and pious : V. That true Relics cannot but be honoured by all good Christians." " But I do not pretend," he resumed, " that these points are absolutely essential : and you cannot deny that your Church may have erred on some such matters." Answ. " I am so far from denying it, that if there were to be a Synod to-morrow, I will not say a general Synod, but even one of Russian and English Bishops, which after religious examination decreed that some secondary points in the XXXIX Articles were erroneous, I have no doubt I should say so too. But for my own individual opinion, so far as I am at present informed, I by no means think so." He said, " You must admit at any rate that that Article is harshly worded, and might have been better expressed, *if* no more than a qualified and practical censure was intended." Answ. " If you speak with respect to the Churches generally, or if you view that Article as intended to express an abstract theological decision, I admit that it is not only harshly,

but even absurdly worded. But it never was meant for anything of the kind. It was meant for a practical purpose within our own particular Church: and for that purpose you could not easily frame a better. If they had not made such a canon, they might as well have not spoken at all." He again mistook the word '*Romanensium*' to mean 'the Roman or Latin Church,' and 'repugnant to the word of God' to mean '*heretical*:' and supposed that we rejected images altogether. At last he said, "How is it that you sometimes speak so very fairly, I may really say impartially, without any prejudice at all, and then at other times speak harshly and excessively?" Ans. "I do not suppose there is any contrariety; but only one may speak of the same thing in different respects." He said, "Surely you must admit that the word '*futilis*,' a word so coarse and abusive, that I could not use it in French, breathes a tinge of human passion. The old Fathers would not have made canons in such language as that. Would it not have been better, for instance, to have expressed first the positive truth, and then guarded against the abuse?" Ans. "But whatever you may think, we thought, perhaps, that the positive truth on these points was not of sufficient importance to be so carefully expressed, but might very well be left, as it was in the beginning, to take care of itself; especially when other Churches, and the party of the Romanists among ourselves, were striving fiercely to assert both it, and the whole abused system which had been raised upon it, as essential parts of the Christian faith and practice, of which not an atom could be touched without heresy." "Well then," he said, "even granting that it were so, still they might surely have spoken thus: '*Though Images and Pictures may be kissed by natural affection and piety without sin, yet on account of the abuses attached to the formal system now in use, we forbid the practice as a religious ceremony.*' And in the same way for Invocations, '*Though natural and spiritual addresses, of whatever kind, to the spirits of departed Saints and to Angels, may be in themselves innocent or pious, yet in consequence of abuses, we omit and prohibit the introduction of formal Invocations in the public Offices of the Church.*'" Ans. "Well, one may admit all this. If I could have chosen, I should certainly have preferred this, or some such canon: But as it was, first, the draught of the Articles had been prepared beforehand by an Archbishop, Cranmer, who wished to conciliate, strengthen, and unite all the foreign Reformers, rather than the Latin or Greek Hierarchies: Secondly, this form, so prepared, was, for reasons of political expediency, pressed by Queen Elizabeth on the Clergy: Thirdly, the Clergy could not exactly foresee that flood of Protestant prejudice and feeling, which was coming on; nor that these Articles, instead of being mere limitations of what existed before, would be viewed as the basis of a new theology, and taken in a positive instead of a negative sense: Fourthly, though the Articles may have been well worded for the evils of those times when they were adopted, I quite admit that having now suffered long and deeply from evils of a contrary kind, we want another set of Articles, not to supersede, but to fill up and explain these." "Yes," he said, "in a Catholic and Orthodox sense and spirit. So, then, by what you say, it seems the XXXIX Articles are as much from the Political as from the Ecclesiastical Power." "Quite as much: but we all fully believe that they are in themselves Catholic already, and were even intended at first in a Catholic sense: and most certainly they were accepted and enforced by the Clergy in no other, as is shewn by their canon of 1571;" which I

repeated. He said, "That canon then ought always to be printed together with them as a safeguard." Answ. "The XXXIX Articles are not properly, or by authority, printed for popular use at all. The appending of them to the Prayer-Book is only the act of printers and publishers. They are indeed to be read occasionally as canons in the Church: but they may be doubted or even denied by the laity to any extent, except where they relate to the essential faith, without any forfeiture of communion, unless any man openly and factiously opposes the Church." He said, "Why, all the world thinks them the Confession of Faith of your Church, and as it were the Catechism and fundamental instruction for children." Answ. "I never so much as saw them myself, that I know of, till after I had gone to the University of Oxford." He admitted the abuses of the vulgar in Russia; saying, that his old nurse had an Icon, to which she attached perhaps a superstitious value; and he had said something to her to correct her excess. During the Vigil-Service, the words, *'Oh most holy Mother of God, save us:'* being sung, he leaned over my shoulder and whispered, "There now is a sentence, which may be taken in two ways, and is not to be taken according to the letter: for it *may* be taken in a heterodox sense; and then might rightly be blamed." Answ. "I know it; but I take it now in an orthodox sense: for as Eve ruined us, so the blessed Virgin restored or saved us by her child-bearing; and she saves us still, together with the saints, and above them all, by her prayers in Christ." "To be sure," he said.

SECTION XIX.

MR A. WRITES A LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ON Wednesday, March 5-17, while engaged in the preceding conversation, Mr A. told me that being resolved to do what he could to get at the truth, and the matter being really of the deepest importance to him personally, he had written a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, he understood, was the first Prelate in rank of our Communion, asking him plainly whether the Anglican Church excommunicates the Eastern, and receives its members as proselytes, or no. This letter, he said, he meant to intrust to our Ambassador to send for him. The next time that he came to see me he brought it with him, and let me take a copy. It was dated from St Petersburg, March 11-23. The following is a translation:—

"MY LORD,—Your Grace will excuse me for addressing you without having the honour of a personal acquaintance; but there is a great question of religion, relating to a person who is very near and dear to me, on which it is of the utmost importance for me to know what are the principles of

the Ecclesiastical Law in England. The opinion of the Church, transmitted through her Primate, would be the most satisfactory and conclusive of all testimony in the eyes of a foreigner, if your Grace will kindly honour me with an answer to my enquiries.

“ My Lord, I am a Russian, and as such Orthodox. I would ask then ;

“ I. If the Church of England does or does not excommunicate the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East ?

“ II. If an English Bishop, in his own diocese, pretended to make one of my country and faith renounce the Russian Church, and reconcile him, as a heretic or idolater, to the Church of England, could such a Bishop ground himself upon any canon or law of his Church, by which he would be justified and borne out in converting the Christians of the Orthodox Church, making them abjure it, and giving them Absolution, as it is customary to do in receiving those heretics or schismatics who return to the true Faith, and to the true Church ?

“ III. Supposing that there be no formal canon which touches the question, I ask, if a simple Priest of the English Church, travelling upon the Continent, and so not within the limits of any of the English dioceses, were to pretend to convert an Orthodox Russian, and to administer to him the Holy Communion, with the condition that he should separate himself from that time forth from the Russian Church, even when he should be again resident within its dioceses, would not this Priest be exceeding the limits of his power ? and would such a conversion and abjuration be recognized, on the part of the Church, as valid and canonical by the Ecclesiastical Courts in England ?

“ IV. Is there any law or canon of the Church of England to exclude an Orthodox Russian from her Communion ? And if any English Priest or Bishop were to have given the Communion to such a person, would the condition be thereby implied of renouncing the doctrines and Communion of the Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church in the Eastern dioceses ?

“ My Lord, I beg once more to repeat my apology for having thus troubled your Grace, and for having entered so much into detail ; but the question touches so closely both

my own happiness and that of other members of my family, that I feel sure your Grace will excuse me.

“ I have written in French, because I am more accustomed to the use of it than of English : I am, however, quite well enough acquainted with the latter language to read and understand perfectly your answer, if your Grace should think proper to reply to me in it. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.,

“ N. A.”

SECTION XX.

OF THE EFFECT OF CERTAIN UNFORESEEN INCIDENTS IN THIS AFFAIR.

ON Tuesday, March 18-30, I left the English lodging-house in the Galernay, and returned to the Priest, with whom I had lived before on the Viborg side of the water, out of the city. And here it may be noticed, that had it not been for the two months illness and confinement at the English lodging-house during that time, it would have been difficult for Mr A. to have seen me as he did, or for me to have engaged, as I did, in correspondence with his family. In like manner, had it not been for other accidents, such as that of the High Procurator bidding me give up or defer the plan of going to Kieff, and wait for the arrival of the Metropolitan of Moscow ; and again, the lateness of the Metropolitan's arrival, and his being prevented afterwards either by illness or business from seeing me, or answering my Letter to him ;—had it not been for these delays, the whole matter must have been prevented, or cut short at the beginning ; as my own wish had always been to leave St Petersburg as soon as possible, and if I were too late to winter at Kieff or Moscow, yet, at any rate, to reach Moscow while the winter roads were good.

While I was confined to my room, or nearly so, in the English lodging-house in the Galernay, the Priest with whom I had lived, and to whom I afterwards returned for two months, had been occupied in translating into Russian a collection of extracts and authorities from Anglican sources, on the three points of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Intercession of the Saints and their Invocation, and the use and reverencing of Icons or Pictures, Relics, &c. ; to which was added, a translation of the main part of the Scottish Communion-Office. This had been written to serve as an Appendix to my Letter to the Metropolitan of Moscow, in case he should

desire further information ; and now it was translated for Mr A., who revised and corrected it himself, and talked of publishing it. He took it afterwards to his wife and daughters at Geneva ; and left it in the hands of the Russian Chaplain at Berne. The whole of this paper, though in another form, and more to the same purpose, may be seen in a volume or pamphlet since published under the title of "*A Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*," which will be mentioned hereafter.

SECTION XXI.

CONVERSATION WITH MR A.; REVERENCE OF ICONS, ETC.

ON Sunday, April 6-18, after having assisted in company with Mr A. at the Liturgy of the Reconciled Staro-Obratzi or Old-Ceremonialists, we finished reading over and correcting together the Russian translation of the Appendix to the Letter to the Metropolitan of Moscow. After which, returning to the subject of our former conversation, he said, "I have been thinking again of your Church ; and the more I think of it, the more unaccountable it seems, that you should so wrong yourselves, if you are Catholics, in giving up that name to the Papists. How is it possible that such books as these on my table, '*Geraldine*,' and Moore's '*Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion*,' should be written, if your Church is what you say? The personages which figure in these works were *not* Catholics, nor pretended to be so : they were heretics : and were, the one of them converted to the Catholic Church, the other fixed in it. Certainly your English people cannot have common sense, when they talk about their religion. In this way you suffer all Europe to be prejudiced against you. So too," he said, "when I read your printed Speech [before a meeting of the S. P. C. K.], which I found in your room the other day, I was much struck with that part which related to the spurious Catechism [Crossman's], while here [in the true Catechism of the Prayer-Book, and on the subject of the Real Presence], nothing can be clearer or more orthodox. And did not your Bishops, when they knew of it, immediately condemn and anathematize such a false Catechism, which you say was so generally used?" Answ. "No, that indeed they did not." "How could that be," he replied, "if your Church is what you pretend? Discipline must indeed be preciousl} relaxed among you : For it is not enough in such things, that there should be here or there an individual to denounce what is evil ; but the public Authority of the Church, if there is any Authority, must teach and judge. Here, in Russia, we have, first, the Censorship ; then the Bishop ; and then the Synod above all : and a bad or heretical Catechism, so far from being generally used by the clergy, cannot even be printed." Yet he observed afterwards, that he saw "nothing to prevent a union with the Anglican Church ; as there is nothing positive to offend us in her : her only fault lies in defect. She has omitted so many things, and relaxed in so many others, that there must be explanations and reforms : we must ask you, if you agree with us in principles, to guard, amend, or restore, such and such things : And so all may be done. And it is certainly a great thing to know that Peter the Great was in favour of a similar undertaking. But with the Roman Church, if all those points which we saw in the Catechism and in the Oath of Pope Pius IV. the other day, are to be taken as necessary articles of the Faith, we could never agree ;

never." He entered into a long argument to shew that we ought not only to tolerate in them, and follow when among them, their custom of shewing outward respect to Icons, but also admit the practice into our own Churches. Answ. "We could never do that, not only on account of the prejudices of our people, which would not admit of it, but because we really prefer the contrary usage, and think ourselves free to follow it : It is both the most primitive, and avoids all danger. And besides, there is, I think, a great difference between the Easterns and the Westerns, so that the custom is more natural and suitable in the East, and attended with less danger of abuse ; while in the West it was adopted as a foreign custom rather repugnant to former usages, and became the occasion of gross abuse." He admitted that it might have been much abused in the West, but said, that "as for the assertion that the Western Churches generally rejected it, he could testify to the contrary, for he had seen the Priests incense the Images at Paris, and elsewhere, just as among themselves, here." It was replied, "Very possibly : but you may see from your own Dictionary of the Councils which lies on the table, that it was not received in France till long after the Seventh Council : and that author, though a warm partizan, is unable to cite any formal admission of it by any later Gallican Council. In fact, it came in merely through the influence of the Popes, and in spite of the Gallican canons decreed against it." "But," he said, "with your rejection of outward respect, you may be like the Calvinists, or the Quakers : you abolish religion altogether. Why should a church be like a stable, or a mere room ? And if you adorn and people it with the memories and representations of the Saints and Angels, and join together, through the senses, the visible and the invisible Church, and feel that respect and affection which all good Christians must feel for the objects represented, are you then to pull a long face and square your shoulders as you pass by them, to avoid breaking the second Commandment ? Or am I an idolater, if I make the sign of the Cross, or bow, or shew any other customary mark of respect and affection ? In the church we are in a manner in God's Court : and all is acted there not in reality, or with respect to any material, sensible presence, but by faith, under representations, and signs, and mysteries. In the Academies and Schools, there is always a statue or picture of the Emperor ; and they bow towards it on some occasions, apostrophise, and address it. There hangs the picture of my wife. If I caught a servant whom she had offended making any grimace or outward menace before it, do you think I should not understand him, and take him by the collar directly ? And on the other hand, if my children, who are absent, and to whom I have sent my own picture, kiss it, as they tell me they do every day, is there any thing in this unnatural, or unintelligible, or blameable ? And if not, but the contrary, what is to hinder the Church from adopting or practising the same custom towards the likenesses or representations of those who stand to us in the nearest and highest spiritual relations, and ought to be nearest and dearest to our affections, and whom yet (being absent in the body) we, through our daily converse with the contrary society of the world, are ever in danger of forgetting ? I do not see how you can well have pictures and images in the Churches, or adorn the house of God with any significant emblems, without having also some such usages towards them, or those feelings at least which would naturally prompt them. Do *you* not take off your hat, when you go into a

Church? and bow towards the Altar? and kiss the Bible or the New Testament?" As we were going into the Chapel in his Cousin's house, to the Vigil-service, he pointed to the taper burning before the Icon over the doorway, and said, "There now; I like to see that: it marks a difference between this and any other common room, and excites a corresponding feeling." And of the Icon, commonly placed in every dwelling-room, he said, that "it sanctifies, as it were, the whole room, more than any mere picture or print on some sacred subject could do, inasmuch as it has been blessed in the Church. And it sanctifies more especially one spot in the room, to stand as it were in the place of the sanctuary or altar. And it is impossible for Christian people too much to bear in mind, outwardly testify, and remind others, that all our actions and words are to be religious; that all our possessions, buildings, dwellings, and vessels, are given by God to be used to His honour, not only as He is our Creator and Preserver, but as He has made us also His children through Christ in the Church." He said, "The very abuses of wicked people shew what good there is in these things: for wickedness produces a superstition respecting them corresponding to the good feeling which is attached to them by those who are really religious; so that if people are about any wickedness or cruelty, as when our peasants butchered numbers of helpless Frenchmen during the invasion, in 1812, they still have a kind of feeling which makes them cover up their Icons, or turn them round to the wall." A striking instance of the way in which forms may be maintained and may be identified with religion by men who live wickedly, was related from Russian history. When John the Terrible was residing at Alexandrovsky with his band of Peculiars, he had with him a German physician, who was probably a Lutheran. One day, some of his suite, who imitated more or less their master in joining monastic manners with all kinds of violence, went to the apartment of this physician, and seeing no Icon, first taxed him with being an infidel, as there was nothing in his room before which one might make the sign of the Cross (the outward distinction between Christians and infidels), and then immediately afterwards told him their errand, that they wanted to take off a certain person by poison, and so had need of his services. So again, there was a story of one man murdering another, who was carrying meat, during the Fast, and for some reason or other, stealing at the same time what the murdered man had carried. The man was apprehended, and convicted of the murder; and after conviction, he was asked what he had done with the meat (which had not been found, and the finding of which might have added fulness to the proofs against him)? and whether he had eaten it? "What!" he exclaimed, "am I not a Christian? Do you think I would eat meat in the Fast?" Mr A. also said that for himself, he found the Icon in his room a very useful remembrancer to him in many ways. "On the other hand," it was replied, "admitting that there is much truth in all you say, and that it is a matter only of practical discretion for the Church, I still think there are weightier reasons for preferring and following the contrary custom, so far, I mean, as the public ceremonial is concerned. I do not mean that it is necessary, or even possible now, to change the custom of the Eastern Church: all you can do, or indeed need wish to do, is to obviate the danger of abuse. But though the general proposition be true, that inward feelings will show themselves outwardly, and that the outward act which custom has associated with the inward feeling

tends to strengthen and reproduce the same feeling both in ourselves and in others, I am still far from thinking that this or that particular expression of feeling is necessary to the existence of the feeling itself ; or that all things which may be more or less natural are therefore to be embodied in the public ritual ; or are to be regarded as equally good and expedient, or necessary at all times and in all places. It may have been very proper in Persia to '*adore*' a person of rank, when you met him : but in England we bow, or take off the hat. Again, you here salute all the members of the Imperial Family ; we in England only the Heads : here the pictures, the Cross, etc. ; in England only the church and the Altar are revered. I do not deny that the more or less in these diversities has resulted from *some* cause ; but I say that it is not simply from the greater or less prevalence of that good and natural feeling, which the outward usages are intended to express and cultivate. Besides, bowing towards and kissing pictures is not in itself necessary, nor everywhere equally convenient, in order to keep up an idea of affection for the Communion of Saints : nay, nor the having of pictures at all : nor the having of many other outward ceremonies which, among a warm-hearted and ceremonious people who cannot read, and whose instruction must come chiefly through the eyes and ears, may be very proper : and the advantage in such a case may much more overbalance the danger of abuse, than among a cold stiff people of few outward forms, who can all read. Even the wares of the tradesmen in your streets need to be all painted on the back of their shutters about the shop-windows and doors. Then again, in things not absolutely essential, external circumstances must be considered ; how far that which is theoretically best may be either possible or expedient. And for us in England, there are, first, the prejudices and divisions of our own people within the Church : then, even if we were united among ourselves and free from prejudice, there would still be the greatest imprudence in violently offending the still stronger prejudices of all the Protestant sects, whose reconciliation we ought rather to seek and facilitate by every possible condescension in minor matters. Lastly, I confess that for myself, though I can yield obedience to the existing Church, or to any part of it, with a good conscience in all non-essential matters, even against my own private inclination or judgment, I have still in such things an unreserved attachment and submission for the mind and practice of the primitive Church. But in this matter it certainly seems that the primitive Church, for whatever reason, remained long without any public use of pictures or images : and when at length their use was admitted, she again remained long without deducing from it what you call its natural consequence of outward honour. This is witnessed not only by the writings of the Fathers, but also by the tradition and practice of the Nestorians of the present day, who have been separated from the Church ever since the middle of the fifth century. And even if it were otherwise, the disposition which has been shewn in later times both in the Eastern and in the Western Church, to treat this matter as part of the necessary Faith, and to add it in effect to the Creed, would be a most sufficient reason for any Church to reject their customs altogether, at least till such time as they should more seriously correct abuses, and better explain the customs themselves, and set them upon a very different ground, namely, that of more ecclesiastical obedience, as tending to edification, and to the formation of the Christian character.

SECTION XXII.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR A. AND THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.

ON Sunday, May 2, N. S., being on the south side of the river in the city, I called on Mr A., who told me, that meeting our Ambassador, Lord C., the other day at the French Ambassador's house, he had asked him what he thought of my professions concerning the Anglican Church. "Lord C.," he continued, "answered, that he had nothing to say against them: that for himself, he was a Whig, and as such, was expected rather to support Puritanism; but it was perfectly true that the Anglican Religion and Church has all along retained within it the principles of Catholicism, but that it has been *terriblement défigurée et mutilée*." He said, "If you were to read the books of many of our standard divines, you might think there was little or no difference between our religion and yours: so too, if you looked at our Prayers, &c." Mr A. answered, "that he had seen some, [alluding to Bishop Andrews' 'Private Devotions'] and had found the same prayers which they use in the Eastern Church." "I dare say," the Ambassador resumed: "but if you were in London, and went into our Churches, you would find nothing at all of the kind: you cannot form any idea how bare and slovenly they are, or how dull and cramped are the services and ceremonies: so much so, that they have become contemptible in the eyes of the higher classes." Mr A. asked "Why his friends of the Government did not attempt to improve things?" To which he replied, "If we had any such idea ourselves, or were to shew any such disposition, we should have an outcry immediately against us for favouring Popery. Puritanism is very strong in England, and even among the Clergy." Mr A. said he had talked with Lord C. at the same time of the conversion of his wife and daughter at Geneva; and had asked him what he thought of it: that he had expressed an opinion favourable to my own. Upon which he told the Ambassador that he had been writing a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Lord C. asked, 'What have you written to him?' I told him. He smiled and said, 'I can tell you, you will embarrass him extremely: you cannot conceive how such a letter will embarrass him to

answer. He is one of the most timid and apprehensive men in existence. But he will probably give the letter to one of his Chaplains, to answer for him.' " Answ. " However, I think you need not be much afraid : for it is not as if there were no recognized opinion on the subject : And the more timid or cautious the Archbishop may be represented to you to be, the more sure you may be, that he will not [without some extraordinary temptation] go far beyond the sentiment of his Church." The Ambassador had said further to Mr A., that he " was glad he had written that Letter to the Archbishop : that he should be sure to see him on his return ; and if by any chance he had not answered it, he would do his best to induce his Grace to send an answer with as little delay as possible."

SECTION XXIII.

MR A. REQUESTS ME TO ACCOMPANY HIM TO GENEVA.

ON Thursday, May 8-20, the day before I left St Petersburg for Moscow, being Ascension-Day, I attended the Liturgy in company with Mr A. at the private Chapel of Count Sheremetieff; after which he questioned me as to the time when I should leave Moscow, and the route by which I proposed to return to England. He announced that he was himself going to Geneva, to see his wife and daughters, and, if possible, to persuade them to give up their errors, and return with him to Russia ; and he pressed me to accompany him to Geneva, and so go on to England afterwards from thence. I replied, that as it seemed his wife took no notice of my letters, at any rate made no allusion to them in writing to him, and as I had said all I could in my reply to his eldest daughter, which would reach her sooner or later, I did not see what good I could do by accompanying him ; but that in the event of his receiving any letters during my absence which should make the prospect look more favourable, I would accompany him to Geneva, if he still desired it. And so I left ; promising to see him again on my return from Moscow.

Accordingly, on my return (Thursday, June 5-17), I went immediately to his house ; and found him preparing to leave very shortly. He said, that he had received as yet no answer

from our Archbishop, which made him fear that the Archbishop was a mere Protestant like the multitude, and was unwilling to send him an answer, having nothing else to say, according to his way of thinking, but that the Russians are idolaters. He told me also, that his wife had written a long letter to the Emperor about her conversion, which the Emperor opening in presence of one of their near relatives, handed him to read : that in this letter, the Lady used such expressions as these ;—‘ *We have been converted to the Evangelical Religion :*’ and again, ‘ *We are Protestants.*’ He said, that when he came to Geneva, having no Chaplain there, he should go himself to the Latin or Roman-Catholic chapel : “ for the Liturgy, the Mass, is what I go to church for : that is the essential worship.” He said, that my long letter to his eldest daughter, which went by a courier to Nassau, had never yet reached them : and finding me to be still of opinion that my going with him under such circumstances was not likely to do any good, he ceased to press it.

SECTION XXIV.

GIVE MR A. BOOKS TO TAKE TO GENEVA; AND PROMISE TO MEET HIM THERE, IF HE SHOULD FIND REASON TO DESIRE IT.

AGAIN, on Thursday, June 17-29, I saw Mr A. for the last time before he left St Petersburg for Geneva : indeed he was to start the same night. On this occasion

He renewed his expressions of regret and astonishment that our Bishops and Church-people, if they really pretend to claim the title of Catholic, and to represent true Catholicism, should so strangely abandon or concede the use of word. Pointing to Dr Challoner’s R. C. Exposition of Doctrine, which lay on his table, he said, “ That book is good : and it would be very easy to omit the Section on Indulgences, or anything else of the like sort.” In answer to his exclamations at the unaccountable stupidity or ignorance of the Anglican Clergy and Bishops in neglecting the words ‘*Catholic*’ and ‘*Orthodox*,’ and using rather such as ‘*Protestant*’ and ‘*Reformed*,’ it was said that “ this would indeed be unaccountable if they had any sense of what they were doing, or if their Church were in a natural or healthy state. But you must never forget that the Anglican Church is double ; half spiritual, half political : Spiritually it is *Catholic* and *Apostolical*, politically *Protestant* or *Reformed* : Spiritually however, it has never done more since the time of Elizabeth than barely exist, and shew life by struggling feebly against the power of its enemies : but never, for 300 years past, has it had power to act freely for itself : the dominant

spirit in England has been either that of popular or that of parliamentary Protestantism. How such a spirit, essentially heretical, should have been for 300 years dominant within the Church herself, without being permitted to move the Church as a spiritual agent to any act of self-destruction, is indeed a mystery : but so it is. Now, all that has passed away, or is passing ; and a popular struggle of principles has begun, in consequence of recent political changes, which can end only in the absolute and exclusive dominancy either of Protestantism or of Catholicism and Orthodoxy within the Anglican Church. Either the strange and inconsistent pretensions of that Church, within herself, to be Catholic in spite of appearances, will be justified before all the world ; or that contrary Protestant character which now outwardly adheres to her will be formally ascertained and affirmed, and the High Church theories or half-way principles of ‘Anglo-Catholicism’ exploded.” He said, “I met Mr S. the other day, who is a [Russian] acquaintance of yours ; and he too had, it seems, been asking some Englishman or Scotchman about you, but had only got for answer, like me, that you are a member of some new sect which has lately appeared in England, and especially at Oxford.”

I gave him copies of the ‘*Christian Year* ; of *Bishop Andrews’ ‘Private Devotions* ;’ of a Russian translation of *St Cyril of Jerusalem’s ‘Catechetical Lectures* ;’ and of *Bishop Jolly’s ‘Treatise on Baptism* ;’ together with some other books and documents, to take to his wife and daughters. He said, he would not press me any more to accompany him, as what I urged against it seemed reasonable : but he asked me, since it seemed that my long letter had not reached them when they wrote last, whether I would promise him to come to Geneva for a short time later in the summer, if that letter should arrive while he was there, and should seem to him to produce any effect ; or if he found the ladies at all willing to continue the discussion with me in a serious way ? and this I promised to do ; saying, that I did not think the promise would really cost me a journey to Geneva ; though I should be far from grudging the trouble, if it could be of any avail.

Before we parted, he returned once more to the mention of his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which I said I thought his Grace would certainly have acknowledged, if he had received it. He said, he suspected, on the contrary, that the Archbishop was neither more nor less than a Protestant, and did not like to write to him what would seem unhandsome. I promised that on my return to England, I would take the first opportunity, whenever I saw the Archbishop, of ascertaining whether the letter had been received ;

having at the time taken my place by the steamer, which was to sail for Lubeck on the following Saturday.

SECTION XXV.

CONVERSATION WITH THE HIGH-PROCURATOR AT THE SYNOD RESPECTING MR A.'S FAMILY.

ON Friday, July 2, N. S., I went by invitation of the High-Procutor to the Synodal Palace, to witness the nomination of the Archimandrite Athanasius, whom I had known as Rector of the Seminary at St Petersburg, to be Bishop of Tomsk. After the ceremony, I thanked the Procurator for all the assistances I had received towards the prosecution of my studies while in Russia; as also for all the personal kindness I had met with from himself; and so took leave of him, previously to setting out on my return to England. He kept me in conversation some time, asking, what were my plans? whether I should stay in England? and whether I had any intention of coming again to Russia? I said, that I had no idea of ever coming again to Russia, as I had attained the object for which I came: that I was going to stay in England for the present; and hoped to publish some translations from the Russian, in conjunction with our Chaplain at Cronstadt: that I might perhaps, in the course of the summer, go for a short time to Geneva. He was well acquainted with the case of Mr A.'s family; and immediately said, that I should do a very good deed, or any body else, who should bring those ladies out of their errors: that instructions had been sent to the Chaplain of the Russian Embassy at Berne, to visit them, and do what he could: that he had sent back a Report to the effect, that he had held a long conference with them, but all to no purpose: that he could not go often: that he had produced, he thought, some little effect; but had not succeeded: The Chaplain wrote, that he was the more sorry for them, because they seemed to be sincere in their conversion to Protestantism. He had got over, he thought, their scruples as to the Icons or Pictures: they had given up that point, because, said he, they were used to them, and knew that the Protestant objection would not hold: but he had entirely failed to convince them of the Real Presence in the Eucharist:

On that point they were regular Calvinists, believing that it is only a sign : “ So,” said the Procurator in conclusion, “ it will be all the more to your credit, and to the credit of your views, if you should be able to do anything with them : While, on the other hand,” he observed, “ all notion of the possibility of union, such as you wish us to admit, must be quite out of the question, so long as such proselytism of our people (and people of the first quality) to the worst opinions seems to be owned, or not to be disavowed by your Church.” The next day I sailed from Cronstadt to return to England.

SECTION XXVI.

ASCERTAIN THAT THE ABP. OF CANTERBURY HAD RECEIVED MR A.’S LETTER : SEND TO GENEVA COPIES OF LETTERS GIVEN TO MR TOMLINSON BY THE ABP. AND THE BP. OF LONDON.

ON Tuesday, July 13, being in London, and having an opportunity, though only in presence of others, I asked the Archbishop of Canterbury whether he had ever received Mr A.’s Letter ? He replied, that such a letter *had been received* ; and he well remembered it, “ from the strange ignorance which it shewed of the present state of the Church of England ; attributing to her the exercise of a much greater degree of authority than she in fact possesses.” Speaking on the same subject the Archbishop also said, “ *The Church of England anathematizes nobody* ;” forgetting, perhaps, one of the XXXIX Articles, which begins with these words, “ *Sunt et illi præterea anathematizandi, &c.*” The Archbishop said, he thought he had answered Mr A.’s Letter : but his private secretary, who was sitting at his elbow, corrected him, and said, that His Grace “ *had thought of answering it, but had never done so.*”

July 31, I wrote to Mr A. to Geneva, telling him that I had ascertained that his Letter had been received, and suggesting the best excuses I could for the Archbishop having neglected up to that time to answer it. I added, that the Letter had now been laid aside, and I feared would never be returned to, or answered at all ; unless the Archbishop chanced to remember my enquiring about it ; or unless the Ambassador recalled his attention to the subject.

I sent at the same time to Mr A. a translation, in English, of those Commendatory Letters, which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had given the year before to Mr Tomlinson, then Secretary to the S. P. C. K., underlining the following clauses and expressions : “ *Our brethren, honoured and beloved in Christ, the orthodox Bishops of the Holy Eastern Church :* ” “ We commend to your kindness *for whatsoever he may need :* ” “ that having saluted the thrones of the Holy Apostles and Fathers, and having made known to you *the good-will which we bear to your Holy Eastern Church,* ” (“ *our good-will and zeal towards your Holy Church,* ”) “ *he may report to the Orthodox and Catholic brethren among ourselves.* ” [See the published Work.]

After having transcribed these two Letters, I observed to Mr A. that perhaps they might serve his purpose with the ladies almost as well as any letter from the Archbishop to himself; and that he had already with him, besides these, Dr Routh’s Letter, which I had brought to Russia; and a copy of which I had given him before he left St Petersburg.

At the time of my return to England, there was in London a Greek calling himself Archbishop of Tripoli, who was said to have been entertained, recommended, and assisted with money by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; being at the time excommunicate both from the Greek, and from his own *Uniat* Church. One of the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Chaplains asked me to go with him to see this man; and I was told that my representations had caused him afterwards to be more coldly received. But some time afterwards, the papers announced that the same man had been attending meetings in different places, making speeches, obtaining money, and even Communicating in our churches, under cover of the high Ecclesiastical Patronage which he had received. He was eventually exposed by Dr Wolfe; and I believe also by the Roman-Catholic Bishop, Dr Wiseman. Four years later, a Nestorian Bishop visiting the U. S. of America, under the conduct of some Congregationalist Independent, was publicly received as a brother by Bishops and Clergy of the “Protestant-Episcopalians” of that country.

SECTION XXVII.

MR A REQUESTS ME TO APPLY TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON
— CONCERNING MR H. THE CHAPLAIN AT GENEVA.

ON Tuesday, September 7th, I received a letter from Mr A. dated from near *Geneva*, August 29th, acknowledging the receipt of mine, and containing the following passages :—

"I now regret exceedingly that you did not accompany me. You would have been of the greatest use . . . I do not think we shall be able to leave before Sept. 15, so you will judge whether an answer can reach me. I know not what can have become of your long letter ; so pray send me another copy of it. The question of religion stands at present thus:—My wife does not know herself, of what religion she is : If I ask her, she answers, 'I am of *the unity of the Gospel* : ' which is simply saying nothing. My eldest daughter says she has quitted the Greek Catholic Religion, and is a member of '*the Church of England* ; ' the truth being, that she goes here on Sundays to, and has Communicated in, the English Chapel, of which I inclose you one of the Programmes. They are pasted about the walls of the town here, just like the play-bills of a theatre.

' *English Church at Geneva.*

' Divine Service is performed in the Church of the Hospital, *Place Bourg du Four*, every Sunday morning, at half-past eleven, from the first Sunday in June, to the last Sunday in October ; and at 11 on every Sunday during the remaining months of the year.

' The Rev. W^m Hare, Chaplain to the Establishment, wishes to have it made known to the families, members of the Church of England, residing in, or passing through Geneva, that he gives Catechetical lectures at his own residence, *maison Dunant, Montbrillant*, every Sunday evening, at the hour of six, during the five months comprised in the first part of this notice, from June to October ; and the heads of families are earnestly invited to bring, or send, their children regularly, and at the hour stated.

' *The Committee of Church Management* requests it may be clearly understood by all strangers attending Divine Service, that all the pews and benches in the Church are *free*, and open to the first persons who come.

' The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered on the first Sunday of every month, during the five summer months.

' *The Committee* cannot conclude without making known to strangers attending this Chapel that it receives no support from any constituted body whatever ; subscriptions from families and casual donations being all it has to look to for its maintenance.

' Subscriptions are received at the Bank of M^{rs}. Turrettini Pictet et Ce, Rue de la Cité, N^o 26 ; and M. Borgeaud, employed in the Post-Office, is also authorised by *the Committee* to receive contributions.'

"I have had an interview with Mr Hare, and have found him a complete heretic ; denying the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and denying that it is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. My wife and my eldest daughter agree in the same heresy. However, by dint of reading good books with my eldest daughter, and particularly the '*Catechetical*

Lectures' of St Cyril of Jerusalem, I have succeeded in raising some doubts in her mind. But she tells me that she shall never be satisfied, until she knows what you can say to the arguments and questions contained in her Letter. May I then presume so far on your friendship for me, *or rather* on your charity for the sake of religion, as *to beg you to come to St Petersburg, and meet us there before the navigation closes*. You will then, I hope, have the satisfaction of restoring a child to her father, and a daughter to the Church. In the meantime, let me have an answer here, if there is time for your letter to reach me : otherwise, you must direct to Vienna, at the Russian Embassy, so that I may receive the letter when I pass through.

"I shall be much obliged to you to see if you can ascertain from the Bishop of London whether he acknowledges Mr Hare ; for this latter pretends to receive his mission from the Bishop of London. For my own part, I do not think it can be so.

"He had the impudence to tell my daughter, in my presence, that she had done perfectly right in leaving the Orthodox Church, '*because,*' said he, '*in so doing you followed your conscience, which forbade you to remain any longer in a Church, whose doctrines you could not approve.*' My daughter, for her part, tells me, that even if she came to be persuaded of the orthodoxy of the Eastern Church, she should think it an act of cowardice to return, after having once left it. But I hope you will prove to her that she *could not* in fact leave the Eastern Church, that Church being Catholic and Orthodox ; and that her act of Communicating in Mr Hare's Temple is not in fact any admission to a new belief, (he having no positive belief by which to distinguish himself, but only an absence of belief) ; and that so, when she is again at St Petersburg, it will be her duty to conform to the discipline of the church, and worship in the churches of the dioceses in which she may be, and receive the Holy Communion there, so soon as she shall have faith to be a worthy communicant : and that, to regain this faith, she will do well to study the doctrine of the Fathers, and the Liturgies of the first ages, with prayer . . . When do you think your English Primate will let me have an answer to my letter ? . . . Pray for me, pray for my children. And believe me always, &c. &c. . . . N. N."

This letter having been missent, through a mistake of the Post-Office at Oxford, to another clergyman of the same name with myself, was not delivered till September 7, five days later than it ought to have reached me. I immediately wrote an answer to it, dated from Magdalene College, Sept. 8, 1841, as follows :—

“MY DEAR MR. A.—I received your letter last night, and am very glad indeed to see that there is so much hope of success, as to make you wish me to meet you at St Petersburg : but why did not you write to me earlier ? I could so much more easily have gone and spent a short time with you at Geneva. And now, if I go again to Russia, I shall be too late to return home by sea. You tell me also to send you a copy of my long letter which is lost ; and, certainly, I should have wished that letter to have been received, and read, and considered, before I took such a journey myself : but the letter is some sixty pages in length ; and will neither be written out in a single day, nor read and digested in a single day when it is received. I should have gone straight to Geneva upon receiving your’s, instead of writing as I do now, but that there is barely time for a letter to go by post ; and I should have no chance of arriving there myself before the 15th ; and then should find you either gone, or in all the hurry and bustle of going. I make sure, however, that this letter will reach you at Geneva ; and wish much that you would give me a line immediately upon the receipt of it, to tell me whether your family are likely to be at or near St Petersburg next summer, or in any accessible part of Russia ? because, if they are, it might perhaps be quite as well so far as concerns the ladies, and would certainly suit me better, that they should have my letter (which I will write out and send under cover to Mde. O.) to read in the meantime : and then they can correspond further with me, if they like, upon any points through you : and I could come over, and stay a short time, and return, without inconvenience, some time during the next summer. . . .

“It is quite evident, from what you say, that Mr Hare is a *regular Protestant*, and just like the ‘Calvinistes’ or ‘Evangéliques’ of Geneva. I dare say he is nominally licensed by the Bishop of London, though he has probably been found and hired by the English travellers and residents at Geneva, and is really responsible only to them. The Bishop of London, no doubt, does not know anything of his doctrine : But I am sorry to be obliged to confess that there are many such among us : And though the Church in herself, with all her great writers and doctors, is Catholic, there is yet practically (through the influence of the Civil Government, which is based upon pure Protestantism) no Discipline exercised by the Spiritual Authority ; and heresies are held, defended, and published by numbers unpunished, and almost unproved.

“I will write immediately to the Bishop of London, as you desire, and will send you his Answer to your application to him.

“I am confident, from what you say, that by God’s help all will yet come right : only, in respect of reading good books, I should strongly advise you to make as little use as possible of modern Popish or Latin Works, and as much of the most antient Greek Fathers, as you can. *St Cyril’s Catechetical Lectures* of themselves contain a whole course of instruction. And then you may procure from the Synodal Press many of the *Homilies of St Chrysostom*, and his *Commentaries on St Matthew’s Gospel*, and on the *Epistles of St Paul*, in Russ. And so, &c. &c. N. N.”

SECTION XXVIII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE BISHOP OF LONDON; WHO EXPRESSES
HIMSELF IN FAVOUR OF PASSIVE COMMUNION.

AT the same time I wrote to the Bishop of London the following letter, which was dated from *Misbury, near Brackley, September 8, 1841* :—

“MY LORD,—I received a letter last night from a Russian nobleman, Mr A., in which he requests me to make some inquiry of your Lordship with respect to an English clergyman, a Mr Hare; who is Chaplain or Minister to an English Congregation at Geneva; and who professed to Mr A. to be licensed by your Lordship; and pleaded that connection in defence of his doctrine and acts, as representing the Church of England at Geneva. The facts of the case are these :—M^{de}. A. having been long absent from Russia, partly for the education of her daughters, and partly for their health and her own, came to Geneva, now some time ago; and her husband, who only occasionally obtained leave of absence to visit them, bought a small property near that city, where they resided. When they ‘first came to Geneva from Italy,’ (I quote now from a letter of the eldest daughter) they ‘went to the Church of the Methodistes [‘Evangéliques’ they are called in England], and even made acquaintance with some of their principal preachers; but they soon retired from their Church and society; and it is now nearly two years since they have had anything to do with them.’ They held at that time that the Bible is the only source of religious truth, which is to be got from thence by the private judgment of every individual for himself: and falling in, in the meantime, with an English Prayer-Book, and, I presume, with English acquaintances, they convinced themselves that the greater part of the Greek religion was contrary to the Bible, and all in the English Prayer-Book in unison with the Bible: They therefore decided to quit the Russian, and to become members of the English Church, which they supposed was easily to be done, by going to the Service, and Communicating there. The first time that they went (now more than a year ago) the daughter requested to have some conversation with the Preacher after he had descended from the pulpit, *not* upon the question of receiving the Communion in the English Church, for upon that she was quite decided, but upon some other doubts which she had at that time upon a *totally different* subject, namely, concerning the doctrine of *The Trinity*. The clergyman was Lord E. C., a Dean in the Church of Ireland. He removed her doubts concerning the doctrine of the Trinity; and she made him acquainted with her determination; which he *approved*: he even remained himself a fortnight longer at Geneva for the purpose of administering personally to her the Communion. Her mother also Communicated in the Chapel some time after; and they have since considered themselves to have quitted and renounced the Russian Church and religion, and to have become members of the English Church. They describe this act by the different expressions of having ‘embraced Protestantism,’ having ‘entered into the Unity of the Gospel,’ and having ‘been converted to the Anglican Church of Geneva.’ In the mean time, their apostacy

from the Russian Church became commonly known ; was much talked about in the higher circles at St Petersburg ; and came to the Emperor's ears, who expressed his displeasure. Mr A. himself was naturally distressed to have his family so divided ; his wife and daughters (for the others, as they grew up, seemed to be following the example and influence of their mother and elder sister, and Mde. A. had, besides, placed the youngest under the care of a Swiss pastor of the Evangelical religion) considering him and all the rest of their relations and countrymen as idolaters, while to him they seemed to have embraced heresy : The civil consequences also might be very serious ; as the Synod, if their apostacy became formally known to it, might anathematize them ; and the estates of the lady would be liable by the law to confiscation.

“ One day, while things were in this state, he met me at the house of one of his relatives ; and said, that he had been exceedingly surprised to hear that, though a Clergyman of the Anglican Church, I did not think the Russians heretics or idolaters, but was ready to Communicate with them myself. He asked whether this was true ; and related all that had recently occurred in his own family. I told him it was quite true ; and on his further inquiring upon what principle I could be offering myself to Communicate in their Church, if permitted, consistently with the Protestant religion, which they supposed to be a heresy inconsistent with the very being of a Church, and utterly repudiating Intercommunion with the Russian and Roman alike, and all others of the old foundation ; I told him that I had always been taught, and had read in the books of our divines, that the Church of England was the most moderate and tolerant of all Churches ; and that, much as we lamented, and blamed and protested against the many errors and corruptions of Rome, still we had not broken off Communion even with the Pope himself, but he with us ; and that we do not accuse the Churches that follow him on the Continent of absolute heresy or idolatry, in the strict sense of the words ; but are ready to Communicate with them, even as they are, if they will admit us to Communion without professing their errors : only we claim an absolute obedience from the Christians of our own dioceses, and excommunicate them if they openly rebel either against the doctrine or discipline of their own Church : And all this I had heard asserted equally with respect to the Greek or Oriental Communion : indeed, much more unhesitatingly, and more strongly : so that, while I had met with some writers, and many living individuals, who seemed to think that the Church of England had herself excommunicated, or at least does in intention excommunicate, the Pope of Rome and all who hold with him, no matter of what dioceses they may be, I had never found any one, who either wrote or spoke of the Greek Communion as having been, or being now, separated from us by any act of ours : That accordingly, when I had resolved, in pursuit of certain Ecclesiastical studies, to come for a time to Russia, I had, in conjunction with the President of my College at Oxford, considered what conduct I ought to pursue towards the Authority of those Churches, into whose dioceses I was going, and was confirmed by him in the opinion, that I ought to act just as if there were no legitimate separation at all ; that is, present myself to the Bishop, as believing the Orthodox Faith, and as supposing that neither did he require (as necessary to Salvation or Communion) any more. Upon this principle, I told him, the President of my College had given me a Letter of Recommendation, both with the design of furthering

those particular objects for which I came out, and also of countenancing me, so far as he could, in that line of conduct which, as an individual, I intended to adopt towards the Authorities of those Churches. I should have been glad to have taken also what would have been equivalent to Letters Commendatory, that is, a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury that I and the College were in the Communion of the English Church : but those to whom I addressed myself in explanation of my views upon this subject, did not see any particular propriety in my carrying such a letter; but thought the letter of the President would answer all purposes, which, as an individual, and without any public mission, I could desire: so I did not press them to make any further application to the Archbishop upon this subject : At the same time, they bade me by no means say in Russia that I had been refused such letters. I acknowledged, therefore, to Mr A., that I did not come with those credentials which are required by the Apostolical Canon, still in force in Russia, to be presented to the Bishop by all strangers, who profess to be members, and to seek the Communion, of the true Church : but I had no reason, nevertheless, to doubt the accuracy of my assertion, that the Church of England neither has, nor does excommunicate the Russian Church ; and that no Priest or Chaplain of hers, travelling or residing abroad, could have any canonical right to convert the members of the Russian Church, or to admit them, as by an act of conversion and reconciliation, to be members of the English. Mr A. was pleased to hear me speak in such a manner; and begged me to enter into correspondence with the ladies of his family, and shew them, if possible, that they could not rightly quit the Russian Church, nor had indeed ever been so validly admitted into the English, as to pledge them to a renunciation of the other. This I did ; and some correspondence has since taken place, and is still in progress. In the meantime, finding himself perplexed by the conflicting statements which he heard or found in various quarters concerning the Anglican Church and religion, he took the resolution of applying at once to the fountain-head ; and wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he asked him plainly the question, Whether the English Church excommunicates the Russian or no ? and whether an English Chaplain on the Continent could plead the countenance and authority of his Church in converting Russians as heretics or idolaters to the Church of England; and in admitting them not only to Communicate, but to be members of her society and religion, as opposed to that of the Russian Church ? He told me, that he was much inclined to believe what I had said ; but that I was only an individual, and by my own account not yet a Priest, while there were already two Clergymen at Geneva, whom his wife and daughters quoted against me : And what he heard generally, made him more inclined to regard the Anglican Established Religion as a Protestant sect, than as an Apostolical Church : that so I must not take it amiss, that he had written to our Primate : And he shewed me the letter which he had written. He seemed, indeed, to show it freely, and to converse about it with his Russian friends and acquaintance, so that the matter got to be well known : And meeting our Ambassador, Lord C., at the French Ambassador's house, he talked over the conversion of the ladies of his family with him, and told him what he had done. After some time, he was appointed to command a corps of the army at Orenburg ; and previously to assuming his command as General, was sent by the Emperor's own

command to Geneva, to bring back to Russia all those members of his family whose health would admit of it, upon the ground of their religious defection. About the same time, I also was returning to England, and gave him some books, to take with him to Geneva, which I thought calculated to remove the errors of his wife and daughters, or at least to smoothe the way for their removal. In particular, I gave him Bishop Jolly's two tracts upon 'The Church,' and upon 'Baptismal Regeneration,' Bishop Andrews' 'Private Devotions,' and a Russian translation of the 'Catechetical Lectures' of St Cyril of Jerusalem. I also promised that, if there appeared to be any chance of my doing good, I would go myself from England to Geneva, and meet them there. Mr A. told me, that in spite of his disposition to believe me, he could not help feeling confirmed in his original idea that the Church of England was a mere human or political sect of Protestantism, based upon the democratical interpretation of the Bible, and far from owning the Eastern Catholic Churches as sister Churches, or being willing to Communicate with them: for though it was now several months since he had written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he had received no answer: and, he said, 'Doubtless, that is because your Archbishop is of the opinion of the Chaplain at Geneva and Lord E. C., and having nothing agreeable to say, he does not like to write merely to tell me that he considers me as a heretic and an idolater.' He asked me to ascertain, if I could, on my return, whether his letter was ever received; which I did; and wrote him word (what I had from His Grace himself), that the Archbishop had both received it, and had intended to answer it; and indeed thought that he actually had answered it; though in fact that had never been done. I also sent him translations of the Letters addressed to the Eastern Bishops of the Greek Orthodox Church by the Archbishop and by your Lordship in favour of Mr Tomlinson last year; which I thought would tend to remove from his mind the impression that our Church either excommunicates theirs, or seeks to destroy it by converting and reconciling their members, as heretics or idolaters, to herself. In reply, he sends me a letter in which he says, that 'his wife does not know herself of what religion she is, but when asked replies, 'I am of the *unity of the Gospel*;' which to me (he says) is the same as to say nothing. As for my eldest daughter, she says that she has quitted the Greek Catholic religion, and has become a member of the *Church of England*. The fact is, that she goes here on Sundays to, and has Communicated in the English Chapel, of which I send you the programme which is pasted up about the walls here. I have had a conversation with Mr Hare, and I have found him completely heretical, denying the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and that it is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. My wife and my eldest daughter hold the same heresy: nevertheless, by reading with her some good books, especially the Catechetical Lectures of St Cyril of Jerusalem, I have succeeded in inspiring the latter with some doubts of her new belief, or rather unbelief. *Pray see if you can ascertain from the Bishop of London whether Mr Hare is really in connection with him, and under his authority, and countenanced by him in doing and teaching such things.* He pretends that he is sent by the Bishop of London; but I do not believe him. He told my daughter, in my own presence, that she was quite right in *quitting* the Orthodox Church, *because* in so doing, she was following her conscience.' . . .

"Under all circumstances, I resolved, at the risk of being troublesome

to your Lordship, to send you this question of Mr A. in his own words, together with that statement of the circumstances of the case which I have given above: for indeed I believe that this matter is of no ordinary importance, both from the rank of the parties concerned, and the publicity the whole affair has acquired at St Petersburg. The Emperor's Representative and High-Procurator to the Holy Governing Synod told me, at the last interview I had with him, that nothing would so much tend to set our Church and Communion in a good light, or to inspire a favourable disposition into the minds of people in Russia towards it, as the disavowal on the part of our Spiritual Heads of such attempts at the conversion of their people; which can only be justifiable on the supposition that our Communion is essentially hostile to theirs, and bound to seek its destruction by drawing away its members to itself. On the other hand, the apparent countenance or allowance of such conversions, and that without any intervention whatever of Episcopal authority, would go far to justify the prevalent impression that we are a hostile sect, constituted upon the principle of Dissent, which in foreign countries is called (erroneously, so far as English Churchmen are concerned) 'the principle of Protestantism.' At the same time, it may be as well to state, that at present they are so open to receive favourable impressions concerning the English Church, that though I could not press upon them my desire to Communicate, not having any such Letters Communicatory from any English Bishop as are required by the canon, still, they testified to me, by the kindest and most hearty assurances, their readiness to consider any application which should be made upon sufficient authority, and their desire that such application should be made, provided only that it were made upon such principles, and with such dispositions, as were really Catholic, and not sectarian. This they discovered before I left (from some French religious journals) was not likely to be done at present; as it seems, (the Ober-Prokuror said) 'that you are divided among yourselves.' They went so far, however, as to tell me, that they would select a Chaplain for the Russian Embassy at London, who should be capable of studying our language and divinity; and would charge him to make them special reports from time to time, with the view of promoting eventually the restoration of unity: and they requested that, when he came, I would do whatever might be in my power to make this known, and to bring him into acquaintance with some of our Clergy: I cannot, therefore, be wrong in mentioning this to your Lordship, in whose diocese he will have to reside. But besides, I thought that these particulars might throw some light upon the importance which I suppose to attach to the case of Mr A.'s family. Once more apologizing for having presumed to trouble your Lordship at such length, I remain, &c. &c.

N. N." (*Deacon.*)

The following was the Bishop of London's Reply, dated from Linton, North Devon, September 24, 1841:—

"REV^d. SIR,—I have no real jurisdiction over any Clergyman who is not within the limits of my own diocese; but it has been customary in most cases (not in all) for Clergymen of our Church, officiating abroad, to act under a license from me. They are not *sent* by me; but, being chosen by the

Congregations, and in some cases appointed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, are licensed by me, as stipendiary curates are licensed in England.

“Mr Hare informs me, that he made no attempt whatever to convert, (as the word is commonly used), either of the ladies to whom your letter refers ; that upon application, through Lord Edward Chichester, he admitted the young lady to the Holy Communion, ‘without requiring from her any abjuration of her own Church, or any promise not to Communicate in it hereafter.’ After some months the mother ‘demanded of him admission to the Communion of the Church of England.’ ‘I questioned her,’ says Mr Hare, ‘on her religious principles, and on the grounds on which she had determined to leave her own Church, which I was far from encouraging her to do ; because I foresaw that such a step would lead to consequences which would require a very strong faith and deep piety to bear up against. But she was very decided : and having satisfied me on the two above-mentioned points, I did not feel authorized to refuse to receive her at the Lord’s Table.’

“Neither do I think that he was at liberty to refuse her. If there be a fundamental difference between the Greek Church and our own, there must be, in our judgment, good reason for a person’s seeking to be admitted to our Communion ; but if not, then there is no reason why the members of one Church should not be admitted to Communicate in the other. I do not see that Mr Hare was to be prevented by any local regulations of the Russian Government from granting such admission ; although they might be matter of consideration to the parties applying for it. To refuse him the right of receiving into Communion a person so applying, seems to me to be a denial of Christian liberty, not to be justified on any sound principles of Church discipline. I remain, Rev^d. Sir, your faithful servant, C. J. LONDON.”

To this I replied again by another letter dated as before from Miskbury, near Brackley, September 28, 1841, as follows:—

“MY LORD,—I beg to thank you very humbly for your goodness in replying to my letter, and for the trouble you have taken to inform yourself, from Mr Hare, of the grounds upon which he has acted. I hope your Lordship will not think me needlessly importunate if I still venture to ask for

a further answer upon one point before I communicate the substance of what you have been pleased to reply to his question to Mr A.

“What he wishes to know is, whether his wife and daughter can truly say, as they do now say, that they have been legitimately and validly admitted to be members of the Church of England as converts from a Church, between which and the Church of England there are essential differences ?

“Of course Mr A. cannot deny the justice of what your Lordship says, that ‘*if there be a fundamental difference, there is ground and reason for conversion from one side to the other ; and if there be not a fundamental difference, then there is no reason why the members of one Church should not be admitted to Communicate in the other :*’

“But he supposes that in any particular case, where an English Priest gives the Communion *in the name of his Church* to a member of any foreign Church, *he must, as a matter of fact, do it either on the one of the two principles, or on the other : either on the principle of Intercommunion, or on that of conversion :* and, *if he really represents his Church in what he does and teaches, and is really authorized by her to do what he professes to do, then that his act involves in the one case, the recognition of that Church, whose members he admits to Communion, by his own ; in the other, its rejection and excommunication.*

“If Mr Hare has done nothing in the name and by the authority of the Church of England, in receiving the ladies A., which involves the excommunication of the Church of Russia by our Church, or pledges them to renounce it for the future, and yet is justified, in the opinion of your Lordship, in having given them the Communion, then, I apprehend, Mr A. would no ways think himself aggrieved, but rather rejoice . . . If this were so, the separation of the ladies from the Russian Church would be merely ideal, and would cease of itself as soon as ever they came to see that they were mistaken in supposing that there was any fundamental difference between the Russian and English Churches.

“But *if*, on the other hand, Mr Hare’s act on the part of the English Church, was not an act of recognition towards the Russian, but of conversion from it, (as the ladies took it to be, and as two English Clergymen bore them out in

supposing it), and Mr Hare really had power, and was authorized to admit them to Communion in the name of the English Church, and did so validly admit them in her name, *not* in virtue of their being members of a Church (the Russian) recognized as a sister Church by the English, *but* in virtue of their renouncing a Church disowned and excommunicated by the English, and coming to her, as from a false Church to the true, then Mr A. would naturally conclude that I was mistaken in all that I represented to him while in Russia, and that the Church of England does indeed war upon, and excommunicate the Russian Church, and convert her members as heretics or idolaters. But this he is unwilling to believe till he has traced up the act of the English Chaplain, and his assistant at Geneva, who are only Priests, to that Episcopal sanction from which alone it can derive any validity as representing and implicating the English Church. I remain, &c. N. N." (*Deacon.*)

The Bishop of London's Answer, dated Fulham, Oct. 11, 1841.

"REV^d. SIR,—If a person of good life and conversation presents himself to a Clergyman of the Church of England, declaring his assent to the doctrines of that Church, and desiring to be admitted as a Communicant, I conceive that it is the duty of that Clergyman to admit him.

"Whether he is a convert from any other Church or not, is a question which concerns the conscience of the party himself, but which the Clergyman, admitting him to Communion, is not called upon to determine.

"We have no authorised form for receiving persons who desire to quit another Church and to become members of ours, although a form was *prepared* in 1714, for the admission of 'converts from the Church of Rome, and such as shall renounce their errors;' which form has of late been used only in the case of *Priests* abjuring the errors of the Church of Rome.

"Whether the Greek Church teaches doctrines which disqualify those who hold them from Communicating in our Church, is a question which I do not feel it necessary to decide in the present instance.

"Mr Hare has no other authority from me than that which is conveyed to him by his license, couched in the usual form. He does not appear to me to have exceeded

that authority in admitting to Communion the Russian ladies in question, nor do I see that I can be required to interfere any further in the matter. I remain, Revd. Sir, your faithful servant," "C. J. LONDON."¹

Having received the above Letter as the Bishop of London's final answer, I took my hat, and called upon the nearest Dissenting Preacher or Minister, (who happened to be of the Independent Denomination), and put to him this question,—Whether, according to the principles of his sect, a Minister could in any case rightly give the Communion to a stranger in such manner, *as to leave it uncertain* whether the party in question Communicated as a proselyte, or as a brother? And again, Whether, in any case, the decision of this question could be viewed as one belonging to *the conscience of the party Communicating*, so that the Minister admitting him to Communion is not called upon to determine it? The Minister smiled at what seemed to him the absurdity of the question; and was curious to know what should have made a stranger, and a member of the Established Church, think it worth his while to call upon him merely for the purpose of asking it. He then said, that "in every religious community, and, he supposed, in every community whatever, it must be for the Authority to determine what persons are admissible, and upon what conditions each person is admitted to its privileges: that if these were left to be taken at the discretion of private conscience, the community would no longer be any real community at all."

Of all this correspondence, and its result, I made no report at that time to Mr A., being ashamed to write any. It was not till after the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric, that I communicated to him all that had passed. I made, however, a copy of my long Letter to his eldest daughter, and sent it to St Petersburg, to meet them there on their arrival.

¹ The Bishop of London, in 1842, when I was intending to publish the above correspondence (together with other Notes and Appendices to the "Protest" given below in Section VI.), requested me to state, "that he did not address his letters to me as to a person having any authority from the Greek Church to enter into communication with the Heads of the English Church." On which I have only to remark, that I cannot conceive how any person should have been likely to suppose that I either had, or pretended to have any such authority.

SECTION XXIX.

MR A. ANNOUNCES THE RETURN OF HIS DAUGHTER TO THE RUSSIAN COMMUNION : HE REQUESTS ME TO GO TO PARIS, AND TO CONFER THERE WITH HIS WIFE.

OCTOBER 25, 1841, I received from Mr A. the following letter, dated *Frankfort-on-the-Maine, October 19* :—

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,—I received your letter [directed to Geneva] ; and my reason for delaying so long to answer it is this, that I wished to be able to say something definite. Your long letter, which I had sent by courier from St Petersburg, has at last reached my daughter. You will sympathise with my joy and my gratitude towards God, when you learn that my dear child has reconciled herself to the Church, and has received the Holy Communion thereupon, in our Russian Chapel at Berne. She and my second daughter are now going back with me to Russia. As for my wife, she has decided to go to Paris, on the ground of her health, and to take with her the youngest girl. God knows how she will bear to remain separated from her children : and yet, on the other hand, she cannot well return into Russia, while she persists, as she does, in her heresy. Her eldest daughter has returned to the truth : how sad it is that the mother should continue obstinate in error ! My daughter has been brought back, under God’s grace, by your letters ; by some conferences which she had with our Chaplain at Berne ; and by those good books which I have read with her. As for my wife, she is fixed by an obstinacy which comes of ignorance ; and though she calls herself a member of *the Anglican Church*, she is completely heretical on the subject of the Holy Eucharist. Who, then, is to save her ? Who shall restore a mother to her children, a wife to her husband, unless it be yourself ? I implore you then, in the name of Jesus Christ, to cross the Channel, and go to Paris to see my wife. She will make no difficulty of receiving you. Talk with her ; and get her permission to repeat your visit : and I am sure that your mission will be crowned with success. No one can be more capable than you will be of convincing her. You are a Deacon of the Church of England ; you are acquainted with Russia ; you

know the Orthodoxy of the Faith which we profess there : and if we join our prayers together, God will bless us, and will bring back peace and happiness to my family. Adieu, my dear Mr N. ; may God inspire you. Be my friend, as I am yours, &c. &c.”

“ N. N.”

Answer to the above, dated St M. Magd. Coll. Oxon. Novr. 1, 1841.

“ MY DEAR MR A.,—I cannot express to you how much pleasure I have received from your letter announcing the return of your daughter to the Communion of the Russian Church ; and most heartily do I pray God she may now do her duty in it like a good Christian to her life's end, avoiding not only all error, formalism, and superstition, but also, which is far the greater danger, all lukewarmness, remissness, and worldly-mindedness ; in one word, all the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil. For after all, when we are in the true Church, it is a very difficult thing to be saved ; and we must strive with our whole heart, and soul, and strength, or we may miss it altogether. It has ever been difficult from the beginning ; and so it must needs be ; for if there were no strength in our enemies, where would be the merit of being a ‘ faithful soldier ’ of Jesus Christ ? and if there were no great labour, what is it for which the labourers are to be paid ? But it is more especially difficult in these last and worst of ages of the world, when iniquity so much abounds, and the love, or charity, (which implies earnestness) of so many has waxed cold. We must take care, then, ever to remember and keep it practically before our minds, that though it is true we have no power whatever of ourselves, as of ourselves, *apart from* the grace of God, to do or think any good thing, yet *in* the grace of God such is the power of our own wills, that upon every one, even the least, of our acts or thoughts may depend greater or less degrees of happiness and glory both to ourselves and to others for ever and ever. And equal power and force is left to our own wills, of themselves, and apart from God, to increase the degrees of eternal evil and misery, or the danger of becoming outcasts from the grace of God. Therefore, since we have such power over our own destiny, and over that of others, especially those who are bound to us by blood or affection, and since the danger in these times is really so very great even to those who wish to be good Christians, it may be well to remind you, how earnestly you yourself should strive to be a Christian not in word only, but in deed, both for your own sake and for that of others : It may be well also to warn your daughter, now that she is again reconciled to the Church of her Baptism, how easily she may fall into some lukewarmness, vanity, dissipation, or worldliness, as time goes on and the warmth of religious feeling goes off, unless she be diligent to cultivate, as a good Catholic, the possession of the true religion, by striving with all her power to live a holy life.

“ Now, for other matters : I have to say that I feel deeply for your wife's unhappy position ; the more so, because I believe that she is sincerely desirous of obeying the will of God, and ready to make any sacrifice in order to do so. Whether I may be enabled to work any change in her sentiments I cannot tell : but my resolution is to spare no trouble in attempting it. I cannot leave Oxford just at the present moment, as my Superiors have given me other employment, which will

last till Christmas. I am also engaged in editing Mouravieff's 'History of the Russian Church,' and cannot leave the printer with the work half finished in his hands. *But I will go to Paris as soon as I can : and I promise you that I will not voluntarily give up the attempt to reunite her to you in the Communion of the Russian Church, till she either of herself sends me away, or I see that the case is absolutely hopeless.* Write to me, and to her, if necessary, about this ; as there will be plenty of time. I certainly shall not be able to go to Paris before January.

" I hope that in reconciling herself to the Russian Church your daughter did not renounce or accuse the *Church of England*, but only that heretical Protestantism, Lutheranism, or Calvinism, and those particular heresies and errors which she had been taught, or had unconsciously imbibed from others, and which so she mistakenly held as the doctrines of ' Protestantism,' or of ' the Anglican Church of Geneva.' Pray let me know exactly how this was."

" In the meantime things seem drawing to a close here. Our Bishops seem more and more inclined to try to make the Church really what she is commonly supposed to be, namely, a Protestant Sect. They are said to have made a treaty with the Luther-Calvinist King of Prussia to establish a Bishop at Jerusalem, in the face of the Eastern Church, to be a visible head to Protestantism in the East, and to take under special protection, and admit to Communion, a colony of Luther-Calvinists, whom the King of Prussia is to send there. However, there are so many people in our Churches who would rather die than become parties to such a measure, that I have no doubt some strong opposition will be made. I shall not scruple to make any use of the correspondence which has passed in the affairs of your family, which circumstances may seem to call for ; as, if our acquaintance and mutual relations can serve the cause of Catholicism and unity, I both think myself bound to make use of them to that end, and feel confident that you will not object to it, but rather desire it. For myself, when I reflect how many singular coincidences there have been in the whole matter, I feel assured that it is not to be without some good end : " . . .

" N. N." (*Deacon.*)

SECTION XXX.

SIGNS THAT WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE WAS THE OBJECT OF NOTICE AND OF CONVERSATION AT PETERSBURGH.

IN the course of the winter (between 1841 and 1842), I received letters from St Petersburg, in which it was mentioned, that the return of the two younger Ladies to the Eastern Communion, (though the second daughter had never actually Communicated in the Anglican Chapel at Geneva, but had only been placed for instruction under a Swiss Pastor), had been made matter of conversation very generally among the higher circles ; and was attributed mainly

to myself as the cause. The following is an extract from a letter from the Reverend R. W. Blackmore, Chaplain to the Russia Company at Cronstadt, dated *February 18, 1842* :

“ I called a few days ago in company with L. [the Chaplain at St Petersburg], on our Ambassador, Lord S. ; and L. began to speak of a Mr A., an American Missionary, who has been seeking permission to erect an Independent Chapel at Cronstadt ; when Lord S., who is seemingly rather deaf, asked him, ‘ *What, are you speaking of that man, Mr P., who turns away people from his own Church ?* ’ We explained to him the subject of our conversation : and then, to justify what he had said, he gave us a full account of all that you had done respecting the Ladies A., *as a matter generally known*. We immediately after called on Mr B. [Secretary to the Embassy], *who spoke on the same subject with the same freedom*. The only variation between their accounts and what I knew from yourself was, that you had reconverted two Ladies, instead of one. I have never hitherto spoken on this subject : but when I heard it mentioned so openly, I did not conceal my knowledge of it, and endeavoured to explain the motives of your conduct When I saw M. Mouraviëff, he asked me (whether in joke or otherwise was not perceptible by his countenance), if they had sent out Mr P. with the Bishop of Jerusalem as his Deacon ? I said, ‘ If that had been done, the Church there would not have been at unity with itself.’ He also spoke of the Ladies A. ; but thought you had reconverted them from *Calvinism* ; as he was not aware of the step they had taken previously to your communications with them. Your motives seemed to be better understood here, than elsewhere.”

Some time later, the same correspondent mentioned in another letter, that he had chanced to be present when M. Mouraviëff was giving an account of the same matter to the Metropolitan of Moscow, intermixing many laudatory expressions concerning myself, for what I had done ; and that the Metropolitan answered rather dryly, ‘ *Truly our Church is greatly indebted to that English Deacon !* ’

And later still, when staying a second time in Russia, (1842-3) I was myself told by some of the gentlemen attached to our Embassy at St Petersburg, “ that my re-conversion of those Ladies had been the talk in society all the last winter.”

SECTION XXXI.

MR A. MAKES NO ANSWER TO INQUIRIES RESPECTING THE FORM BY WHICH HIS DAUGHTER HAD BEEN RE-ADMITTED TO THE RUSSIAN COMMUNION.

AFTER writing to Mr A. on November 1, 1841, the letter given above, *as he made no answer to any inquiries respecting the manner of his daughter's Reconciliation*, I began to fear (as was afterwards acknowledged to be the fact), *that she had been Reconciled formally from the Anglican Church under the name of Lutheranism or Calvinism*. I knew, indeed, that it is the settled usage of the Eastern Church so to Reconcile Anglicans, as Lutherans or Calvinists : and, no doubt, the fact of a person apostatizing from the Eastern Church to hold Lutheran or Calvinistic heresies, and then obtaining the Communion as a proselyte in an Anglican Congregation from Anglican Clergy, without scandal to any body, or scarcely to any body, agreed very well with the view taken of the Anglican Church by the Eastern, and seemed to justify her practice in so Reconciling Anglicans to her own Communion. Still, under all the circumstances, it seemed hard upon some of us to make those whom we, in part at least, had re-converted, on the ground of their neither having embraced the true Anglican doctrines, nor having been validly admitted to the Anglican Communion, to assert the direct contrary in the act of their Reconciliation to the Eastern Church.

This however made no change in my resolution to go to Paris, as Mr A. had requested, and to do whatever might be possible there to bring his wife out of her errors, or at least to prevent her misrepresenting the doctrine, and violating the discipline of our Church without opposition.

I heard afterwards that Mde. A. had refused to read the long letter to her daughter, when urged to read it by her husband, saying, that "her daughter was a good girl, but did not understand the matter : that she understood Protestantism and the Anglican Church better, and knew what she had done, and would not be so easily shaken." However, she promised that, if I went to Paris on purpose, she would see me ; since he made such a point of it.

INTRODUCTION.

PART II.

SECTION I.

CONVERSATION WITH M. BUNSEN.



IN the year 1839, being then at Oxford, a friend, formerly a pupil of Dr Arnold, brought to my rooms the Chevalier Bunsen, who maintained a pretty long argument on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, the denial of which had been spoken of as the primary heresy of the Continental Protestants, and as necessarily flowing from their rejection of the Apostolic Episcopate, even if there had been no other cause for it. He said at length, "You need not treat us so dogmatically as heretics; for we in Prussia are, after all, free from that narrow Puritanism which you have here:" And he added good-humouredly, "If you knew what I have been recommending to my master the King of Prussia, perhaps you would think the difference between us to be not so great after all." He said he had recommended the King "to apply to our Bishops to consecrate Bishops for Prussia, even upon our own terms, Apostolical Bishops." To this it was replied, that however glad one might be to hear that there was any disposition that way, there would be many deep questions to be examined and settled, before we could rightly consecrate any foreign Protestants to be Bishops: "We must take care first, that they themselves believe and accept the whole true Faith; and that, when consecrated, they will not extend our Communion to others who reject any part of it." He said, he proposed that the persons Consecrated "should be required only to subscribe 'the three Creeds:'" to which it was replied again, that there

were many points beyond the letter of those Creeds, though more or less involved in their interpretation, which had been made matter of controversy by the ' Reformers ' of the 16th century, and so in part grounds of their separation from the Roman-Catholic or Latin Church : that we could not rightly maintain or organize separate Churches on the Continent, without reconsidering all those questions, and making such full and orthodox decisions, as to put ourselves and our adherents clearly in the right : that otherwise, even if the Protestants, or any of them, would relinquish their essential errors, we should still be schismatics. He laughed, and said, " To enter into all those questions of the 16th century, and to make decisions upon them, one must have read the Schoolmen. The time may come : but it will be long before it does. I know your Bishops, many of them ; . . . very respectable gentlemen, very much so ; but quite incompetent for any thing of that sort." He said something also of an application to be made to the Eastern and the British Bishops jointly.

SECTION II.

CONVERSATION WITH AN ARCHIMANDRITE IN RUSSIA.

BETWEEN October 7 and 12, 1840, during a visit to the Monastery of St Sergius, near St Petersburg, in Russia, the Archimandrite and some of the monks asked a question (which was also asked on many other similar occasions afterwards), namely, " With what form, if with any, would a Lutheran or Calvinist be received or reconciled to the Anglican Church ? " It was answered, with some feeling of shame, " In most cases he, like others, would not be *received* or *reconciled* by any form at all, but rather would be invited to ' take ' the Sacraments *at his own discretion* : for ecclesiastical discipline is utterly forgotten ; and the few vestiges of it which remain in our formularies are habitually and generally neglected. However, if the Priest, or rather the Bishop, was ' High-Church,' as they call it, and knew his duty, and would not flinch from performing it, the theoretical or canonical reception of a Lutheran would be as follows : *First*, the Bishop (or the Priest whom he had deputed) would ascertain whether the party to be received had been Baptized

with the right matter and form, and by people who believed the doctrine of the Trinity, in the sense of the Church: *Secondly*, he would inquire whether he had ever been Confirmed by a Bishop, or at least with Chrism consecrated by a Bishop, as in the East: *Thirdly*, whether he believed the Faith of the Creed, in the sense of the Church; and especially those articles concerning the Church and the Sacraments, on which the Protestants of the Continent, both Lutherans and Calvinists, seem now to have become universally heretical. And then, (having been Confirmed, if that had not been done before), he would be admitted to Communion, and would become a member of our Church.” “ But you have left out the Confession of his errors, and Absolution,” he said. They said also, that the Lutherans had abolished the Sacrifice, and so, in fact, had no Liturgy; that the Pastor with them did not give himself the Communion, but received it from his assistant; and that they had altogether dispensed with the Mystery of Confirmation.

I gave the Archimandrite some account of the conversation held with M. Bunsen the year before, mentioning his idea of an application to be made to the English and the Greek or Russian Churches jointly, to Consecrate Prussian Luthero-Calvinists, on condition merely of their subscribing ‘the three Creeds;’ “whereas it would surely be necessary to examine all those questions which are involved in their present separation from the Bishops already among or near them, and to place them in such an ecclesiastical position as should be defensible, and pledge them to principles which should tend directly to unity.” “ Yes, Yes,” said the Archimandrite, “ doubtless; but as for the Creeds, *they might all be subscribed by Rationalists.*” “ To treat with the Lutherans, or Luthero-Calvinists, as they are, being simply a sect, and basing their religion on a sectarian principle, would only be to introduce confusion: they must renounce their heresy first.” He said, they were quite of the same mind.

On another occasion, the same question having been asked, Whether Lutherans were received by the Anglican Church as proselytes; the learned Grabe, a native of Kœnigsberg, was mentioned as an instance; who, after studying for the Lutheran Ministry, publicly carried his doubts and questions to the Authorities of that sect, before he ultimately quitted it.

SECTION III.

PASSAGE IN THE MS. CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH NON-JURING BISHOPS WITH THE EASTERNS.

MARCH 4, N. S. 1841, being allowed to see in the Synodal Archives at St Petersburg the MSS. of a Correspondence which passed a century ago between certain Scotch and English Bishops and the Easterns, I noticed in the "Answer" of the British Bishops one passage, of which the following is a translation:—

"Whatever may be the causes owing to which the Catholic Churches of the East suspect us of being Lutherano-Calvinists, we, for ourselves, do publicly declare, that no doctrines, which caused the names of either of the founders of those two sects to be given to their followers, can be imputed, with any justice, to us." . . The Answer is dated *London, May 29, 1722.*

SECTION IV.

CONVERSATION AT OXFORD CONCERNING M. BUNSEN'S SCHEME FOR THE ERECTION OF A PROTESTANT BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM, AND ITS PROBABLE EFFECT UPON THE POSITION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

ABOUT the beginning of November 1841, not long after receiving the Bishop of London's answer to the application made to him at Mr A.'s desire, being in conversation with two or three acquaintances at Oriel College, Oxford, they spoke of M. Bunsen's contemplated Bishopric at Jerusalem, and of the probable effect such a formal recognition of foreign Protestantism by our Church might have *in causing secessions to Rome.* Mention was made of certain attempts to give an '*Anglo-Catholic*' colouring to the proposed measure, or at least to present two or three different views of it at once in different quarters: and, in particular, a Letter was alluded to, which had appeared in the Newspapers, and from which the following are extracts:—

"I am enabled to state, *on the highest authority,* that the appointment of a Bishop for Palestine is not designed as an interference with the prior claims and jurisdiction of the Orthodox Oriental Churches . . . The friendly correspondence which exists between the heads of our Churches and those of the Oriental Churches, furnishes in itself a sufficient pledge that the Bishop, who is to be sent into Palestine, will be provided with such instructions as will tend to promote the union of Churches, instead of impeding it. He can be readily introduced to the Oriental Patriarchs

as the representative of the Anglo-Catholic Churches, and as *commissioned to prevent, as far as possible, any infringement on their authority, or any attempts to proselytise their people.* Furnished with such instructions, and guided by such principles, studiously avoiding all interference with the Oriental Church, and at the same time aiding in the promotion of all its best interests, the Bishop to be stationed at Jerusalem may impress the most favourable notion of our Churches; may become the channel of frequent and friendly communications between our chief rulers and the East; and may contribute materially to the re-union of brethren separated for several ages. . . . It is most true that the Oriental is a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ; and it would therefore be wholly inconsistent with sound principle to separate voluntarily from her Communion, or to excite or encourage such separations. . . . Let me observe, that the schism of the Romanists in this country consists in their assumption of the character of the Catholic Church, to the exclusion of our more rightful claims; in their continual and avowed efforts to make converts amongst our people; in the fact of their voluntary separation from our Catholic and Apostolic Churches in the reign of Elizabeth; in the rejection of the authority of our Bishops; and in their refusal to unite themselves to us. *In all these respects, their conduct furnishes no parallel to the course which is now pursuing, in reference to the design before us."*

By way of shewing what sort of non-interference and friendship for the Eastern Church was likely to be really contemplated, even though there should be no public union with the Prussian Establishment, and so with Continental Protestantism generally, I gave some account of what had passed in the matter of Mr A.'s family: upon hearing which, one of those present said, with some energy, that really it was the duty of any one, who was in possession of such facts, to make them known: that he feared not so much an immediate secession of twenty or thirty persons, (which was then talked of), as the continual recurrence of secessions afterwards, so as to be a constant drain upon the Church, if her position should be felt to be changed in external relations. He who said this, or words to this effect, afterwards, as late as 1844, prayed of the Jerusalem Bishopric, for the sake of our Church, that it might "utterly fail, and come to nought, and be as though it had never been:" but the same person is now lost to us for our sins, and denies that we have any right or portion in the Catholic Church.

SECTION V.

MEMORIAL TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

SHORTLY after the above conversation, and partly in consequence, I wrote a Memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was shewn to

Dr Routh, the President of Magdalene College, and approved by him. But some others, who also saw it, noticing the strength of certain expressions of feeling, said that the Archbishop would not understand it, but would only think the writer out of his senses. So they re-wrote it: and it was sent as re-written, dated *St M. Magd. Coll. Oxford, Nov. 5, 1841*:—
Copy of the Memorial.

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I approach your Grace with much fear and reluctance, and with a deep sense of my own unworthiness, but under the conviction that there are circumstances which may justify even the meanest Christian, whose duties, and whose hopes of happiness here and hereafter, are all bound up in the Church of God, in imploring his spiritual rulers to take compassion upon the souls entrusted to them, in that which they propose to do.

“It is publicly reported in this University, that a design exists, in which the Church of England has been invited to take part with foreigners of the Lutheran persuasion, for the erection of a Bishopric in Palestine, within the dioceses of the Oriental Churches. In what degree it may be intended to respect the prior jurisdiction of those Churches, appears to be a point, on which different persons are differently informed, and make different reports; but all who have any information upon the subject agree in representing, that it is intended publicly to admit persons of the Lutheran persuasion to the Communion of the new Bishop, and so of our whole Church, upon condition of their subscribing to the three Creeds, and to the Lutheran document called the Confession of Augsburg, without requiring them to renounce any opinion or doctrine of Lutheranism, (as, for instance, that which is commonly, if not universally represented by all the foreign Protestants, as well as by the English Dissenters, to be the ‘fundamental principle of Protestantism;’ which is involved in the first word of the Articles of Augsburg; and for which, mainly, both the Lutherans and the Calvinists are anathematized by name in the Eastern Churches); and without requiring them to receive the Apostolical Rite of Confirmation, the ‘Seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost.’

“My Lord, I and many others in this place, who have been baptized and bred in the Church of England, and taught by her Catechism and Services, have heard this report with the deepest sorrow and alarm. We feel our allegiance due to the Church of England, as a Catholic Church, and not as a Protestant persuasion: and we feel that the principle of the *right* of private judgment, (as opposed to that of the *duty* of ecclesiastical submission), which sets itself above all ecclesiastical authority, is destructive of the very being and substance of all Apostolical Churches, and of all true and definite faith; and renders nugatory all tests and subscriptions of those who hold it. We have also ever believed Confirmation to be an essential ordinance for conveying grace under the Gospel. We have read in the New Testament that St Paul places ‘Baptism and the Laying on of Hands’ among the ‘elements’ of Christianity, between ‘Repentance from dead works, and faith towards God,’ and ‘the Resurrection from the dead, and eternal judgment.’ We have read in the Works of St Cyril, Bishop of the true Church of St James in Jerusalem, that by Confirmation or the Holy Chrism, ‘we are made Christs, or Anointed;’ that it ‘causes in us the Holy Ghost;’ that ‘when we have received this, and not before, we are called Christians, having been till then only advancing on our way,’ and though baptized, yet not perfect

Christians, nor having a full right to that name: for that 'Christ also Himself, to fulfil the significancy of His Name, was Anointed after His Baptism.' We see in the Service-books of the Church of England, that 'none shall be admitted' (even of her own baptized children) 'to the Holy Communion, until such time as they be Confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be Confirmed.' We know that no branch of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church has ever given countenance to the opinion, that this Ordinance may be voluntarily neglected, or dispensed with; and we know also that the Lutherans, without any physical necessity, have dispensed with this Ordinance for three hundred years; and that they altogether deny its efficacy as conferring grace.

"To those who have been so instructed, it cannot but appear that if the rumours which we hear are true, the integrity of our religion is in danger: and no member of the Church, however mean, can be doing wrong, or stepping beyond his sphere, in carrying to your Grace's feet, if no more, yet at least the expression of his own unhappiness at the prospect of so great a peril. For myself, I trust that I may be permitted, though unworthy, to live and die in the Communion of the Church of England, in which I was baptized: but I know many others whose minds are already unsettled by the fears which these reports suggest: and I should fail in my duty to your Grace and to the Church, if I could see my brethren in danger of being driven into separation from their Mother Church by the acts of their rulers, without stating to your Grace what may be the consequence of such acts, while there is yet time. I therefore most humbly and earnestly, and with tears, beseech your Grace to take this matter into your fatherly consideration, and to spare the people committed to your charge. I pray that God may be pleased to prosper your Grace's councils, and to deliver His Church from all evil; and remain, &c. &c."

"N. N." (*Deacon*.)

This Memorial was put into the Archbishop's hands on the same morning on which Bishop Alexander was consecrated, being November 7, 1841. Other persons had addressed the Archbishop in a similar way.

SECTION VI.

PROTEST AGAINST PRUSSO-ANGLICAN PROTESTANTISM.

HAVING learned that Dr Alexander was actually consecrated, and receiving no answer to the Memorial sent to the Archbishop, I wrote a Protest, which, after having been shewn to Dr Routh and to two or three other persons, and after having been approved by them, was intended for publication. This Protest was inscribed to the Queen, the Bishops, and other members of our Communion:—

Copy of the Protest.

"Whereas our ancestors in the Church of England called themselves Protestants, and spoke as protesting, not against the substance and authority of any Apostolical and true Church, far less against that of their own, or of the whole

Catholic Church as then organized under a Hierarchy having by Divine right dogmatic authority ; but against certain accidents, blemishes, and errors, as they supposed, in the Latin Churches of the time, which our Bishops were led to blame as unscriptural and uncatholic, and to follow the civil power in removing, together with many other things upon which they expressed no judgment at all ; and in this sense only we English Church-people have ever called or meant to call ourselves Protestants, being at the same time, and calling ourselves, with and in our Church, rather Catholics for the substance of our religion ;

“And whereas certain bodies of men, Lutherans and Calvinists, not being real Churches, but mixed multitudes, while they professed in the first instance to protest only against certain accidents of the Latin Churches, and of the Bishops immediately over them, and in a way not inconsistent with Catholic Christianity, yet claiming at the same time inconsistently, in spite of the opposition of those Churches and Bishops, (as is seen from the first word of the Confession of Augsburg) to be ‘ Churches ’ themselves, which they were not, and could not be, did so virtually make their protest into a principle of anarchy and individualism, destructive, if admitted, of all real and Apostolical Churches, whether in the East or West ;

“ And whereas this false and heretical *principle*, coming originally from abroad, was disseminated also among our English people, and became the fundamental principle of their religion to all the various sects of Protestant Dissenters, and is commonly known among English Church-people by the name of ‘ the Principle of Dissent,’ as it is by that of ‘ the Principle of Protestantism ’ in the great world, and especially in the Eastern Churches, and has at various times overthrown the temporal Establishment of our Churches in England, Scotland, the Channel Islands, and America, martyring our King and Archbishop, and persecuting our Clergy, and has nevertheless, since the Revolution of 1688, been attempted to be fastened upon the Church herself, as the principle of her being, by secular authorities, though it has never yet been formally recognized as such by the spiritual authority ;

“ And whereas both the foreign societies of Lutherans and

Calvinists, as well as the earlier sects of English Dissenters, have in these later times developed in the eyes of all the world their avowed 'fundamental principle' of Anti-Catholic Protestantism to its utmost consequences, so as generally to reject many essential articles of that Faith which was once for all delivered to the Saints, and many indispensable ordinances and usages of Christianity, and to hold whatever each one happens to hold upon no fixed principle, all dogmatical authority of the Apostolical Hierarchy, and all necessity of adhering to the Apostolical doctrine and fellowship being exploded and trampled under foot, so that it matters little what they seem for the time being to accept or reject, neither acception nor rejection having any law external to themselves ;

"And whereas what is now meant in the world at large by the word 'Protestantism,' is the heretical principle which forms the basis (at least by their own profession) of the Pseudo-Churches of the Lutherans, Calvinists, and English and American Dissenters, and is not the same as the 'Protestantism' of English Church-people, which, whether mistaken or not, is at any rate the accident of a true Church, and not the essence of a false one ; and yet, by the ambiguity of the word, and by civil influences joined to our first sin, that heretical Protestantism which has filled the world has also sapped and penetrated, secularized, divided, and well-nigh dissolved the English Church herself, so that the spirit which rules her, though mostly passive, seems rather Anti-Catholic, than so Protestant, as may be consistent with Catholicism ;

"And whereas the principle of Protestantism (as the word is commonly understood in the great world), or of Dissent and individualism (as some may like better to call it in England), being a pernicious heresy proceeding from that same enemy who, having before gone through all the other Articles of the Creed, has in these latter days attacked the Faith concerning the Church and the Sacraments of Salvation, is abhorred alike by all true Churches, (nay, even by those that are heretical, of the old foundation), both in the East and West, and by all true and faithful Christians ;

"And more particularly, whereas the sects or societies both of the Lutherans and of the Calvinists, and all others

which have come from them, as notoriously and avowedly building their politics and religion on the principle of Anti-Catholic Protestantism, are excommunicated and anathematized by name not only by the Continental Latin, but also no less by the Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Churches of the four Eastern Patriarchates, and by the Synodal-Patriarchate of the Empire of Russia, while our English Church, though outwardly mixed up with them, and supposed to share their principle, (which she does not), yet has never been excommunicated or anathematized by name by any of the Eastern Catholic Churches, nor have they been anathematized by ours ;

“ And whereas it is now currently reported, that our English Church is about to be entangled in a public league with the above-mentioned foreign sects or communities ; that we are to give them, such as they are, our Apostolical Ordinations and our Communion, while they are not to be converted, reconciled, or perfected ; not pledged to abjure that heretical principle of Protestantism, Dissent, Individualism, or Rationalism, (for the name matters not), which is the basis and principle of their Anti-Catholic Christianity ; nor required to receive the Apostolical ordinance of Confirmation, without which they cannot be perfect Christians ; and this not in the Western parts, by abuse, or prejudice in their favour, to make common cause politically against the power of Rome, but in the heart of the Eastern dioceses, which anathematize the Lutherans and the Calvinists by name, and in which a new and joint congregation is to be formed ;

“ And whereas an Act has been prepared and passed through Parliament, and has become a law, at the instance of our chief Spiritual Shepherds, by which they are authorized to consecrate Bishops of, and for, the members of foreign sects or communities which are not real Churches, and who, in spite of their publicly making heresy the basis of their pretended religion, are recognized as already ‘ professing the Public Worship of Almighty God according to the principles of the Church of England,’ whereas true Catholic Christians never yet *professed* ‘ a Public Worship ’ according to the principles of a particular Church, but the Faith,—that Faith, which once for all, one and indivisible, was delivered as a deposit on the day of Pentecost to one

body of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and to the Succession of Bishops in that body, to teach and keep ;

“ And whereas in the same Act of Parliament it is further enacted, ‘ that such Bishop or Bishops,’ so consecrated, ‘ may exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the Ministers of British Congregations of the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland, and over *such other Protestant Congregations* in such countries, as may be desirous of *placing themselves under his or their authority*’—language strange and repugnant to the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God, and borrowed from that of the sect of Congregational Independent Dissenters, the true representatives of the principle of Protestantism ; and which besides, when taken together with the expressions of the former clause, involves that principle of the community of the English Church with foreign Protestantism, which, when asserted by certain Bishops in the reign of William III., was even at that most critical period expressly disavowed by the Convocation of the Clergy ;

“ And whereas, having addressed a Memorial (see above, p. cxxiii.) to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, I learned that on the day on which it was received a Bishop had been consecrated at Lambeth under the above Act, by the title of ‘ Bishop of the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland in Jerusalem ;’

“ And whereas it has since been announced in the Prussian State Gazette, that this ‘ Protestant Bishopric’ has been founded by His Prussian Majesty, with the cordial co-operation of the British Government and the Heads of the English Church, for the joint representation of the whole of ‘ Protestant Christendom’ in the eyes of the Greek and Latin Churches, and of the Mahometan Power, as ‘ one Church,’ called ‘ the Protestant,’ ‘ the Reformed,’ or ‘ the Evangelical Church ;’

“ And whereas it is asserted in the same document, that ‘ all parties agreed in the conviction, that the diversities of Christian worship, according to languages and nations, and according to the peculiarities and historical development of each nation, that is to say, in the Protestant Church, are upheld by a superior unity, the Head of the Church Himself ; and that in this unity, to which all the diversities

refer as to their centre, is the foundation of true Christian toleration ;

“ And whereas, if any such thing were really asserted by our Church, she would unchurch herself, and render it impossible for any one either to justify his own allegiance to her on Catholic principles, or prove the duty of similar allegiance to others ; and an assertion so publicly made as the above, and on such very high authority, if uncontradicted and unprotested against, must seem to the world to carry with it and imply the assent of our Spiritual Rulers, and of ourselves, and our whole Church ; and every individual, even the meanest, is alike interested in the existence and Catholic position of his Church ;

“ And further, whereas, with regard to the Eastern Catholic Church, our highest Spiritual Authorities, by whom this Bishop has been consecrated, and who are understood to have come to an agreement for the purpose above-mentioned with a Lutherano-Calvinistic Sovereign, (who merits rather to be brought to the whole truth, than to become the unhappy instrument of degrading or destroying our Church), have made public professions of friendship, and even zeal, for ‘ the Holy Apostolic Thrones and the Orthodox Churches of the East,’ addressing their Bishops even as their own ‘ honourable, and beloved, pious and orthodox brethren in Christ,’ and have recently allowed it to be stated, as of authority, in their name, that they are so far from contemplating hostility towards the Eastern Churches, or proselytism of their members, that one, and ‘ not the least’ of the objects for which they thus make public union with the Lutherans, and send out a Bishop to Jerusalem is, ‘ that he may be able in the name of the Church of England to disclaim all the schismatical proceedings of Protestant missionaries in the Levant,’ and not only not himself to make, but to hinder others from making proselytes ; it being declared to be utterly unjustifiable voluntarily to quit any true branch of the Catholic Church ; and utterly contrary to the principles of the Anglo-Catholic Church, to invite, recognize, or allow any such desertions to her own Communion ;

“ And whereas, all this notwithstanding, when I myself, going on lawful business into the Eastern Dioceses, and with the approbation of my Superior, Dr Routh, and a Letter

from him to the Eastern Bishops, desiring for me their Communion, sought to have that Letter authorized by the signature of our Primate, or at least to obtain from him a certificate that he recognized me and my Community as members of the English Church, with the view of satisfying the 33d of the Apostolical Canons in preferring my petition to Communicate in the Eastern Dioceses, I could not obtain either; while, on requesting to know whether the intention of seeking to Communicate in those dioceses was disapproved in itself, as in that case I was quite ready and even desirous to relinquish it, I equally failed to obtain any sign either of permission or prohibition, but was told, that ‘ I must act upon my own responsibility;’ upon which I acted; and offering Dr Routh’s Letter in lieu of the Letters Communicatory required by the Canon, was rightly answered by His Imperial Majesty’s Procurator to the Most Holy Synod, that, upon my own principles, I ought to have brought Letters not only from a Priest, however venerable, but from the Bishops of our Church, if I desired the demand to be regularly gone into and examined;

“ And whereas, in the mean time, certain members of the Russian, and so of the Eastern Catholic Church, nearly related to a noble family in this country, having been deceived by the subtlety of heresy, and long residence away from their own country among the heterodox, had apostatized from the Orthodox Catholic Church to which they belonged, and had embraced instead what they called ‘ Protestantism,’ ‘ the Church of England,’ ‘ the Protestant Religion,’ ‘ the Evangelical Religion,’ ‘ the Anglican Church of Geneva,’ or ‘ the Unity of the Bible,’ that is, the broad and fundamental principle of Protestantism, the root of all heresies and schisms, and the Anglican Church as a *sect* or *Denomination* based upon that principle; and had been justified and confirmed in this by two Priests of the Church of England and Ireland (one of them the Dean of a Cathedral Church), who also taught them, in the name of the Church of England, the heretical doctrine, that the Sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist is only a mere sign;

“ And whereas the Head of the family, distressed at this division in religion, and having conceived a hope from my conversation and books, and from the Letter of Dr Routh

above-mentioned, that such conversions were not recognized by the English Church, addressed a letter to our Primate [see above, p. lxxxviii.], in which he asked him, Whether the Church of England anathematizes, or no, the Eastern Church? Whether she recognizes Proselytism, and contemplates the conversion of the Eastern Orthodox Christians to herself as heretics and idolaters; or whether she offers them her Communion, without conversion, as brethren, as Christians, and Catholics? and to this letter no answer was ever received;

“ And whereas this nobleman, being sent by the paternal intervention of his Majesty the Emperor to bring back to their native country such members of his family as might not be hopelessly fanaticised abroad, and having received no answer from our Primate, found those members of his family who had renounced their own Church for the ‘Anglican Church of Geneva’ still in the same mind, and justified, both in their apostacy, and in the heresies they mistakenly held, by a certain English Priest; who, to prove that he was really authorized to do and teach that which he had done and taught in the name and by the authority of the Church of England, referred the nobleman to the Bishop of London;

“ And whereas I was requested to ascertain, in the name of the nobleman in question, from the Bishop of London, how far he, and the Church over which he in part presided, really did, or would, justify or recognize such conduct on either side as that of the parties concerned, or such doctrine;

“ And whereas the Bishop, on being applied to, justified the Priest, whom he had licensed, (without taking any notice of the accusation of heresy), saying, that it was ‘the duty of a Clergyman to give the Sacraments to any person of good life and conversation who presented himself with a profession of assent to the doctrines of the Church of England; that whether such person is a convert from any other Church or not, is a question which concerns the conscience of the party himself who Communicates, and upon which the Clergyman, giving him the Communion, is not called upon to decide;’

“ And whereas the parties Communicating in the present case had settled this question for themselves, and had decided, that the English Church was contrary to the Eastern; that it and the Protestantism of Geneva were in principle one

and the same thing; that it held the Eucharist to be a mere sign; that it recognized no Oblation nor Sacrifice; and that they Communicated as converts, and not as brethren from a sister Church; and had also declared publicly that they had voluntarily renounced and quitted the Church of their Baptism, without being unjustly excommunicated, as the Lutherans pretended to have been at first in justification of Continental Protestantism: Whereas they had done all this, and two English Priests had assisted and justified them in the whole, and though 'not called upon to decide' whether they gave the Communion of their Church as to Catholic brethren or to converted heretics, yet had actually decided, in agreement with the 'consciences' of the parties; and one had justified them, even to the face of the head of the family, both for renouncing the Eastern Church, (as following therein their conscience), and also for believing the heresies before-mentioned; and had referred, in defence of the assumption that in all this he rightly represented the Church of England, to the Bishop who had licensed him; while I maintained the contrary;

"And whereas the Bishop, who said that a Priest giving the Communion is not called upon to decide whether he gives it to a member of a sister Church or to a convert, being appealed to by a Priest, who had both given the Communion in this case, and had decided (however true it might be that he was not called upon to do so,) that he gave it to converts, and by the head of the family aggrieved, would not so much as hint any disapprobation of what had been done on either side, but said, that the question upon which he was appealed to was one 'upon which he did not feel it necessary to give an opinion, and that he did not see how he could be required to interfere any further in the matter;'

"And whereas I had made known to the Bishop at the same time, that officers of the highest authority in Russia, representing the Emperor in his relations with the Most Holy governing Synod, as well as certain members of the Most Holy Synod itself, had personally expressed before me, and had requested me to make known, according to my opportunities, their willingness, and even desire, to enter upon negotiations for the restoration of unity between the Churches, if the Bishops of our Church would take any step to that effect; provided only that such negotiations should

be proposed on our side on Catholic principles, and with a sincere intention of carrying out those principles in effect ;

“ And whereas I had also made known at the same time to his Lordship, that the Emperor’s Procurator to the Most Holy Synod, while he expressed the above sentiments, had added, in reference to the particular case of that family about which I wrote, that a distinct disclaimer of such proselytism, and also of that ‘ principle of general Protestantism,’ on account of which, chiefly, the Eastern Orthodox Churches anathematize the Lutherans and the Calvinists by name, must be the first step towards any such friendly negotiation ;

“ And whereas the Bishop, knowing also of the Letter which had been written some months before to our Primate, and that it had remained unanswered, notwithstanding entirely refused to interfere, or to give any opinion whatever ; and it thus appears, from all that has been above recited, that the question of the Church of England being a Catholic Church, or a sect of anti-Catholic Protestantism, is thrown back by her highest Spiritual Authorities, in the eyes of all the world, upon the consciences of individuals ; that the question, whether we, as members of the Church of England, ought or ought not to seek the Communion of the Eastern Bishops, is left to our own responsibility ; that the question, whether our Church acknowledges or excommunicates, seeks to proselytize from, or to Communicate with, a body of 70,000,000 of Christians, is for us to decide for ourselves ; and also that, Whether it is right or wrong, necessary or unnecessary, for a member of the Eastern Orthodox Churches to renounce his own Church, in order to Communicate with ours ; Whether it is right or wrong, to suppose that our Church agrees with, or differs from theirs in fundamental doctrine ; Whether they are right or wrong in assuming our Church to deny the Real Presence and the Sacrifice of the Eucharist ; Whether, as a matter of fact, when they have decided such questions for themselves, and have renounced their own Church in consequence, and ‘ taken ’ the Sacraments from our Priests who stand on the highway to give,—Whether they are then viewed by our Church as converts, or as brethren to whom she offered the Sacraments without supposing them to need any conversion ; Whether the English Priest who gives them the Sacraments with

such and such views, or their relation, who with an English deacon tells them that they are deceived, that their conversion is purely imaginary, and that they have not really embraced the doctrine of the English Church, nor been reconciled by her authority at all, Which, I say, of these two parties is right, and which wrong ;

“ Whereas it appears, that neither a member of our own Church on the one side, nor of the Eastern Church on the other, however personally or gravely interested in the matter, however pressing and cruel may be the circumstances under which they seek it, can obtain any answer or opinion on these practical questions, which the Authorities even of human sects determine for their members, but are told, that they must act upon their own responsibility; that Christian liberty is not to be interfered with ; that the Priest need not know nor decide ; and that, if he does decide, and any one questions his decision, the Bishop to whom he refers need not give an opinion whether he has decided right or wrong; but that the consciences of the individuals concerned must decide for themselves ;

“ And whereas thus the whole question of heretical Protestantism or primitive Catholicism being the religion of the Church of England ; and also the question of Communion with, or proselytism from the Orthodox and Catholic Churches of the East, is thrown back by the highest Authorities upon private conscience ; and private conscience, as it now shews itself in the Levant in connection with the British name, is decidedly Protestant, and decidedly proselyting ; and both Prelates and Ministers of State in Parliament have expressed the wish and the intention to give by British influence a recognized establishment to Protestantism in the East, and to overshadow with our special protection those Eastern sects or Churches (unhappily heretical) which are said in some details (though not in the principle of anarchy) most nearly to resemble what is called ‘ the Reformed Church ’ ; as Russia protects the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Churches, and as France protects the Romanizing Communities ;

“ And whereas a public union and intercommunion with Lutherans, without requiring them to renounce their principle of heretical Protestantism, or to be Confirmed (to

mention nothing else), at once commits our Church in the eyes of all the world, and especially of the Eastern Churches, to their principle of Protestantism, hostile alike to all Churches of Apostolical descent, even to those, heretical but antient, which we are so specially to protect, and makes union with all other true Churches, humanly speaking, hopeless ; unless those miracles of preservation by overruling goodness, which have been twice wrought among ourselves, should in the end be repeated in this case ; but upon this we have no right to reckon, nor to do evil, and throw away what may be our last chance and trial, that good may come ;

“ And whereas I see myself with deep pain, after a year’s absence from England, that the time is indeed come when Protestantism must be disowned, and true Catholicism openly maintained by the English Church, unless we would see speedily a large and increasing defection to the spurious and un-Catholic Catholicism of the modern Roman Church, or rather Court ; for I should be sorry to say or think evil of any Church, as such, which in herself, and as a Church, must be holy and divine ; least of all would I do so of that Church which is our own Mother in the Faith, where is the Chair of Peter, the centre of the Episcopal Unity, whose Bishop is the first of the Patriarchs, and the Primate of Christendom ; but I speak of that human, technical, and political system, which substitutes an outward bond of obedience to one See, for an inward principle of love in all ; and which is in some mysterious way connected with the Church and Court of Rome, as the contrary evil of Protestantism has been with our own State and Church ; which system, as it originally engendered, so it still contains within itself the seeds both of heretical Protestantism and of Infidelity, in one word, of immorality, and would reproduce them, doubtless, if all the world were ever subjugated under the Latin Tyranny ;

“ And whereas many circumstances have conspired to make me feel that I am called upon to do this act, which yet, if I know myself, I would rather have died than do ; and especially, as I am bound not only to my countrymen, but also to those dignitaries of the Russian Church and Empire, who honoured me with their confidence, and believed on my representations that our Church had some better thing in her than mere sectarian Protestantism, and condescended,

of their Christian charity, to desire me to make known, according to my opportunities, the good-will both of their Church and State to enter into negotiations for the restoration of unity, if the English Church were indeed what I represented, and would speak to them on Catholic principles, and expect nothing from them, which as Catholics they ought not to concede ;

“ Therefore, for all these and similar reasons, be it known to all whom it may legitimately concern ; that is, to all the brethren of these Churches, according to the degrees of their ecclesiastical organisation, who have either kept from Baptism their right to Communicate in the Church ; or, having fallen, having regained their right by Penitence and Absolution ; or, not knowing, nor having been rightly instructed in the doctrine of Absolution, are yet truly penitent and in charity with their neighbours ; believing, or wishing in their hearts to believe the whole Catholic and Apostolic Faith ; adhering, and wishing to adhere to the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church ; and keeping, or striving to keep God’s holy will and commandments ; to all such be it known, and also to all our brethren of the holy Orthodox and Catholic Churches of the East, who are separated from us, as I trust, only so long and so far as they have reason to suspect us of heretical Protestantism, that I for one, using that private judgment *upon which I am thrown back* by the spiritual Heads of what is, inwardly at least, the true Catholic Church of God in this country of England, for the re-assertion of the duty of obedience to the Apostolical Episcopate in unity throughout the world, do hereby, for myself, anathematize the principle of Protestantism or Dissent. And I declare that I will never recognize, by word or deed of mine, any union or intercommunion with Lutherans or Calvinists, or with British or American Dissenters, except on the condition of their being converted to the obedience of the Apostolical Episcopate both in faith and discipline ; receiving, with confession of its efficacy, the Mystery or Sacrament of the Holy Chrism or Confirmation ; and expressly pledging themselves to renounce for the future their fundamental ‘ principle of Protestantism,’ which is the root of all their errors, and which, while it is held, must render nugatory and delusive the acceptance of all the Creeds of the Church,

and all the tests that can be devised. Till such time as they repent and do this, I for one, in union with the Eastern Catholic Church, will continue to reject and anathematize all the errors and heresies both of the Lutherans and of the Calvinists :

“But I admit the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic Churches as really True, Orthodox, and Catholic, not in word only but in deed ; and I seek to Communicate with them, as I reject Communion with the sects or societies above mentioned. And I will never seek to convert or proselytize any of their members ; nor teach any of them, nor suffer them, so far as I can prevent it, to be taught, or to believe, that it is lawful voluntarily to renounce their own, being a true Church. Nor will I ever teach any of them, or suffer any, if I can help it, to be taught, that the blessed Eucharist is a mere sign ; or that there is no sacrifice in it ; that Confirmation is unnecessary ; or that the speaking to any one, whether absent or present, in the body or in the spirit, provided it be done *in Christ*, interferes with the unity of Christ’s mediation ; or that to kiss a living or dead brother, or the tokens, or pictures, or memorials of the absent, or the Cross, or the doors of the Church, or the coverings of the Altar, or the Priest’s vestment or hands, provided the honour or affection be such as rightly belongs to the things themselves, and be given *in*, and *not apart from* Christ ; or that to adore Christ Himself in respect of any particular or local presence, whether that presence be real or only supposed, so long as the intention of the worshipper be truly and only to adore Christ his God ; I will never, I say, teach any one, nor suffer any one to be taught, if I can help it, that these things, whether necessary or unnecessary, whether much or little liable to be abused, or abused in fact, are either wickedness or idolatry in themselves, or in the Church, or in any but those who abuse them ; least of all, that they can ever form a just ground for renouncing a true part of the Church. On the contrary, in the unity of the spirits of all good Christians, and of all Orthodox Bishops, both in the East and West, both departed and still on earth, I do hereby denounce and anathematize all such pernicious heresies, and reject and abhor all such false, unreasonable, uncharitable, and schismatical opinions and practices. And if ever I find any members of the Eastern

Orthodox and Catholic Churches converted, or rather perverted, by any one calling himself a member of the Church of England, I will, with God's help, do my best to reconvert them to their own Church, and bring them back out of so dangerous an error. And this, indeed, I have already done : for one member of the Russian family which I have above alluded to, has come partly by my means to see and acknowledge her error ; and has abjured ' the principle of Protestantism,' together with all the errors of the Lutherans and Calvinists, and the heresies which she had been taught in the name of the English Church ; and has returned to the Communion of the Russian. And if in this I have done wrong, let me be lawfully accused and judged, and cast out of the Church : But if not, then let us all cease to halt any longer between two opinions. If the Lord be God, let us follow Him ; but if Baal, then let us follow him.

" In conclusion, I most earnestly implore our gracious and beloved Sovereign, and those who are in authority under her, to provide and consent, that questions of such deep, and vital, and practical importance, may *no longer be thrown back upon private consciences*, but may be treated and settled by Authority in lawful Synods, as in old time, to the establishment of true religion, and the healing of all schisms in the Church ; and as befits the honour and welfare of this Church and realm. And, in the mean time, to such a Synod, lawfully to be called and held, whenever that may be, I *appeal*. And against whatever may have been done, or may be done hereafter, without Synodal Authority, to the prejudice of those principles which my conscience approves, and which my pen has here expressed, I *protest*. And if any one think with me, and feel the magnitude of the crisis that impends, I call upon him, in God's name, to add his protest to mine, or make a similar protest for himself ; and we shall begin, I trust, a '*Protestantism*' of a better spirit than that of 1529, or that which dictated the Preface and the Articles of Augsbourg. And so, commending myself, who am a sinner, to the prayers of all good Christians, and the cause which I plead to their consciences, and to God, in Whose hands are the hearts of all men, and the destinies of His Holy Church, I subscribe myself, &c." "N. N." (*Deacon*.)

Dated from *St Mary Magd. Coll. Oxford*, Nov. 30, 1841.

SECTION VII.

THE ABOVE PROTEST IS LODGED WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, BUT NOT PUBLISHED.

As soon as the above Protest, together with several sheets of Notes and Appendices, was in type, proofs of it were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury (and to the Bishop of London), together with a Letter, of which the following is a copy :—

“MY LORD,—Feeling it to have become my duty to take a step, the nature of which the enclosed (proof) sheets will explain, I should nevertheless be unwilling either to offer the Protest formally to Your Grace, and the other Bishops, or to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, or to make it public before the members of our Church in general, without first letting Your Grace have an opportunity of seeing it in a private manner, and while as yet it is quite within my power to omit or alter any thing, or to suppress it altogether ; which last I should desire above all things to do, if I could only be enabled to do so without any damage to that cause, which I have felt myself called upon to undertake. I remain, &c. &c.”

“N. N.” (*Deacon*.)

The Archbishop, upon receiving the proof sheets, wrote to Dr Routh, who sent for me, and said, that in deference to the Archbishop's station and wishes, and considering that the full details of the convention with the King of Prussia were not yet known, he hoped I would not publish the Protest. I replied, that though I could not understand upon what principle, agreeing with me as he did, he could advise me to defer to the very Authorities against whose acts I was protesting, yet, as I knew we were really of one belief, and as he was my Superior, I would willingly obey him. At the same time, I shewed him a paragraph in the Times Newspaper, copied from the Prussian State Gazette, giving an account of the principles on which the New Bishopric was founded. He said, “It is very bad, Sir, certainly : but two Prelates cannot overturn our Church.” At the same time, he assented to the proposal, that while I gave up, or postponed indefinitely the *publication* of the Protest, I should yet, for the sake of really making it, and delivering my conscience, send one copy to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He added, that he saw nothing at all to prevent my publishing what I had to urge against the new Bishopric in some other form : and that there was a good deal of matter in the notes and appendices to the Protest which he could wish to see published, especially the extracts from private journals kept in Russia. Afterwards, he said that he had written to the Archbishop ; and that he thought he had expressed himself concerning the new Bishopric in such a manner as I should myself have desired.

Two days later, I received a note from the Archbishop, expressing his satisfaction at my having followed the advice of “the *Venerable* President of my College.” The Archbishop also would have declined receiving the Protest itself, on the ground that he who made it “could have no voice in the matter :” but on its being represented that it was only on that condition that it was withdrawn for the present from publication, he received it. It was said afterwards that he had shewn it to M. Bunsen, with these words, “See what a letter I have received from a Deacon.”

SECTION VIII.

“LETTER TO MR GOLIGHTLY :” ANATHEMAS.

ABOUT this time, a Master of Arts of Oriel College, the Rev. C. P. Golightly, attacking Mr Newman and his friends in a Letter in the Standard Newspaper, turned against them (among other things) some words which had fallen from myself in conversation, and of which he had heard an inaccurate report. Not wishing at all to be made such use of, and having ascertained that it would be rather agreeable than otherwise to the persons attacked, that notice should be taken of the misrepresentation, I published a “Letter to Mr Golightly,” plainly stating the opinion that the present dominancy of Protestantism in the Established Church, and the acts and tendencies of its Hierarchy, must naturally produce, by re-action, secessions to Rome. At the same time, having the Jerusalem Bishopric in mind, and remembering how it had been objected in Russia, that if any of us desired union with the Eastern Church, we must first anathematize the heresies of Lutheranism and Calvinism, I inserted the following clauses :—

“I utterly reject and anathematize the principle of Protestantism as a heresy, with all its forms, sects, or Denominations. And if the Church of England should ever unhappily profess herself to be ‘a form of Protestantism’ (which may God of His infinite mercy forbid !) then I would reject and anathematize the Church of England, and would separate myself from her immediately, as from a human sect, without giving Protestants any unnecessary trouble to procure my expulsion.”

And again : *“In conclusion, I once more publicly profess myself a Catholic, and a member of a Catholic Church, and say Anathema to the principle of Protestantism, (which I regard as identical with the principle of Dissent,) and to all its forms, sects, and Denominations, especially to those of the Lutherans and Calvinists, and the British and American Dissenters ; Likewise to all persons, who KNOWINGLY AND WILLINGLY, AND UNDERSTANDING WHAT THEY DO, shall assert either for themselves, or for the Church of England, THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM, or maintain the Church of England to have one and the same common religion with any or all of the various forms and sects of Protestantism, or shall Communicate themselves in the Temples of the Protestant sects, or give the Communion to their members, or go about to establish any intercommunion between our Church and them, otherwise than by bringing them in the first instance to renounce their errors, and to promise a true obedience for the future to the entire faith and discipline of the Catholic and Apostolical Episcopate ;—to all such I say Anathema : &c.” . . .*

The words “WILLINGLY AND KNOWINGLY, AND UNDERSTANDING WHAT THEY DO,” were meant to shew that the Anathema was limited to the *acts* alluded to, and to the *principles* which they involved ; while it was hoped that the Prelates who were then precipitating our Church into a false position, did not personally *understand*, or at least did not fully understand, what they were doing ; nor *intended* distinctly to admit those heretical *principles*, which were involved in their *acts*.

Some time afterwards, at the suggestion of Dr Routh, and of others, another Letter was published in explanation of the Anathemas contained in that to Mr Golightly. The occasion for this second Letter was furnished by an anonymous writer, who had come forward in “*the Oxford Herald*” to mediate between Mr Golightly and his opponent (whom he

regarded as two rabid and noisy disputants of equally '*extreme*' opinions), and to advocate the '*Via Media*' by proving to us that the Anglican Church is, and ought to be, *at once Protestant and Catholic*; and that we were at once *both* Protestants and Catholics ourselves. In illustration of this clever amalgamation of 'the Church principle' with 'the principle of the Reformation,' the writer had subscribed himself "*a Protestant-Catholic*;" and as he declined to give his real name, my own publication was addressed to him under the title of "*A Letter to a Protestant-Catholic*."

SECTION IX.

"AIDS TO REFLECTION ON THE SEEMINGLY DOUBLE CHARACTER OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH;" AND PUBLICATIONS BY OTHER PERSONS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

In the mean time, the greater part of those notes and appendices which had been originally printed to accompany the "*Protest*," had been re-arranged, and published, together with some additional matter, under the title of "*Aids to reflection on the seemingly double character of the Established Church, with reference to the foundation of a 'Protestant Bishopric' at Jerusalem, recently announced in the Prussian State Gazette*." The contents of this pamphlet, and its difference from the *Protest*, may be sufficiently understood from the following "*Introduction*:"—

"It has recently been announced in the Prussian State Gazette, that a 'Protestant Bishopric' has been founded at Jerusalem by his Prussian Majesty with the cordial co-operation of the British Government and the Heads of the English Church, for the joint representation of the whole of 'Protestant Christendom,' in the eyes of the Greek and Latin Churches, and of the Mahometan Power, as 'one Church,' called 'the Protestant,' 'the Reformed,' or 'the Evangelical Church.' It has been asserted in the same document, that 'all parties agreed in the conviction, that the diversities of Christian worship, according to languages and nations, and according to the peculiarities and historical development of each nation, that is to say, in the Protestant Church, are upheld by a superior unity, the Head of the Church Himself; and that in this unity, to which all the diversities refer as to their centre, is the foundation of true Christian toleration.' It appears to me, that if any such principle or position were really to be admitted by our Church, she would unchurch herself, and render it impossible for any one either to justify his own allegiance to her on Catholic principles, or to prove the duty of similar allegiance to others: And as an assertion so publicly made as the above, and on such very high authority, if uncontradicted and unprotested against, must seem to the world to carry with it and imply the assent of our Spiritual Rulers, and of ourselves, and our whole Church; and as every individual, even the meanest, is alike interested in the existence and Catholic position of

his Church, I have thought it my duty to put together and offer to the consideration of members of our Communion some notices and documents, which will be found contained in the following pages, and which I hope may tend to awaken reflection on a subject of the most overwhelming importance. It will be my object, after having

“i. Laid before the reader those Prussian documents, which are the foundation of my case, to shew,

“ii. That the position asserted in the Prussian State Gazette to have been made the basis of a convention by the Heads of the English Church acting in her name, was urged upon the Church a century and a half ago by the whole force of the Government of William III, and was even then rejected in the most marked way by the Convocation of the Clergy :

“iii. That the same position was similarly rejected not many years afterwards by certain non-juring Bishops in a Correspondence with the Eastern Catholic Church, which anathematizes both the principle of Protestantism and its two leading sects by name :

“iv. That the Convocation in the time of William III, as well as the non-juring Bishops afterwards, (and the Eastern Catholic Church), had good reason for disclaiming all community of *principle* with what was called the Protestant religion in general, and with the sects of the Lutherans and Calvinists in particular :

“v. That, nevertheless, the influence of the Civil Government and of its two contrary religious Establishments in England and Scotland, in the course of the hundred and fifty years which have elapsed since the Revolution, has prevailed so far towards establishing the position then rejected by the Church, that it may perhaps seem doubtful whether the Authorities of the Church of England do not now assent to it ; and, in the particular case in question, whether the assertion of the Prussian State Gazette may not possibly be true ; in which case, nothing more than the formal assent of a Convocation or Synod to the same principle and position is wanting, to make union with the Eastern Church impossible, and to destroy the Catholic character of the English Church :

“vi. That, notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, there are still signs that more Catholic principles and feelings are not extinct either in the public itself, or in those Heads of the Church who appear most prominently before the public in the matter in question : and that in spite of much inconsistency and ambiguity, and many difficulties, there is still ground for hope that there exists a real desire for unity with the Eastern Church ; and that whenever it comes to be understood that it is impossible to treat at once, upon the principle of mutual recognition, with Catholic Churches and with Protestant Persuasions, the English Church will seek to correct and convert the Lutherans and Calvinists, rather than, by owning one common Protestant religion with them, as they are now, incur the anathemas of the Eastern as well as of the Western Latin Church ; make reconciliation impossible ; and give up the Catholic principle, by which alone she exists herself as a true Church :

“vii. *Lastly*, that there is good reason to expect and believe, that if the English Church should ever openly and sincerely disavow the heretical principle of Protestantism, or of community in religion with the Protestant sects, as such, and attempt to open communications with the Eastern Catholic Church for the restoration of unity upon Catholic principles, her advances would be met in a reasonable and Christian spirit.”

Another pamphlet on the same subject, shewing that the agreement entered into with the King of Prussia was irreconcilable with the Constitution and Canons of our Church, was published about the same time with my own by James R. Hope, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, then Chancellor of the Diocese of Salisbury. On the other side, some writers, as Dr Hook and Mr Perceval, came forward in defence of the Jerusalem Bishopric, contending that the German Protestants were *of course* to be admitted to our Communion in Palestine only as proselytes, and were *of course* to be Confirmed, as our Discipline requires, &c. An anonymous 'Statement,' professing to be 'published by authority,' without putting forward any such palpable misrepresentations, still gave a very one-sided account of the transaction, intended to satisfy, if possible, English Churchmen, just as the statements of the Prussian State Gazette were intended to satisfy German 'Evangelicals.' But neither could the English 'Statement by authority,' nor the Sermons published by the Bishop of London, however little calculated to satisfy English Church people, steer clear of giving great offence to the Protestants of the Continent. In fact, they seemed to excite a more vehement suspicion and dislike even of that diluted Anglicanism which they were meant to recommend. M. Abeken also, a German, and Chaplain to the King of Prussia, published a Letter in answer to Dr Pusey, in which, though he studiously affected Anglican phraseology, using frequently the words 'Catholic,' 'Catholicism,' &c., he nevertheless represented fairly enough those principles, on which the Concordat had really been based. The same person was employed in Germany to publish a full account of the whole affair in German, all the official documents and correspondence being placed at his disposal. But the only English writer who fairly and at length defended the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric, as based upon the recognition of 'the essential unity of all Protestant Christendom,' and upon a certain 'national' and 'individual life of Christianity' asserted both by the aggregate of Protestant Christendom and by its several parties for themselves, was the Rev. F. D. Maurice, then Chaplain to Guy's Hospital, and now Reader at Lincoln's Inn: And the Publication of this author is so much the more important from the official recognition with which it was honoured on the English no less than on the German side. The Bishop of London, in preaching in St Paul's Cathedral before the King of Prussia, or at least in publishing his sermon afterwards, went out of his way to acknowledge, with the warmest praise, and to recommend Mr Maurice's performance: and Mr Maurice himself, as if in acknowledgment of the service he had done, and to give the King of Prussia an opportunity of thanking him in conjunction with the Anglican Prelates, was said to have been personally presented to that royal personage at the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth.

SECTION X.

M. BUNSEN'S FRIEND, DR ARNOLD OF RUGBY, EXPRESSES HIS SATISFACTION AT THE ERECTION OF THE JERUSALEM BISHOPRIC.

In the mean time, Dr Arnold of Rugby, whose previous publications advocating the recognition of 'the unity of all

Protestant Christendom,' had brought him into disrepute not only with other Anglicans, but even with the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressed publicly his satisfaction at seeing the Archbishop himself at length coming round to his opinions, and even embodying them in a permanent institution through a Luthero-Calvinistic German Sovereign, a British Presbyterian Minister of State, and an Act of Parliament, at the suggestion of his own intimate friend and fellow-theorist M. Bunsen.

SECTION XI.

CONVERSATION AT OXFORD WITH THREE PRUSSIAN PASTORS SENT BY THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

IN June 1842 there came to Oxford three Prussian Pastors, selected and sent by the King of Prussia to study the condition and character of the Anglican Church, and to make him a report upon it. These gentlemen observed, that the doctrine of the Trinity does not hold the same place in the theological systems of Germany that it does in England; that with them questions relating to the doctrine of the Trinity are of secondary importance Justification by Faith holding the first place. They thought, too, after what they had seen and heard, that the difference about Episcopacy was irreconcilable; and expressed their surprise and dissatisfaction at the recently published Sermons even of the Bishop of London, saying, that the Germans all hold the doctrine of an *invisible* Church, to which they are united by Christ; whereas Anglicans hold the doctrine of a *visible* Church, by which they are united to Christ. But the difficulty about the Hierarchy, great as it was, and insurmountable in their opinion, seemed to them as nothing compared with the difficulty in point of doctrine. And when asked to what difference they alluded, they answered, by alleging the "Anglican view of Baptism." "All our sermons," they said; "all our hymns in Germany, all the life and Divinity of our Church turn upon a view of Justification utterly contrary to the Anglican doctrine of Baptism." Nothing had so much surprised them as to find that "the Puseyites" were so little attacked in England, even by their warmest opponents, on this point of Baptismal Justification. "Nearly all the members of your Church," they said, "either agree with them in this, or at any rate do not deny their doctrine." It was objected, that they themselves, if they received "the Confession of Augsburg," and the other Lutheran or Protestant Confessions, to say nothing of those of the Calvinists or Reformed, ought to admit the doctrine of Regeneration or Justification in Baptism, just as freely and as naturally as we do. But to this it was replied, that we ought not to insist upon the mere *letter* of any particular passages or expressions in their Symbolical Books, so as to give them a sense contrary to the whole spirit of their Reformation and of their Church: that Luther spent his life in labouring to establish a doctrine utterly inconsistent with ours upon the subject: that they should have to give up all their hymns, all their sermons, all their religious literature, *before* they could agree with us: that all Germany would

rise as one man against such an apostacy ; and that it was impossible to change the sentiments of the German Church upon this and other points. One of the same gentlemen, after having spoken of *Sabellianism* as a harmless speculative opinion, which it was quite free to hold in their Church, and which was indeed his own, asserted that there were four heresies in all, of which Pelagianism was one. "But what do you mean?" some one objected, "*you* do not believe that there either is or can be any such thing as heresy in the world." "No," said he, "not in *your* sense." "You mean, then, I suppose, merely that there are four opinions, or systems of opinion, which *you* consider to be pre-eminently pernicious?" "Exactly so;" was the answer. In conclusion, it may be worth while to notice, that these Prussian Pastors were first introduced to the writer by a Swiss Reformed Minister of the Canton de Vaud, who differed from them so far as to acknowledge that he thought "the Puseyites, as they were called, represented the true doctrine of the Anglican Church ; and that he himself was well inclined to embrace that doctrine ; seeing the utter nullity of Continental Protestantism, and believing (which is contrary to its principles), in the visibility and authority of the Apostolic Church, and the efficacy of Sacraments."

SECTION XII.

PASSAGES OF A LETTER FROM PRUSSIA.

THE following extract is from a letter written by a lady, resident in Prussia, and connected from her birth by many ties with that country. The letter was dated July the 25th, 1842 :—

"As to the religious feelings of this country, there is a great difference with England ; for though there is a great deal of religion among people of all ranks, yet it is *quite of a different kind*. They do not turn *Catholics* here, as the fashion is in England, but remain *Protestant* worshippers of the Lord. . . I think it is not lukewarmness, but conviction *that all can be saved* that believe in the name of the Lord, and endeavour to do His will to the best of their power, love Him above every thing, and their neighbours as *themselves*, one point people here are not clear about, that is, *the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour*. Some do not know what to think of this : they fear to doubt it, but they do not believe it ; and some there are who think very little about such things at all. . . . As to the Bishopric of Jerusalem, people here look upon it as a *happy dawning of the Protestant Faith* : May it, through the blessing of God, prove so ; and above all, may the High Mass never again be performed in Westminster Abbey ! *There is not the slightest idea of the union of the Protestant Church with the Church of England* : It savours too much of Popery ; and hatred of Popery is a true feeling of this country."

SECTION XIII.

"EXAMINATION OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE PRUSSIAN STATE GAZETTE, ETC."

HAVING seen in the "Ecclesiastical Gazette" of August 9, 1842, and in other papers, the translation of an Announce-

ment which appeared originally in the Prussian State Gazette of July 12, concerning "the Relations of the Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, with the German Congregation of the Evangelical Religion in Palestine," I wrote and published, anonymously, a Pamphlet of 170 pages, under the title of an "Examination" of the Announcement abovementioned, prefixing to it the following passage from the Sixth Canon of the Second Œcumenical Council, held at Constantinople:—

" 'Besides those who have been in old time rejected from the Church, or whom *We* ourselves have subsequently anathematized, *We* define those also to be heretics, who, while they claim to be sound in the faith, have been rent, or have rent *themselves* off, and gather congregations apart from *our* Canonical Bishops: &c.' With which compare Statute 1, Elizab. I. Section xxxvi."

At the end of the Publication the argument against the Jerusalem Bishopric was summed up briefly as follows:—

"We have the following alternative before us. Either we accept the *Communion* of Bishop Alexander, or we do not. If we do, we accept in and with his Communion that of his Clergy, and of all the Churches or Communities with which he is in Communion. We are thus in Communion with the 'young German Divines' whom he may have ordained Priests and Deacons; and through them again we are in Communion, both lay and clerical, with the whole 'German Evangelical Church.' But the 'German Evangelical Church of Prussia,' to say nothing of other points, is one joint Communion made up of the Lutherans and the Calvinists, on the principle of mutual recognition, without any concession; and is itself in Communion with the Non-Conformists of both parties, and with all other Protestant and Reformed bodies, as it would seem, upon the Continent of Europe. We are, therefore, in Communion with all these. But these again, as well as the Prussian Establishment, are in Communion with the Scotch Presbyterian Establishment: We are therefore also in Communion with the same. But this again, with all the preceding, is in Communion, both lay and clerical, with all the 'Evangelical' Dissenters both of Scotland and America: We are therefore also (virtually) in Communion, both lay and clerical,

with all these. But these all again, with all the preceding, are in Communion with all the Evangelical Protestant Dissenters of England and Ireland, and, generally, of the British Empire ; who are all excommunicated by the canons of the English Established Church ; as both they and the rest are by the Second General Council held at Constantinople, whose definition of heresy is still, even by Act of Parliament, capable of being enforced as the law of the English Establishment : We are therefore in Communion with all our own Dissenters, who are excommunicated by our own canons ; and with all other Protestant Evangelical sects besides, which are excommunicated, on the same principle, by the decrees of a General Council, still the law of our own Church.

“ On the other hand, if we would escape from these results, and shew that we do not concur in those changes which have been made upon the presumption of our consent, we must either protest and appeal formally to a Synod or Convocation, or else—We must decline accepting the Communion of Bishop Alexander [now of Bishop Gobat] till such time as he becomes willing again to accept and place himself under the authority of those laws and canons which he has sworn, and which he is bound to obey ; laws, which nothing but our acquiescence, or an Act of Convocation, can enable him to set aside for himself or for the ‘ United Church of England and Ireland ; ’ and which, even if they were set aside for this particular Church, would still be laws as much as before for the whole Catholic Church, the only difference being that we, by our own act, should have ceased to be even theoretically Catholics.”

SECTION XIV.

[In which the English Bishops are excused, on the ground of their having inherited an evil tradition, and so knowing no better ; while their accuser is rather reproved. Not being necessary to the narrative, it is for the present omitted.]

SECTION XV.

CONNECTION OF THE ABOVE SECTIONS WITH THE APPEAL.

IN what way the matter contained in each of the above Sections, and the different Publications mentioned, as well as the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric itself, are connected with that controversy, which has issued in the present Appeal, will appear in the succeeding narrative.

INTRODUCTION.

PART III.

SECTION I.

GO TO PARIS : CIRCUMSTANCES OF BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S CONSECRATION.

ON Saturday, January 8, 1842, in performance of the promise made before to Mr A., I left London for Paris, and arrived there on the Monday following. I spent an hour or two the same night at the house of Bishop Luscombe, with whom I had been well acquainted since the year 1834, and from whom I more than once heard the circumstances of his own Consecration. They were these :—

Certain British residents of our Communion in France having for some time felt their need of Episcopal ministrations, especially for the Confirmation of their children, and seeing difficulties in the way of their obtaining a Consecration from England, caused an application to be made to the Bishops of the Scottish Church, who proceeded in the matter with great caution, and only consented to Consecrate Dr Luscombe to be Bishop of the Scots, English, and others of their Communion abroad, when they had most clearly ascertained that they might do so with the full consent and concurrence of the Heads of the English Hierarchy, and of the Ministers of the Crown for the time being. At length, on Sunday, March 20, 1825, the Consecration was performed by the Primus, Bishop Gleig, assisted by Bishops Low and Sandford, Dr Hook, now Vicar of Leeds, and formerly a pupil of Dr Luscombe, preaching the Consecration Sermon. Afterwards, the new Bishop received the congratulations both of the chief English Prelates, and of the Minister of the Crown, who expressed his satisfaction, and that of his colleagues, “ that the appointment was in so good hands :” he was also presented to the King, who saluted him as “ my Lord Bishop,” and wished him success in his mission. He built a chapel at Paris at the expense of £8,000, in the Rue d’Aguesseau, nearly opposite to the British Embassy, which was of course his own property, and in which he officiated both as Bishop and also as Chaplain to the British Embassy, having been appointed to this latter office at no very long interval *after* his Consecration. The Sermon preached by Dr Hook at the Consecration of Bishop Luscombe was afterwards published under the title of “ An Attempt to demonstrate the Catholicism of the Church

of England and the other branches of the Episcopal Church :” with a dedication to the six Bishops then presiding over the Church in Scotland, namely, Bishops Gleig, Jolly, Sandford, Torry, Skinner, and Low, of whom the senior, and the Consecrator (in part at least) of all the rest, was *Bishop Jolly*. In a Preface to this Sermon the following passage is quoted from the Letters of Collation which were delivered to Bishop Luscombe by the Prelates who had Consecrated him :—

“He is *sent by us, representing the Scotch Episcopal Church*, to the Continent of Europe, not as a diocesan Bishop, in the modern or limited sense of the word, but for a purpose similar to that for which Titus was left by Paul in Crete, that *he may set in order the things that are wanting* among such of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland as he shall find there professing to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland and the Episcopal Church in Scotland.” [‘To these may be added,’ remarks Dr Hook, ‘any members of the Episcopal Church of America, who may chance to be resident in Europe’]. “But . . . we . . . do solemnly enjoin our Right Reverend Brother Bishop Luscombe *not to disturb the peace of any Christian Society established as a National Church* in whatever nation he may chance to sojourn, but to *confine* his ministrations to British subjects, and to such other Christians as may profess to be of a Protestant Episcopal Church. We earnestly pray God to protect and support him in his arduous undertaking, and to grant such success to his ministry, that among those who ‘have *turned* many to righteousness’ he may at the last ‘*shine as the stars for ever and ever.*’” Page vi.

When I saw Bishop Luscombe at Paris on the night of January 10, 1842, as has been mentioned above, he told me of his own accord, being ignorant what had brought me there, that a Russian Lady named A. had a seat in his Chapel ; and usually went out just before the Sermon began : also that she had sent him a message by the attendant, hoping ‘that he would not take it amiss that she did so, but the fact was she did not know our language well enough to understand the Sermon, though she was quite able to read it, and to follow the prayers ;’ “which,” said the Bishop, “made me think her a sensible person.” He said that he did not know her by sight, nor had ever spoken to her.

SECTION II.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MDE. A.

ON Tuesday, January 11, I sent in my name at Mde. A’s. residence, but was not admitted, the servant telling me that she was unwell, but would write to me, and let me know as soon as she could receive me.

The same morning, as I was calling at the Embassy, Lord C. told me that he had often met Mde. A. ; and that she seemed to be a very agreeable lady. The next day, calling upon the Chaplain to the Russian Embassy, he said, that he had seen both Mde. A. herself and her eldest daughter, when they were at Paris before ; and had recently received orders to pay what attention he could to the instruction of the youngest daughter, then about 12 years old, who was still with her mother : but he had given up

attempting it. He made me explain to him what arguments had been used in my correspondence against the objections of the Ladies to the Russian Church ; and said that he had heard of me from a Priest at St Petersburg, who wrote him word that he had examined the XXXIX Articles, and had found in them things which it would be very difficult indeed to reconcile with the doctrine of the Eastern Church, or with the truth.

On January 14, I received the following from Mde. A. :—

“ SIR,—I beg you to excuse me for having left you several days without hearing any thing from me. . . . I now seize the first moment that I feel a trifle better to send you a few lines, for the briefness of which you will take my headache as an excuse. I know, Sir, that a motive of deep charity has been your inducement to come to Paris at the request of my husband, in order to bring me back to the Greek Church. I feel myself bound in conscience to tell you, Sir, at once beforehand, that all your attempts will be in vain. I am not *seeking* ; I have *found* : and we do not feel willing to descend again among the rocks and broken ground about the sides or foot of the mountain, when, by the grace of God, we have already reached the summit. And besides, we start from entirely contrary principles. You make of religion an *association of souls, a religious discipline*. For me religion is the *cry of one shipwrecked* towards the Saviour : the *answer* of the Saviour ; and then *grace* ; when the sinner is no longer *himself*, but *the creature of the Saviour*.

“ *Thus much being understood*, if you still intend to come and talk with me, I shall be very happy to make your acquaintance ; and you will in that case allow me to propose that it shall be on Sunday, between four and six o'clock, that I receive your visit. Pray, Sir, accept the expression of my sincere consideration. “ N. A.”

To this note an answer was sent immediately, dated from Meurice's Hotel, as follows :—

“ MADAM,—I beg to acknowledge the favour of your note received this morning, which I shall take the liberty of answering in English, as I write French with difficulty, and know that you are acquainted with our language. It was more than I had any reason to expect that you should trouble yourself to make any explanation of the causes which had prevented you from letting me hear from you sooner ; and I do not now suppose that any thing but your civility and the natural kindness of your disposition have induced you to offer to see me, if I call again on Sunday.

“ I confess I feel very considerable reluctance to avail myself of your offer ; but still I cannot do otherwise, as I should scarcely have performed my promise to your husband if I had the opportunity of seeing

you, and declined availing myself of it, even though my motive for declining were solely the fear of giving you annoyance.

"But, indeed, you must not imagine that I undertook this journey with any vain idea that I should be able to persuade you to change your opinions. I told Mr A. repeatedly, that it seemed to me as certain, humanly speaking, as it could be, that I could do no manner of good, even supposing that I found more facilities than I expected for being in your company; especially, as you would have a natural and inevitable prejudice against me as coming on purpose to try to change your mind, which I never yet knew done with any body in that way. He still urged it however; and I did not like to leave him any room for supposing that I was careful of my own trouble in such a matter. And besides, I have come to feel that in many things it is well to act without calculating too much the chances, what may come of it; and to leave the result to God's good pleasure. So I promised him to come here; and I am now come in fulfilment of my promise.

"All I ask from you is permission to visit you, like any other ordinary acquaintance, and to converse about religious subjects rather than others, when it happens not to be disagreeable to you. I have no sort of wish for you, or for myself, or for any other person, that they should be members of the Greek (or Russian) Church, rather than of the English, or of the English, rather than of the Russian: what I do certainly wish and pray for, both for myself and others, is, that we may be members, and good and living members, of *the Church*.

"I do not suppose that *the Church* is '*an*' '*association of souls*,' but '*the Body of Christ*.' I suppose that '*Religion*' is a belief, a dispensation, a way, a discipline, the end of which is the union of the souls of men to God the Father, through Jesus Christ, by the Holy Ghost.

"You say you are not *seeking*; you have *found*. I suppose that a little child which has been taken into the arms of Jesus Christ, and blessed by Him, when admitted into His Church, (see the Office for Baptism in the English Prayer-Book), neither *seeks* further, nor has need to *seek*, but has *found*. Happy child, if it remains in the arms of its Saviour! But if, as it grows up, it falls into any sin, or does not grow rightly in grace, from whatever cause, still, surely, it has no need to seek any *new* way of Salvation, but to return back by repentance towards that in which it was placed by baptism, but from which it has more or less departed.

"It seems to me that the points or principles from which we both set out are not contrary, as you say, but the very same. You speak of a shipwreck; and so in effect does the Catechism of the English Church; of a shipwreck, in which we all, and the whole human race, were lost. I fear, however, that what you *add* is more *poetical*, than true; that we cried or cry out for help towards the Saviour. Alas! we were too insensible for that: nay, we thought our danger security; and were enemies at heart to our Helper. But He, Whom the Angels serve, came down from Heaven, and took upon Himself the form of a servant for our sakes, and with much patience and long suffering tried all that was possible to perfect love, to draw us to a sense of our need, and to make us to cry out to Him for that help, which not even omnipotence itself could give us, unless we would do so. And as many as cry out to Him, He *answers*, and saves (the Apostle says) by Baptism; bringing them into the Ark of His Church; giving them Grace indeed; destroying their old selves; and mak-

ing them a new creation in Him ; so that afterwards it is no longer they that live, but Christ that liveth in them ; for they are His members ; members of His Body, of His Bones, and of His Flesh. All this is indeed, as you have rightly said, the foundation, the *point de départ*, both for you and me. There is no difference whatever between us about this.

“The real question and difference, if there be a difference, is not about the *point de départ*, but about our Christian course *afterwards*. If we go on from the *point de départ*, from the starting point, as you would wish your children to go on, ‘increasing daily in wisdom as in stature, and in favour with God and man,’ then I apprehend you would see no difficulty :—or rather you would see the greatest difficulty, you would be shocked, at the very notion of their seeking any thing else, than that which they had from their Baptism. You would not, you could not, wish or imagine for them any better thing, than to continue growing in Grace, as they had been growing. But if we sin more or less, after we have left the starting point, if we have not grown in grace as we ought to have grown, as we might have grown, or even as others actually have grown ; if we have not increased in wisdom, as we were increasing, in years ; then, to whatever cause this may be owing, whether to our fault alone, or also to that of our relatives and neighbours, and of society around us, there certainly *is* something to *seek*. But yet this is no *new* starting point, but the very same starting point from which we started in common with others, but from which, after starting, we have not gone straight forwards, nor made progress, to use your own expression, towards the summit of the mountain.

“Repeating my apologies for accepting your offer of allowing me to call upon you on Sunday, and thanking you for the civil expressions contained in your note, I remain, &c. &c.” “N. N.” (*Deacon*.)

The next day however I received a few lines written at the dictation of Mde. A., to put me off indefinitely, on account of her continued indisposition. I waited in consequence till Thursday, January 20 ; and then, knowing that she was not altogether confined to the house, wrote again as follows :—

“MADAM,—I hope you will pardon my writing without waiting to hear from you first. I would have waited cheerfully till it suited your convenience ; but I have received news from England, which makes it necessary for me to return thither almost immediately, and I really should like to see you once at least, if you can receive me, before I return. I should not have been in the least affronted, if you had declined seeing me at all ; which, indeed, I had predicted to Mr A. would be the case ; but you have not done so ; you have offered to let me call upon you. I have no desire to enter into any discussion, if that is disagreeable ; (though you know I would gladly do anything in my power to induce you to change your mind) :

“But there is another ground on which I am desirous to have an opportunity of conversing with you, quite independent of the correctness or error of your religious opinions,

but of the utmost consequence to me, and to the Church of which I am a member. If you did not claim any connection with the Anglican Church, but professed only to have embraced some 'other form of the Protestant Religion,' (to use the popular language,) I should have no occasion to seek any interview with you, beyond my wish to influence your opinions, which of course I could have no chance of doing, so long as you regarded me only as a troublesome person, instigated by your husband's mistaken attachment to the Russian Church to annoy you. But now it is not only your own private opinion, but the character of the Anglican Church, and its actual and possible relations with the Russian and others, which are implicated, and are likely to suffer, in consequence of your professing yourself publicly to have been received into it as a convert from the Russian. You know, I think, how I went to Russia advised by my Superior to seek to Communicate in the Russian Church as a member of the English, and how, when there, I was completely answered by the objection that you were in the mean time professing to have been received to the Communion of the 'Anglican Church of Geneva' as a convert from the Russian. You yourself must see, that either you, and those English people who think with you, or else I, and those who think with me, must be mistaking and misrepresenting the principles and character of the English Church. I intreat you, therefore, most earnestly, not to trifle with me in such a matter; and in a matter which concerns *me* and the *Church* as deeply as it does *you*; but help me to justify myself at all events; and either tell me at once that you do not pretend to be, strictly speaking, a member of the English Church at all; or else, do pray allow me to see you, and give me some explanations of the grounds upon which you feel justified in asserting that you have been admitted to be a member of the English Church as a convert from the Russian. This can be done with ease in a quarter or half-an hour's conversation; and cannot be done without a great waste of time and trouble both to yourself and to me, perhaps cannot be done at all satisfactorily, in any other way. I remain, &c."

"N. N." (*Deacon.*)

The next day I received the following:—

"SIR,—All that has passed between us is by the provi-

dence of God, which has so disposed. I should have preferred not to have been ill, and to have been able to receive you on Sunday. I have been well enough for some days past to go out, but they forbid me to attend to any business that requires thought; and this is the reason that I have not been able to answer your Letter. I hope however to do something towards it to-day, and to send you my answer to-morrow. It is impossible for me to conceive how a poor obscure woman like myself, who seeks to keep herself under the Gospel of Salvation, and to live the *life which is hidden in God*, can be any thing so important to the existence of the Church of England; or why, if I *am* of any such importance, the first person to tell me of it should be a disciple of Dr Pusey, *i. e.* a Dissenter. Oh, Sir, allow me to tell you in return for what you say to me, that you think too much of *the form*, to be *spiritually* religious. All these *formal* dissertations are the things which destroy *peace*. I beg you to be assured of my perfect esteem, &c. “N. A.”

To which the following was the reply :—

“MADAM,—Nothing could be further from my wish than to cause you, especially when an invalid, the trouble of writing letters to a person who is lodging scarcely a hundred yards from your hotel, and has come some distance to see you, and whom you have not refused to see. If you are willing to write to me, pray do that when I am at Oxford. I shall be most willing at all times, and shall think it a great honour: but now I must return on Sunday afternoon to England, and intreat you to tell me if it be only in three words, whether you will see me or not before I go. I shall not be in the least affronted (if that signified anything) if you say plainly you had rather *not*; on the other hand, if you *will*, I shall feel grateful to you, and will either call upon you before I go at any time you may appoint; or if your health or engagements make that inconvenient, I will come to Paris again, or wherever you may be, as soon as I am at liberty, which will be about Easter.

“You certainly turn the tables upon me by telling me that I am a Dissenter in return for my asking you to explain, how you can represent yourself as a member of the English Church, received into it as a convert from the Russian. All I can say is, that *if* I am a Dissenter, I will at any rate offer you, or any one else who may think me so, all possible facilities for proving to me that I am so; and then, if they succeed, I will be the first to accuse myself, and to demand my own expulsion from the Authorities of the Church.

“You tell me I think too much of *forms* to have any real spiritual religion. I do not see any use in defending one's-self against charges which are brought against one with a charitable intention, and which may besides be more or less true. I will suppose, then, that I do think too much of forms. What I would ask of you in that case, or of any other who sees this fault in me, is only to be as willing to try to teach

me in what respects I am wrong, as I hope I am willing to attend to them patiently, and try to learn from them whatever good they may have to communicate.

"The same with respect to spiritual religion. I know only too well that I am not worthy to be the least in the Kingdom of Heaven ; I know that I am not spiritually minded, as I ought to be ; and that I am unworthy even of the name of a Christian ; But I really am, at least I hope I am, desirous of becoming better. I am sure I am quite willing to learn of you : and if you, or any other human being, can help me to become ever so little more spiritually-minded than I am, I shall be very grateful to you, or to any other, who will have so much charity or hope for me, as to seek to correct any of my faults or errors.

"It seems you are prejudiced against me, as a disciple of Dr Pusey. Dr Pusey is so good and learned a man, even by the report of his strongest opponents, that I should not think it any sort of reproach to myself or to any other, but quite the contrary, to be indeed his disciple, so far as it is right to be a follower of any individual teacher on account of his possessing such qualities : But, since you have a prejudice against him, it may be as well that I am able to assure you, that, as a matter of fact, you are mistaken.

"In the same way, you may perhaps one day better understand the truth of the assertion, that the *character* (not the *existence*) of the Anglican Church, and its actual and possible relations to the Russian, are seriously and publicly compromised by your professing to be a member of it, as a convert from the Russian ; and also, that it is no more than my personal duty to do all I possibly can to work out the question involved in your asserted conversion and reception ; and to set it in its true light. And in doing this I think I have a right to request and to obtain *your assistance*. I remain, &c. &c."

"N. N." (*Deacon*.)

SECTION III.

BISHOP LUSCOMBE PROPOSES THAT I SHOULD ADDRESS A LETTER TO HIM, AND SHOW IT, TOGETHER WITH HIS REPLY, TO MDE. A.: THE LETTER ; AND THE BISHOP'S REPLY.

In the mean time, as it seemed doubtful whether I should succeed in seeing Mde. A. at all, and as I had ascertained that she had not only a seat in the Bishop's Chapel (to which her name was attached in large letters), but had also taken the Holy Communion at his hands (though without his knowledge, and without giving him any previous notice such as the Rubric requires), I had made the Bishop acquainted with the history of the controversy from its beginning.

He said that no doubt it was wholly improper to admit a stranger to the Communion, leaving him to judge for himself whether he Communicated as a brother or as a convert : Also, that no Priest could admit members of another Church

to Communion at all, unless he were empowered by a Bishop : That he would go further ; and was willing to declare, that he would *not* receive a member of the Russian Church as a convert, though he thought that Church superstitious in respect of the veneration of Pictures, and the invocation of Saints.

With regard to what I had told him of Mde. A.'s having taken the Communion from him at Paris, he said that he much regretted there should be so much laxity as there is among our people ; and thought it contrary to the intention and mind of the Church ; *but still, as that Rubric which requires notice to be given before Communicating, is in point of fact all but universally neglected, and as he had no ostensible ground (other than our private conversation) for addressing himself to Mde. A., or questioning her as to her opinions or acts, he did not like to single out, and as it were fall upon, one individual, unless he were absolutely obliged.* At the same time, he said, he quite approved of my endeavouring to convince her of her error ; and saw the importance which might attach to the case ; and would willingly do any thing he could to countenance or assist me. To this end he suggested that I should write him a letter, and put the case, down to the time of her coming to Paris, fully before him ; so that he might deliver his opinion by way of answer to me, in the first instance : that then I could tell the Lady, when I saw her, that I had his approbation ; and could show her both the letters : that if she were a person, as he made no doubt she was, of good sense and feeling, this ought to weigh with her ; and if it did not, there would then be time enough to consider what ought to be done with regard to her taking the Communion in his Chapel, and putting her own sense upon the reception of it in Anglican Congregations for the future.

The Bishop said at the same time, in allusion to my recent Publications in England, that he found no fault at all with me for rejecting the words 'Protestant' and 'Protestantism,' having always rejected them himself, and never having lost an opportunity of speaking against those names to any Scotch or American Bishop whom he saw. And he remarked that I might have seen Protestantism disclaimed for our Church in his published Sermons, which he had given me three or four years before. He also spoke strongly against the recognition of the Luthero-Calvinistic Establishment of Prussia as a Church, and the admission of the 'essential unity of all Protestant Christendom,' as proclaimed in the institution of the new Bishopric at Jerusalem. But what he thought on this point will appear more properly hereafter, when there will be occasion to mention his own publication on the subject. [See the Appeal below, in Section XLVII.]

In accordance with the Bishop's suggestion, I addressed to him the following letter, dated from Meurice's Hotel, Paris, January 22, 1842 :—

"MY LORD,—On going to Russia a year and a half ago, I was the bearer of Letters from Dr Routh, the President of my College at Oxford, in which he expressed his desire that I might be admitted to receive the Holy Communion by the Bishops of the Russian or other Orthodox Churches. He gave me these Letters on the ground that the Orthodox and Catholic Churches of the Greek Rite had never been excommunicated by ours ; and that consequently it was not for me to remain voluntarily separated from their Communion, when residing within their dioceses.

"It was objected to me in Russia by parties of high rank and station, among others by the Emperor's High Procurator in the Most Holy Governing Synod, that our Church was so far from seeking the Communion of theirs, that it was actually at that very time converting their people, and the Christians of the four Eastern Patriarchates, to Evangelical Protestantism, and receiving them as converts to its own Communion. Not long after my arrival at St Petersburg, I was presented by a lady whose attention had been turned towards me by the Emperor himself, to her cousin Mr A., who stated that his wife and daughter, then resident either at Paris or in Switzerland, had only a few months before apostatized from the Russian Church, and had been admitted as converts from it to the Communion of the Church of England.

"I ascertained that the ladies in question had in fact, in the first instance, consorted with certain of the foreign Protestants, and had adopted from them their fundamental principle of Protestantism (namely, that of the right or duty of following their own private interpretation of the Bible) before they resolved to embrace the 'Anglican form of the Protestant Religion' (for as such only they considered it) in preference to any other. At length, having taken some dislike to the 'Evangelical' Calvinists, they presented themselves to an English or Irish Priest, or rather, one should perhaps say, 'Minister,' then travelling on the Continent, and to a Chaplain engaged and maintained by the English residents at Geneva, as desirous of learning whether the doctrine of the Trinity could be demonstrated to their satisfaction from the Bible, and at the same time of renouncing the Russian Church, as entirely contrary to the Bible, and of being received in virtue of such renunciation to the Communion of the Anglican, as entirely agreeing with the Bible.

"I ascertained further, that these two Clergymen gave them the Holy Communion, and countenanced them in asserting publicly that they had been received into the English Church in virtue of having renounced the Russian ; and also in maintaining, as the doctrine of their new religion, the impious heresy of the Calvinists, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood is only a mere sign : And that after this, Mde. A., considering herself a member of the English Church, had received the Holy Communion, without so much as thinking it necessary to give notice of her wish to do so to the Minister beforehand, in the Chapel of the British Embassy at Paris. Thus much may suffice as a statement of the case.

"Having been authorized, nay, even adjured in the name of Jesus Christ our common Saviour, and the Head of our

common Church, which is one, and can be but one in all the world, by Mr A., to do all I can to bring his wife to a sense of her error, in professing to have renounced the Russian Church, and to have been admitted as a convert into the English ; and feeling besides, that I am myself (not to mention the President of my College) personally interested to make my own ground good ; and trusting that your Lordship will see the important bearings, in a public point of view, of the case, which is connected with yourself by the alleged fact that the Lady has received the Holy Communion in your church (also used as the Chapel of the British Embassy), I feel sure that you will not think me doing wrong in addressing this letter to you on the subject.

“ I will not ask your Lordship whether any person who pleases has a right to kneel down and ‘ take ’ the Sacraments of the Church, and then put his own construction upon his having thus ‘ been admitted to Communion.’ Any such extravagant supposition is sufficiently disproved by the Rubric prefixed to our Communion-Office, which directs all persons (even the parishioners of his own parish) to notify to the Priest their desire to Communicate at least some time the day before, in order that he may have an opportunity of satisfying himself that he admits none but those who are duly qualified. I am well aware that in the present state of our Discipline this rule is very seldom observed or enforced ; but still, I presume, it is intended, and taken for granted, that all persons who venture to present themselves at the Lord’s Table, without giving the notice beforehand, are to be duly qualified ; and that none are so to present themselves, who would have been liable to be rejected, if the rule had been complied with. For the non-observance of the rule for giving notice beforehand by those who have a right to Communicate, can certainly never give a right to Communicate to those who have it not.

“ I presume then, that if any person, whether of our own or of any foreign country or Church, not being duly qualified, should have knelt down, and ‘ taken ’ the Holy Sacraments from any English Priest or Bishop, without his receiving any notice beforehand, or knowing what was done, or to whom the Mysteries were given, neither he, nor the Church

which he represented, could justly be made responsible for the opinions of the parties by whom the participation in the Holy Sacraments was then irregularly obtained ; that is, unless he afterwards, when the thing became publicly known, acquiesced in the colour given to the act by the party which had been the agent.

“ In the present instance, it is alleged that a Lady of high rank, a foreigner, and naturally a member of the Russian Church, has actually Communicated in the Chapel of the British Embassy in this Capital ; that she considers herself to have a right to do so ; and so may probably present herself at the Lord’s Table, in a similar way, on future occasions.

“ I beg to ask your Lordship, in the name of her husband, as well as in my own, whether your Lordship considers me right in asserting, as I have asserted, that, in order to be duly qualified to Communicate in any English Church, a person must come under one or other of the three following classes : that is, either

“ I. Of Baptized and Confirmed members of that same Church, that is, of the Communion and Province of that same Bishop within whose jurisdiction they seek to Communicate ; believing the whole ‘ *Faith* ’ of that Church ; and not being involved in any bond of excommunication by its canons : or

“ II. Of persons similarly circumstanced (and bringing satisfactory proof, either formal or virtual, that they are so) in some other Church, and under some other Bishop, recognized and allowed as holding the same *Faith* with himself and his Church by that Bishop to whom they come, and under whose jurisdiction they seek to Communicate : or

“ III. Of persons not similarly circumstanced, but converted and baptized from Judaism, Heathenism, or Mahometanism ; or converted and received with Confirmation from such sects as have preserved the true Form of Baptism ; or simply converted and received (whether with or without Absolution) from any other heretical or schismatical Christian sects or communities, which are not recognized for true Churches by that Bishop and Church to which they come, and to whose *Faith* and Sacraments they seek to be admitted.

“ If I am right in asserting that a person, in order to be

duly qualified to Communicate in our Churches, must come under some one or other of the three classes I have enumerated, then I would ask further,—

“I. Whether, in your Lordship’s judgment, it belongs to the party desirous of receiving the Holy Communion, or to the Minister and Representative of the Church which gives it, to judge or prescribe to which of the three classes of qualified persons the applicant belongs? and

“II. Whether your Lordship would allow, that any mere Priest, as Priest, and otherwise than as authorized by his Bishop and the law of his Church, has authority of himself to decide what Christians of other Churches or dioceses are to be regarded as excommunicate, and needing conversion, before he can give them the Communion; and what, on the contrary, are qualified and entitled to be admitted to Communion without any conversion?

“And if your Lordship answers, as I suppose, that it is *not* for the applicant seeking the Communion, but for the Minister and Representative of the Church which gives it, to declare upon what terms, in what capacity, and on what principles, the applicant is admitted or rejected; and further, that this Minister is necessarily in every case, either directly or intermediately, the Bishop:

“Then I need not ask your Lordship whether you could acknowledge a foreign lady to have become a member of our Church, and to have acquired a right to receive the Holy Communion at your hands, as such, merely because she had found somewhere upon the Continent some English Priest who, upon his own authority, had allowed her to take, or had consented to give her the Sacraments, and had either left her to decide for herself, or had decided for her according to his own views, whether she was ‘admitted by him to the Communion of the English Church’ in virtue of belonging to the Russian Church, or in virtue of abjuring it? To ask any such question will be unnecessary: but I will request permission to ask this; whether,

“III. If Mde. A., or any other person naturally belonging to the Russian Church, had applied to you, or should hereafter apply to be admitted to the Holy Communion, and you admitted them to it, would you do it upon the principle of allowing and desiring Intercommunion between the Churches

of England and Russia, or upon the principle of Conversion, which supposes that the Russian Church and its members either are, or ought to be, excommunicated by the English Church? And would you consent, under any circumstances, to receive members of the Russian Church to your Communion as converts? I remain your Lordship's most dutiful and obedient servant,

“N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

The next day the Bishop returned me my Letter with the following answer to it, dated Paris, January 22, 1842, that I might be able to shew them both to Mde. A.:—

“REV'D. AND DEAR SIR,—Without particular reference to every part of your Letter, I think it will be sufficient for your purpose if I confine my reply to your last and concluding question.

“I do *not* allow that a member of the Russian Orthodox Church, or of the Orthodox Oriental Churches *can* be received into the Church of England as a *convert*, because those Churches certainly form part of the Catholic Church.

“I would admit a member of any of those Churches to the Holy Communion, not on the principle of Conversion, but of Intercommunion, supposing such member to have been rightly Baptized and Confirmed, and qualified to be admitted to the Holy Communion in his own Church;” [*i. e.* at any rate,] as may be added from the Bishop's own verbal explanation, ‘*not justly excommunicate*’].

“I lament, indeed, that the Churches in question allow some things which the Church of England cannot approve; yet I do not accuse them of any heresies subversive of the Catholic Faith: consequently there is no reason why the Church of England should reject their Communion. Believe me, Reverend and Dear Sir, yours very faithfully and truly,

“MATTHEW H. T. LUSCOMBE, *Bishop, &c.; and
Chaplain to the British Embassy.*”

SECTION IV.

AN INCIDENT LEADING AFTERWARDS TO AN ACQUAINTANCE WITH MR AND MRS O., ENGLISH ACQUAINTANCES OF MDE. A.

SOME time before writing the above Letter to the Bishop, or having it returned to me with his answer, as I was walking one day through the streets and thinking that I had lost my labour in taking that journey to Paris, and should probably have to return without even seeing Mde. A., it chanced

that in passing an engraver's shop window my eye fell upon the card of an English lady whom I had known seven years before abroad, and of whom I remembered that she went a good deal into company. The thought suggested itself that she might possibly be again residing in Paris, and if so, might have met Mde. A., or might be able to put one into the way of obtaining access to her through some of her acquaintance. On making inquiry at the Embassy, it proved that this was actually the case ; so I went and called at the residence of the lady in question. She remembered having met Mde. A. and her eldest daughter during the last season at the Austrian Ambassador's, and had been told by some Russians of her acquaintance of her having renounced their Church and religion for Protestantism. She had no personal acquaintance, she said, with her ; but she thought that another English lady and gentleman, whom she named (Mr and Mrs O.), had ; and, if they were then in Paris, she gave me leave to mention her name as some sort of introduction. This I resolved to do ; and should have done at once : but it was some time before I ascertained that the family she mentioned were in Paris ; and some time longer, before I made out their address. What resulted eventually from this incident will appear in the sequel.

SECTION V.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH MDE. A.

AT length on Saturday, January 22d, being then confined to my room at the hotel with gout, I received the following short note (in French) from Mde. A. :—

“SIR,—I will begin by asking you, if you please, since you desire it, to come and see me on Sunday the 23d, at three o'clock. Something extraordinary seems to attach to all that passes between us. When I was ill in my room I dictated a few short pages to you in answer to what you had written to me yesterday. I found them again, and put them in my blotting-book together with your letters. A few hours afterwards, and the whole had disappeared not only from the blotting-book, but even from the house. I cannot write twice over on the same subject ; and so I must leave till I see you to-morrow all that I had to say to you. Believe me always, &c.” “N.A.”

Accordingly I went at the time she had fixed, and had an interview, which lasted a long time. She spoke much and eloquently, of the way in which Christ had led her like a child, and was now all in all to her ; of the persecutions and martyrdom she had suffered, and was still suffering : of *the utter impossibility of changing her mind, the attempt to do which might proceed in me from pride and formalism*. She had been much attached, she said, to the Greek Church : and even others who were present had noticed her to turn pale when, on some occasions, she first began to perceive that Christ was leading her to seek salvation only by Him, and no longer to pray to His Mother. Some time ago,

when she was ill, they persecuted her, trying to make her wear some Relic or Icon of St Metrophanes, and bidding her pray to the Saint to pray for her, and the Saint would cure her. It was a difficulty to get any thing like answers to practical questions ; she observing, that “ our grounds were altogether different.” However, she did admit that, though she thought the true Church, or the New Jerusalem, invisible, we are bound also to belong to some visible Society. She also roundly declared that she belonged to the Anglican Church, and had been admitted into it as a convert from the Russian, which she had left. She said, in answer to a question, that it was true she had become a member of the visible Russian Church by Baptism ; and that she had never, that she knew of, been excommunicated, or separated from it, by any act of its Authority. “ Then,” it was replied, “ you are not separated from it at all, or only by your own imagination or intention : for, to speak as a ‘ formalist,’ even though I deserved to be excommunicated, or had resolved to renounce the Anglican Church, and to enter another, still I should not actually, in point of form, cease to be a member of the one, till I was actually excommunicated, or had actually renounced it so as to incur its excommunication, which is the same thing ; nor should I become formally a member of another, however much I might intend to do so, till I was actually received by its Authority. A man may intend to become a soldier, and a member of a certain regiment, but that does not make him one, till he is sworn and enlisted ; and *then* he cannot cease to be one by his own will.” She said, that she clearly was a member of the Anglican Church, *because* she Communicated in it. It was answered, “ That proves nothing. I might kneel down and take the Sacraments here, at Notre Dame, or at the Church of St Roch ; but that would not make me a member of the Gallican or Roman-Catholic Church, or separate me, as a convert, from the Anglican.” She said, that she had separated herself from the Russian by receiving the Sacrament in the Anglican ; for that was inconsistent with being a member of the Russian : that there was a difference between separating herself and being formally excommunicated. “ That would be adding another thorn to her crown, and would only be making more

noise and scandal." Answ. " But why should it be so, except by your considering the act as an excommunicable offence in the eyes of the Russian Church, which upon one view it is, but not necessarily upon another?" She said, " It is a pure theory of yours, and utterly vain and absurd, to suppose that the Russian and the Anglican Churches can ever be reconciled, or a mutual Communion exist. In the sight of God," she continued, " I have ceased to be a member of the Russian ; and am a member of the Anglican." On my forcing on her again the practical question, she replied, " It is very strange indeed, that after seeing Anglican Bishops and Clergymen, and so many English people, and none of them ever questioning my being a member of the Anglican Church any more than if I had belonged to it all my life, you should now be the first to tell me I am not!" Answ. " No doubt, it *is* strange : but still that does not answer the question:" and I asked her what Bishops she had seen? She said, " Lord E. C." Answ. " But he was no Bishop at all." She thought he was. Then she said, " There is Bishop Luscombe here ; and he gives me the Communion, and knows perfectly well that I Communicate, and that I have left the Russian Church." Answ. " Does he indeed know it? I will tell him, if you please, that you think so, and see what he says to that." Being told that much of her language was what I had been used to among the ' Methodistes' of Geneva, she asked, " Such as who?" and several persons were named. She replied, " I respect Mr N. very much ; but I do *not* agree with *them*." Answ. " Surely you agree with them in the fundamental principle of Protestantism ; I mean, as to the duty or right of taking the Bible as a Revelation addressed immediately to individuals, and to be followed without submitting our interpretation to any human authority?" " Oh, of course, yes;" she said ; " as opposed to *tradition*, which is advocated by Puseyism." Answ. " Yes ; but that principle of authority and ' tradition' is very deep in the Anglican Church, and much older than Dr Pusey ; though now both it and many other good doctrines are, to his honour and our deep disgrace, bound up with his name." " Yes," she said : " I know it is older in the Anglican Church." She said however, that she did not agree with the ' Metho-

distes' at Geneva, "*because* they take every letter of the Bible as an authority, and argue even from the most minute texts." Answ. "Yes; they do so certainly; and in that they are quite right, and agree with the Anglican Church." She said she "could not think that every word or sentence in the Bible was divine in that manner. She thought that generally, and in its spirit and purpose, it is divine: but she could not think God would do any thing unnecessarily small and minute: and those details which were not necessary to the *essence*, namely, to the offering of salvation in Christ, would be left to the men who were His instruments." Answ. "I see that you do indeed go further than the Calvinistic 'Methodistes;' but still you agree with them, and with all the Protestants, in taking the Bible (in your sense of the word Bible) for an inspired Revelation (in your sense of the words inspired Revelation) addressed immediately to individuals, and to be interpreted and followed by them, without their being bound to submit their interpretation to any human authority." "Oh yes, certainly," she said. I tried much in vain to bring her to consider more closely the question of her being a member of the Anglican Church, explaining how I was personally interested in it, and telling her that she might see from what had been said before, that it really was not enough to make a stranger a member of the Anglican Church, to have '*taken*' the Communion, unless she had also acquired a *right to take it*. She said, "I have a right before God; and that is all that is necessary. Who will dare to deny it to me?" Speaking of the irreconcilable differences between the two Churches, and the changes which the very idea of union made necessary in one, or in both, and especially in the Anglican, she instanced Confession, *praising it*, as I thought. It was replied, that "from our present actual state no one can judge rightly of the theory of our Church, which may be very reconcilable indeed with that of the Russian. At present there is practically no sort of discipline enforced. A Turk or a Jew might kneel down and take the Sacraments, if they pleased. They might, to be sure, do the same in a Roman-Catholic church; but to do so there would be an open sacrilege, according to a real discipline enforced by that Church; while in our's, the Clergy seem almost to recognize the prin-

ciple that the people are to judge for themselves, and to presume to *take*, or to decline *taking*, according to their own consciences." She said, which seemed astonishing, that she "thought there was something very admirable in this feature of the Anglican Church, that its Ministers were simply the ministers of God in dispensing, and set no bounds to His goodness; so that all who were drawn could come to Christ. She had herself thought with pleasure that it *was*, as I said, possible for any, *even for a Turk, or a Jew*, if he were drawn to it, to enjoy the Communion of the Saviour." Answ. "Yet, if the Apostle forbids the faithful even to eat their common meals with persons who, calling themselves brethren, are guilty of certain crimes, and if our Lord forbids to give holy things to dogs, what profanation can be greater than that of offering to eat together at the Lord's Table with any body who chooses, and casting the most holy things indiscriminately to all, whether brethren or not, whether good or evil livers, provided only *they think themselves* justified in taking them?" It was added, that even Church-people and parishioners are required by the Rubric in the Prayer-Book to *give notice* beforehand: and that then it is not for them, but for the Bishop or Priest, who represents the Church, to decide on what terms they are admitted, or why they are rejected. And upon this I told her what had passed between myself and Bishop Luscombe; and put into her hands my own Letter to the Bishop, with his Answer. At first she seemed disposed to take this as a sort of persecution of her, and said, "The Bishop has a right to his own opinion for himself, and you to yours for yourself; but I also have a right to mine:" and she asked, "Who, according to the principles and practice of the Anglican Church, can drive me away, or deny my right to the Communion?" Answ. "I do not suppose that you have as yet any right to Communicate at all: though, on the other hand, you might, perhaps, easily and properly acquire one, as a member of the Russian Church. But you may see from the Bishop's answer, that he, for one, does not give you the Communion as a convert, nor recognize you as such." "What will he do then, now, in consequence?" she asked. Answ. "Probably nothing at all. Only you ought to give him the prescribed notice, if you desire to have

a right to Communicate : he would then be able to satisfy himself that you believed the necessary faith, and to tell you upon what terms you might Communicate." She seemed a little surprized at his letter, still exclaiming at what she thought its paradoxical inconsistency; and she asked, "What does he mean by the things he objects to?" Answ. "Doubtless they are the Icons and the Invocations." she said, smiling, "Then all that comes of it is, that *you* will have given *notice for* me of my intention for the future : and thus good, you see, will come of your evil." "No," I said ; "you are bound to give the notice for yourself." She spoke of some tutor saying to his Russian pupil in Germany, "N., you have not said a prayer for three weeks : " and the other answering, "How is it possible, when there is no Icon to be had?" It was answered, that she might read in the Russian Catechism that *they* are indeed idolaters and worthy of anathema, if there be any such, who will not pray without an Icon. She spoke of "having observed upon the music of the last part of Rossini's '*Stabat*' to a Roman-Catholic lady, that the impression produced on her mind was as if it was praying Jesus Christ to save us from hell." 'Well ;' her acquaintance had replied, 'the truth is, that it does represent that very prayer, only addressed to the Virgin !' " She also spoke of the Supremacy of the Pope, of Purgatory, and of Indulgences ; with all which, it was replied, as the Anglican Church is not Popish, we have nothing to do. Her Russian persecutors had of late given over tormenting her about Icons, and Invocations, and Relics, *which they had found out were secondary matters, and not indispensable to the individual.* The great point now was the Real Presence ; " which I astonished her very much by asserting to be the doctrine of the Anglican Church. "Why," said she, "you are not Anglican, but rather turning Greek !" However, it is likely enough that she confounds the Roman Transubstantiation and the Real Presence together. She spoke, as if using an irrefragable argument, of the Answer of the Greek Patriarchs to the British Bishops, utterly rejecting them, calling them heretics, and accusing them of a great number of heresies. She admitted she had never read the long letter to her eldest daughter, which came, she said "*au milieu de l'orage.*" She was evidently unwilling to allow me to come

again, or to see any more of her ; but promised, twice over, to say seriously a short prayer every day, to be led “to think humbly, reasonably, piously, and rightly about the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.” Being asked, whether she could tell the words she had just promised to use ? she replied, “Yes ;” and said, “Concerning the Church ;” leaving out the words ‘*Catholic and Apostolic ;*’ and refused to put them in, when reminded of them. And when it was said, that as a member of the Anglican Church she ought to be ready to use them, she denied it ; till at length she was forced to acknowledge these words were in the Creed which she professed to say and to believe in our Church. “Ah, yes,” she said, “the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.” So she promised. She said, I might come and see her again on Tuesday at two o’clock, if I pleased, and if she did not let me hear any thing in the mean time to the contrary. I left with her a copy of the ‘*Aids to Reflection &c.*,’ in which there were some passages relating to herself and a translation of her husband’s Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

SECTION VI.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR A. : ANGLICAN GROUNDS FOR CONFORMING TO THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

ON Monday, January 24, Mr A., not knowing that I was already at Paris, wrote to me from St Petersburg the following letter :—

“I have received all your letters, my dear Mr N., and I this day send to Paris the duplicate of your long letter to my eldest daughter on the doctrine of the Eucharist. My wife will pass all the winter there. I had conceived a hope that the return of my eldest daughter to the Church might bring back her mother : but, alas, she seems to be getting every day more fixed in her heresy. Very recently she wrote to my second daughter, ‘Ask your father what in the world can have suggested to him that there is the slightest chance of my being ever able to quit *the Evangelical Church*, into which God of His grace has caused me to enter ?’

“You see with me clearly enough, that what she takes for God’s doing, is really the deceit of the devil. With all this, she attends the services at the Chapel of the English

Embassy at Paris, and she *Communicates* there, denying all the time the Real Presence. Tell me then, my good friend, what kind of people must your Clergy be, who are so easy in giving the Holy Communion? Either they invoke the Holy Ghost to come down upon the elements, and believe that by consecration they become the Body and Blood of Christ; or they believe that it is merely bread and wine. In the first case, they are guilty of profanation, in administering the Holy Eucharist to such as do not believe in it. In the second case, they are themselves heretics. And if the first case be true, you must acknowledge that *the requirement of Confession* to the Priest is a most excellent and useful institution; since the Priest, who has the power of binding and loosing upon earth, *is enabled by this means to judge of the faith and fitness of his penitent*, and to know whether he has that belief which is necessary for Communion with Jesus Christ. Alas, my dear friend, your Church must be deeply penetrated by heresy, when, of all the English with whom I have conversed, you are yourself the only individual that I have known to profess the orthodox belief on the Sacrament of the Eucharist! What is this Protestant Bishop that they are sending out to Jerusalem? Tell me whatever you know about it.

“I reiterate to you, my dear friend, my intreaty, in the name of Jesus Christ. Go to Paris. Present yourself to my wife in my name. She is prepared to see you. Let us unite our prayers: and, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, you shall find the right words to speak to her, to convince her that she had no right to quit the Church; that she has sinned in so doing; and that, so long as she persists in her error, she will be hazarding her salvation. God will inspire you. And what more admirable mission can you undertake, than that of labouring to bring back a strayed sheep to the fold; to restore a wife to her husband, and a mother to her children?

“I would unite, if possible, with you in labouring towards the reunion of the Churches. You must do what you can to turn people’s minds in that direction in your own country. *Do what you can towards bringing about ultimately the meeting of a Synod in Britain, in which this great matter may be mooted.* It may be, that the holy undertaking, which was entered

upon under Peter the Great, may be taken up again and continued under the reign of his descendant Nieholas, our present well-intentioned and enlightened Sovereign: and who knows but, under his auspices, it may be brought to a successful issue? But, assuredly, if ever the Churches are to be reunited, *the first step is, to shew that the members of the one cannot rightly apostatize, like my wife, or be received as proselytes to the other.* . . . What can be the Archbishop of Canterbury's reason for never answering my Letter? Can you not discover? &c. &c." "N. N."

The same day that Mr A. was writing the above, and sending to his wife at Paris the duplicate of my long Letter to his daughter, I was employed, at Paris, in writing to him a letter with a Series of Theological Propositions, which were intended first to be shewn to Mde. A., and then to be sent through her (as they afterwards *were* sent) to him and to his two elder daughters, to serve them as an Appendix to the long Letter above-mentioned. These Propositions or Statements were as follows:—

A.

i. "I believe that the Holy Catholic Church, which is One throughout all the world, is the visible Kingdom of God upon Earth, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, against which the Gates of Hell shall never prevail. I believe that this Church is the keeper and witness of Holy Scripture, and that it has authority in controversies of Faith: and that whosoever will not hear its authority, or is rightly cut off from its unity by the sentence of excommunication, ought to be regarded by the whole multitude of the Faithful as a Heathen and a Publican, until he be absolved by a judge having authority thereto. I believe that in this Church there has ever been, since the Apostles' times, a Clergy consisting of the three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and that I am bound to submit myself reverently to my spiritual pastors and teachers, of whom the Bishop is the chief; and the unity of all the Bishops, speaking through laws and canons enacted with common consent, is the Supreme Authority of the whole Church under Christ; which no man can rightly refuse to obey.

ii. "Since our Lord said to Nicodemus, and solemnly repeated that it was true, that no man could enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, which He came to set up on earth, but by a New Birth of Water and the Spirit; and three years afterwards sent His Apostles to found His Kingdom, and to Baptize all nations into it, beginning from the Day of Pentecost, when they were themselves baptized with Fire; and since they have ever after continued to Baptize all nations according to His word; and have Baptized me also; and have taught me to believe that by my Baptism I was made a Member of Christ, a Child of God, and an Inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven; and that the water of my Baptism was not only a sign, but also the means of conferring the inward and spiritual grace it

signified, that is to say, a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness ; I do heartily believe that my Baptism was truly to me a New Birth and an entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven, according as I have been taught.

III. "Since he that is naturally born from Adam cannot live the natural life, unless he be naturally fed with natural food, such as bread and flesh, water and wine ; and I have been taught to believe, and do believe, that I, a natural creature, born naturally from Adam, was born again, not naturally but after a heavenly and supernatural manner, by Baptism ; I can understand that, after this my new and spiritual birth, I may require some new, and heavenly, and supernatural food, for the support of my new and spiritual life.

"And since Christ said to the Jews at Capernaum, that His Flesh is the true Spiritual Bread, and His Blood the true Spiritual Drink ; and that except we eat His Flesh and drink His Blood we have no life in us ; and that this was the true Manna, which His Father gave from Heaven ; And a year afterwards, the night before He suffered, He took bread, and blessed it, and said, '*Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you ;*' and took wine, and said, '*This is my Blood ;*' And since the Apostles had no sooner received the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost, and begun to admit men into the Kingdom of Heaven by the New Birth of Baptism, than they began also to feed them spiritually, after their spiritual birth, with this bread and this wine ; and have ever since continued to feed in the same manner the nations which they have baptized ; and have so fed me also after my baptism ; and have taught me to believe, that this Bread is really, though after a spiritual, and heavenly, and supernatural manner, the Body of Christ, and this Cup the Blood of Christ ; I believe that it is even as I have been taught, and as the Lord has said.

"I do *not* believe that I was *naturally* born again in my Baptism, so as to be *naturally* a different creature from what I was before : Nor do I believe that the bread and wine of the Holy Communion are *naturally* changed, so as to be *naturally* different substances from what they were before.

IV. "Since our Saviour Christ said, '*Do this in remembrance of me ;*' And His Apostle St Paul, that '*as often as we do this, we shew forth the Lord's death till he come ;*' And again, that '*we have an Altar ;*' which supposes also an offering : And since every thought, word, and deed of ours, to be an acceptable offering to God, must be offered in and through Christ, and sprinkled with his blood ; and all that is so offered is acceptable, and (inasmuch as we are all one body) profitable to the whole Church, present and absent, living on earth and departed ; And since the whole Church has ever believed, and has taught me to believe, that the perpetual memory, representation, or pleading of the sacrifice of the death of Christ made publicly in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, is the divinely appointed, the greatest, most acceptable, and efficacious act of her prayer and worship ; I believe that it is indeed as I have been taught ; and that the Priest, by doing this according to our Saviour's institution, pleads and offers to God that same one and only sacrifice of the Cross once offered, which takes away the sins of the world, praying that its merits may be made available to us, and to all the whole Church, whether present in the body or absent, militant here in earth or departed. And I believe that the one and only sacrifice of the Cross is more truly and efficaciously

pleaded now by the unbloody Commemorative Offerings, Oblations, or Sacrifices of the Symbols of Bread and Wine, with Prayer, than it ever was pleaded before by the equally symbolical anticipatory offerings and sacrifices of Blood under the Old Law."

B.

I. "I believe the Communion of Saints ; that is, that all true members of the Church are one Body in Christ, and every one members one of another ; so that if one member suffer, all the members necessarily suffer with it, and if one member be profited any thing, all the members are profited together with it.

II. "Believing this Communion, I believe, that as every bad thought, or word, or deed, in any one member of the Church hurts the whole Body, so every good thought, word, and deed, and every good prayer, profits the whole Body ; especially, when two or three agree together ; still more, when many, and the Church itself, meet for public prayer ; and most of all, when, in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, pure hands and hearts are lifted up through the Holy Ghost in unity to represent and plead to the Eternal Father by His own divinely appointed Symbols the all-sufficient death and merits of his dear Son.

III. "Believing this, whenever I say in the Lord's Prayer, '*Thy Kingdom come ;*' or '*Deliver us from evil ;*' or any other general petition, I would extend my prayer to every member of the Church, and to every person capable of having a share in it : And in like manner I should desire to have a share in, and to be benefitted by the prayers of all who pray, whether present or absent, whether in the body in this world, or departed and with Christ, '*which is far better.*'

"It is certainly right that we should pray for one another, and desire the benefit of one another's prayers. And even when '*in the sight of men we seem to die ;*' if we still really live with Christ in the Spirit, and preserve consciousness, (which the very expressions of '*Paradise ;*' '*Abraham's bosom ;*' and '*with Christ ;*' imply), who can shew from the Bible that we either shall cease, or ought to cease, or can cease, from that habit of prayer and intercession for the whole Church, and for our brethren whom we have left still in danger upon earth, which the grace of God formed in us while we were among them ? Or, on the other hand, if *we* are *ourselves* after death still dependent upon God, (in common with all his other creatures), and have need to seek and to receive from Him such good as belongs to our state, and also our Resurrection, and final acquittal at the Great Day, and eternal happiness in Heaven, (in common with the whole Body of His Church), and are still in the meantime One Body with those on Earth, how can we cease to desire to have still our share in their prayers ? Or who can forbid, or what can hinder, them from praying for, and seeking from God for us the same things that we seek for ourselves ? Or how can they possibly avoid taking us in (by implication at least) in their prayers, whenever they pray or offer for the whole Church ?

"If then any one say, that the souls of the Faithful departed are so independent of God (as if by some physical fate or necessity) as to have no need to seek from Him their present rest, peace, light, and refreshment with Christ, their future Resurrection in the body, their acquittal at the Last Day, and their final happiness in Heaven ; or that they are so separated from the Church Militant upon Earth, (which is all one Body

with them in Christ), that they cannot, or may not sympathize with us in Christ, or seek for us and with us in prayer that which we seek for ourselves ; or that we, on the other hand, may not, or need not sympathize with them in Christ, and seek for them and with them in prayer that which we seek for ourselves and for the whole Body ; such a one, in my judgment, most greatly errs ; and is as contrary to Scripture in his opinion, as he is to the yearnings of our spiritual nature, and to the sentiment and tradition of the Church at large.

“ Further, as it is good to desire to have a part and interest in the prayers of all who pray, whether present or absent, living in the world, or with Christ, so to express that desire in words, whether in soliloquy, or in speaking or writing to any one else, or to the parties themselves whose prayers we desire in Christ, or to God, to give us an interest in their prayers, and in the prayers of the Church, is, to say the least, nowhere *forbidden* in Scripture ; is natural, under many circumstances, to piety ; and is impossible to be suppressed in minds which meditate much upon the Communion of Saints.

“ And even if words were wasted in speaking to the absent or the departed in poetical, rhetorical, impassioned, or spiritual apostrophes, still, even thus, to waste words unintentionally, from a pious desire, would be no *sin*. But on the other hand, not only every wicked, but also every idle word, spoken apart from Christ and God, to whomsoever addressed, whether present or absent, on earth or departed, *is* a sin, and will have to be given account for as such at the Day of Judgment. Much more, if any one by his words expresses any trust in any creature, or seeks aid, health, or safety, from any creature, *otherwise* than *in* Christ ; for whatsoever is said or done *in* Christ is good : whatsoever is but ever so little apart from, or contrary to, our union with Him, is apostacy and death.

“ I think then that one may take, and ought to take, the addresses to the Holy Virgin and to the Saints in the poetical parts of the Russian and Greek Services in a good and Christian sense, *in* Christ ; especially, as they are free to put upon them what sense they please, and are not obliged to make any serious prayers or addresses to any Saint themselves, unless they choose : though I fear that many do actually abuse them to a gross and heathenish superstition, apart from Christ, contrary to the mind and doctrine of the Church. And this, it is much to be desired, may in due time be corrected, by better and more general instruction, by increase of holiness among members of the Church generally, perhaps also by prudent omissions of superabundant poetical compositions, not of the earliest antiquity, from the Services of the Church ; but above all, by the restoration of unity with other branches of the Church, which, though holding the same faith, have yet rather contrary errors and abuses, than those I have just alluded to, prevalent among their members.”

C.

I. “ Since the Apostle commands us to honour all men, every one in his place and degree, whether heathens or Christians, rulers or subjects, and it has ever been natural and usual to express the inward honour that is due by various external conventional acts, such as bowing and kissing, prostrating or ‘ adoring,’ putting on a certain dress, taking off the covering of the feet or head, offering gifts, &c. ; And holy men in the Scriptures are represented as conforming to these usages without blame, (as Daniel

is said to have ‘*adored*’ the heathen King ; and ‘*all the people*’ are related to have ‘*worshipped God and the King ;*’) although the very same outward acts were at the same time, and by the same nations, used also to express a respect and service both to men and to images, and other objects, (and even to devils), which was not to the glory, but to the affront of Almighty God. And since we are commanded to submit to every lawful ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake ; therefore we are bound to conform to all ordinances of men for the outward expression of *such* honour as may lawfully be paid to creatures, *even though* the same acts may be abused by others to the expression of unlawful honour, such as we should rather die than give.

II. “ If the Scripture bids us honour *all* men, much more are we bound to honour our brethren in Christ, whom we love, every one in his degree : And if we are bidden to obey every ordinance of man for the outward expression of *such* honour as may lawfully be paid to all, even to heathens, much more are we bidden to obey the Church in conforming to any usages she may have established for the outward expression of *such* honour or affection as may lawfully be paid to our Christian brethren, whether present or absent, whether living on earth or departed. And as that outward honour which we shew to *all*, even to heathens, in obedience to the ordinances of men, may be, and often is, extended to places, and to various inanimate objects, as well as to other persons, on account of some association with the persons honoured, and even in their absence, for their sakes, so, if any usage of the Church extends in like manner the outward expression of the honour or affection which we bear to our Christian brethren, either to places, or to any inanimate objects in any way associated with them, for their sakes, whether in their absence or in their presence, whether they are still on earth or departed, such usage has not only an equal, but a much higher claim on our obedience and conformity, than any of those other precisely similar usages of civil life in the world, with which any man refusing to comply would be judged out of his right mind.

III. “ But we ought to be ready rather to die than to give any particle of *such* love, honour, respect, or service as is *not* to the glory of God, which cannot be given *in Christ*, to any creature whatsoever, either by thought, word, or deed ; or to conform to any custom of others instituted and intended to express any *such* unlawful honour, either to the persons or creatures themselves, or to any place or object, festival, procession, or ceremony, or image associated with them, for their sakes. For we have promised in our Baptism to *renounce* the Devil, the World, and the Flesh ; and it is written, ‘*Cursed is he who putteth his trust in man, and in his heart goeth*’ (though it be never so little) ‘*from the Lord.*’

“ I think then, that one may conform and ought to conform to all customs to which conformity is required by the Russian or Greek Church, to express outwardly *such* honour and affection as may lawfully be given to any of our brethren in Christ, to any member of his Church, whether present or absent, whether in the body on earth, or now with Christ : And also, no less, if *such* honour is extended, for their sakes, to any other persons, or to places, or to other inanimate objects, as their relics, or their bodies from which life has only recently departed, their coffins, tombs, pictures, clothes, or any other memorial, for their sakes : I think all such usages are countenanced by the Church with a pious and Christian intent,

to cultivate good affections and faith ; and that they may very well be conformed to by individuals, so far as they are required, in the sense and spirit of the Church. At the same time I fear that very many, from ignorance, and unholy living, and bad example of others, do grossly and superstitiously abuse such usages, contrary to the intention and doctrine of the Church, and to the dishonour of Almighty God. And I think it is much to be wished that the people should be more generally and carefully catechised and instructed, and be led to think more spiritually, by the increase of holiness around them : and, perhaps, whenever it could be safely done, that some of the occasions of abuse or scandal should be taken away by competent authority : but above all, that the better and spiritual view of all such matters should be strengthened and publicly asserted by the restoration of formal union and intercommunion with Churches, whose caution against the abuses liable to be attached to such things has led them to retrench altogether both all addresses to the Saints in their Hymns and Anthems, and all outward reverencing of their pictures, or other memorials.

“ If such a union could be made, we should to be sure have to admit that to ask the prayers of the Saints, and to kiss their pictures, *in a certain sense*, is not Polytheism, nor Idolatry ; and that this certain sense is the only sense in which such things are maintained by the Russian and Greek Churches. And so we could not any longer call our brethren Idolaters, which might be something of a grievance to some people, but not, I hope, to any with whom *we* should have much sympathy. On the other hand, the Russian and Greek Churches, and in them their members, by uniting in Communion with us in spite of our not having their customs, would preclude for ever the idea of their attaching any *essential necessity* to such customs ; and would publicly testify that they differed *in no principle*, on these subjects, but only in their practical judgment, (which may be influenced by many circumstances of time and place, of expediency and danger), from the sense of the English Church.”

SECTION VII.

SECOND INTERVIEW WITH MDE. A. ; WHO DISREGARDS BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S OPINION EXPRESSED IN THE LETTER COMMUNICATED TO HER.

ON Tuesday, January 25, I had a second interview with Mde. A. ; and spoke of the duty of holding the dogmas of a Church to which one pretends to belong. She said very plainly, that “there are two principles in the Anglican Church or rather two Anglican Churches, the one ‘Catholic,’ the other ‘Biblical’ or ‘Protestant:’ that she saw perfectly well the two had nothing in common : that I belonged to the ‘Papistic’ or ‘Catholic’ Anglican Church, she only to the Biblical or Protestant: that she belonged to that which was popularly and really the religion of the English

people; and of the Parliament; who all celebrate ‘the glorious Reformation,’ and ‘the Protestant Church;’ and that in her Protestant view of the Anglican Church, and her Protestant way of joining herself to, and belonging to its Communion, she agreed with the English in general, and with all the Pastors or Ministers she had seen: You are the first who has attempted to call in question or deny my membership.” Answ. “Granting all to be as you have said, still, either those who profess themselves members of the Anglican Church on my principle, or those who profess the same on your’s, that is, on the Protestant principle, must be wrong; and it is not popular opinion which can decide which of the two is wrong, but only the laws and constitutions of the Society; just as in the case of a regiment, or of a servant, or of a contractor.” She digressed from the visible Society; and said, “The two principles are so entirely opposed, that we cannot even understand each other.” Answ. “Surely it is not right to go to our Church and to say with your lips ‘*I believe, &c.*,’ when you do *not* believe?” She said, she did not do so. Answ. “Do you then believe that we are born again in Baptism?” She distinguished between ‘water-Baptism,’ which she confounded with that of St John the Baptist, and the ‘Baptism of the Spirit,’ which she separated from the water of Christian Baptism. She made the water only a sign. Appeal being made to the Catechism (which she confessed she had never read, either for Baptism or the Eucharist) to make her confess the water to be not only a sign, but the ‘means,’ she at length, seeming to reflect at the time, half admitted it; but said, “You cannot get over the difficulty of such persons as Mde. Laffarge, &c., if Baptism is Regeneration.” Answ. “There is no difficulty.” She said, “Do you admit they can lose grace, then?” Answ. “Certainly: only, if they *quite* lose it, the Apostle says it is impossible to renew them. There is but *one* Baptism; as Christ died but once.” She seemed at length to make no difficulty about Baptism; and it was remarked, that if we were really agreed on this, the foundation, all the rest would follow. Soon after, being asked about the words in the Catechism touching the Real Presence, she hesitated, and said that “the elements were a sign; but she would admit the words quoted, and any thing else that was in the Forms of the Church, (though she knew not

before that this was in the Prayer-Book, nor that the 'signs' are also said to be 'means'), *so far as she saw its agreement with the Bible*: but her whole adherence to the Church, and to all its statements, was only in and through the Bible; upon the principle of the supremacy of Scripture, and of its being her duty to act and think according to her own view of Scripture. So she could admit this passage in that sense, and no other, that our Lord spoke of in St John, ch. vi. "Assuredly," it was said in reply, "the Church desires you to receive it in no other, if only you rightly understand that." Being asked whether she believed, as we repeat, that "*the Holy Church [is] throughout all the world?*" she flew off to the invisible Church, and the New Jerusalem. She seemed at another time to admit, that if a man continued after Baptism 'stedfast in the Apostles' Doctrine, and Fellowship, in the Breaking of the Bread, and in the Prayers,' he would be saved; and even to admit the distinction between the original Church or Fellowship of the Apostles and the sects or heresies (as that of Simon Magus) which, from the very days of the Apostles, have never ceased to go out from it, or to be cut off by it; and even, that we ought to belong to the Apostolic Society. On the other hand, when it was admitted that, besides all the sects, portions even of the Apostolic Church may fall into heresy, and become dead, she said, "You have admitted enough to justify me; as the Greek Church was dead; and therefore it was that I quitted it. It was dead, and needed *a revival*." Answ. "Pardon me; if *dead*, neither Churches nor individuals can be renewed; '*For, it is impossible, &c.*'" She said, "You are right; I meant, that it should be taken to pieces, and a new living Church formed out of its ruins." Answ. "Yes; *that* will do." She said she had scandalized the Russians here by going to their Chapel [though it was only to conduct her youngest daughter] after she had renounced their Church, and by kneeling at the Lord's Prayer and the Consecration. Answ. "Of course, if they have shewn any improper feeling, I cannot defend them: but otherwise, I should agree with them, that the action was inconsistent: for if the Russian Church be dead, heretical, and null, so that one must quit it, on what principle are we to go and join ourselves to the public worship of heretics

and infidels?" She said, if she had concealed her light under a bushel, while she saw the truth but would not openly follow it, as some, she should have no right; but when she bore her witness, and had acted publicly, she had a right. Answ. "Yet, you may remember the text which begins, '*If he hear not the Church, &c.*'" "But," she said, "the graces given to the Primitive Church were far greater than now;" and then she reasoned against herself, by making the measure of those graces to depend on faith. She constantly digressed to the New Jerusalem, and to the inner Church, and the personal union of the soul with Christ by our *seizing* violently salvation, (which text, it was said, she seemingly misunderstood); and spoke of our liberty to act in this union, and in virtue of it, according to our conscience, being amenable only to the judgment of God. She said, "I see clearly that you are a long way off from being truly religious: but you are still young; and by the grace of God that may come: but, indeed, indeed, you lack much of that state of the soul: you have not got your passport signed: I am sure of that." Being asked some short time after, whether she had any objection, supposing that she were right in renouncing the Russian Church as dead, and in joining the English, to investigate with me, step by step, the process by which she could be admitted to the latter, she seemed at first to consent; but then asked, "What end do you want to come to? and what need is there to do so?" Answ. "For instance, if you perceived that you have no right to take the Sacraments of yourself; that you are at least bound, the first time, to give notice, and to have the consent of an administrator authorized by some Bishop?" She said that "nobody had any right to require any such thing of her: that one of her English friends [naming the person,] assured her she had the same right as others; and all her other English acquaintances agreed: and that such is the custom of the English." And then she lauded "that unfettered liberty, and freedom of access according to her conscience, which the Anglican Church offered her, and which she ought indeed to offer to all. And why not let me alone?" she said: "you are the first to trouble me. And even if you were to succeed in driving me away, it is nothing to me. I stand in no particular need of the Anglican Church. Any

other Evangelical Church founded on the Bible alone would do for me equally. I would go to the Chapel of your English Methodists here." Answ. " Well ; but you do wrong, and injure the Anglican Church, by thus thrusting yourself upon it irregularly, and setting at nought its rules, as you may see by looking at the Prayer-Book, and reading the Rubric to which I allude." She said, " I am quite resolved to do nothing ; but to go on according to my own conscience : and hitherto I have found nobody among the English to trouble me, or to hinder me from so doing." Answ. " You know the sentiments of the Chaplain here : and there is the Rubric to which I have called your attention. If you are not satisfied, suppose you write a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Mr A. did, and ask whether you or the Chaplain are right ; though he too is a Bishop ; that is, if you will not otherwise pay any respect to the Chaplain's opinion, or to the Rubric, without further proof?" She laughed, and said, " Ah ; that man has tact. He did not answer my husband's letter. And what need is there, when I have all that I desire already?" She said, " As long as I follow my conscience, I wrong nobody in belonging to the Anglican Church and taking its Sacraments in a Protestant manner, and on Protestant principles : and nobody has any right to interfere with me. If any body does, (and you are apparently the only person who troubles yourself about me), they are only adding to my persecutions, and that to no sort of purpose, as I can go elsewhere." Answ. " Well ; but I am supposing that it is right for you to become an Anglican, only that you would wish to do so in the regular and legitimate way ; and also to be a good Anglican, and to study and understand this living Church, which you have adopted instead of your former dead one, and to know and hold its doctrine, and obey its discipline." " Ah, you are always talking," she said, " of officers, and regiments, and human formalities. I care not how, or whether, I belong to this or that *visible* Church. I only care to belong to the New Jerusalem. I do not admit any kind of infallibility for the Anglican Church ; nor indeed for the whole of what you call the '*visible*' Church."

[Since the former interview she had read the two Letters, but still attached no importance to Bp. Luscombe's judgment.]

SECTION VIII.

STATEMENT OF THE PROCESS TO BE GONE THROUGH IN ANY
REGULAR ADMISSION OF A STRANGER TO COMMUNION.

AFTER the above conversation, I drew out on paper a statement of such a method or form of examination (either explicitly or implicitly to be gone through), as would seem to be requisite in order to the legitimate admission of any stranger to the Holy Communion, with the design of shewing it to Mde. A.

“First, we may suppose that a stranger applies, at Geneva or elsewhere, to an Anglican Priest or Chaplain, who, if not authorized to act, and if time permits, obtains authority and directions from the Bishop under whom he is, or from whose diocese he last came. If there be *not* time enough, he presumes the consent of the Bishop, to whom he reports and submits what he has done afterwards. He then proceeds as follows:—P. ‘He who would Communicate with the Anglican Church must first believe and confess her Faith. I demand, therefore, *Dost thou believe, &c.*? [reciting the Apostles’ Creed.] A. ‘All this I believe.’ P. ‘Dost thou believe, and desire to believe, this Creed in the sense of the Anglican Church, and of the whole Church? or, in other words, dost thou believe that *whosoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith, i. e. the faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and that except a man do keep this faith faithfully, he cannot be saved?*’ A. ‘I believe this.’ P. ‘Hast thou been Baptized in this faith with water, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?’ A. ‘I have.’ P. ‘By whom? and by whose authority wast thou so baptized?’ A. ‘By a Priest of the Russian Church.’ P. ‘Hast thou here any certificate of thy Baptism, or Letters of Communion?’ A. [as it may be.] P. ‘Dost thou know that thy outward Baptism was not only a *sign* of a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness, but also the *means* whereby thou didst really receive the same? And dost thou believe that by being baptized thou wast truly born again, and from being a child of wrath wast made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven?’ A. ‘All this I stedfastly believe.’ P. ‘Hast thou been Confirmed after baptism by the Bishop? or by a Priest with Chrism consecrated by a Bishop?’ A. ‘I have been so Confirmed.’ P. ‘Dost thou know the virtue of Confirmation? and dost thou believe that by it is received the Gift of the Holy Ghost?’ A. ‘I know it, and believe.’ P. ‘Hast thou already Communicated in the spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ?’ A. [as the case may be.] P. ‘Dost thou believe that the consecrated Bread and Wine in the Lord’s Supper are not only *signs* of the Body and Blood of Christ, but also the *means* whereby we receive the same? and that the Body and Blood of Christ are *verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful, i. e. by baptized believers, in the Lord’s Supper?*’ A. ‘This also I believe.’ P. ‘Dost thou know *what* wilful sins, if committed after baptism, are ‘*deadly*,’ and ‘*weighty matters*,’ so that they cut Christians off from the grace of their baptism, and from that ‘*state of salvation*,’ and so

also from all right to the Communion of the Church?' A. 'I have been taught that some sins are unto death, and that there are others not unto death; and that if any one forfeit the state of Church-membership and of Salvation in which he was placed by Baptism through any wilful breach of its conditions, he cannot restore himself, nor judge for himself of his own fitness to Communicate, as one restored.' P. 'I demand, then, hast thou ever at any time since thy Baptism [or since thou wert last similarly examined] knowingly denied the Faith? Or any article of it? Or Communicated in prayers or sacraments with persons excommunicated, or with such as separate themselves from the Apostolic Doctrine and Fellowship, from the Breaking of the Bread, and from the Prayers? Or countenanced heathenism or idolatry? Or honoured creatures more than the Creator, or apart from Him? Or blasphemed? Or perjured thyself? Or wilfully neglected to Communicate even once during any one whole year? Or taken the Communion without giving notice to the Priest, or offering thyself to his examination, when thou knewest in thy conscience that, if all were known, thou hadst no right to the Communion, nor to pray, or even to sit at meat with true Christians? Or hast thou ever wilfully neglected to attend Divine Service on Sundays, or the greater Holy-days? Or wilfully neglected to observe the Fasts prescribed by the Church? Or obstinately rebelled against parents, masters, or teachers; against spiritual or civil Authorities; or wilfully dishonoured them? Or committed murder or violence? Or harboured deliberate malice? Or committed adultery, fornication, or other uncleannesses either with others or alone? Or indulged wilfully in unclean thoughts or desires? Or committed wilful theft, fraud, or injustice? Or wilfully and deliberately slandered, or lied against thy neighbour? Or deliberately coveted any thing not thine own? Or lived in habitual pride? envy? malice? lust? covetousness? intemperance? or sloth? [a pause having followed each question from the beginning.] Hast thou now upon thy conscience any of these sins? Or any other weighty matter, which, though it has not been named, thou knowest or suspectest to be like these, in forfeiting the state of salvation, and that right to the Communion which thou hadst once before? If so, what are those sins? How far, and for how long have they been habitual? And [if they were habitual] hast thou overcome and left off the habit? Since what time? &c. &c. Art thou now desirous to submit thyself humbly to the judgment of the Church as to the truth and sufficiency of thy repentance and amendment? to do what may be enjoined thee in her name to test or perfect the same? and to obtain, when it may be judged proper, her Absolution, in order to regain a right to the Sacraments?' Whereupon, if there were occasion, and the party answering seemed worthy of it, Absolution would be given according to the usual form, '*Almighty God, &c.*': And so, 'after having been examined, and found worthy, or else absolved,' (as the words are in Bishop Cosin's '*Speculum Ecclesie Anglicanæ*') the applicant for Communion would retire from the church, and would come again the next day to the celebration of the Liturgy, and kneel down and Communicate with a good conscience among the faithful.

"Of course, if the applicant had not been Baptized, or Confirmed, or if he professed to have been previously a member of some other Denomination, the examination would stop short at that point: and the Priest would proceed after a different method to procure his Baptism, Confirmation, or

Reconciliation to the Church. Also, if the applicant brought canonical Letters, or a Certificate of Communion, that would render unnecessary some of the preceding questions, and would alter the form of others : While, on the other hand, if he brought no Letters or Certificate, it would be necessary to ask, before entering upon the rest of the examination, Whether he were free from all bond of formal excommunication in the Church or diocese from which he came ? Lastly, it is evident, that no such Examination as the above could be effective in guarding the Sacraments from profanation, (so far as may be possible, and so far as it is necessary to the existence of the Church to attempt to guard them) unless it were applied occasionally at least (e. g. once a year, during Lent, and on a Curate's first coming to take charge of the souls committed to him) to members of the Church, as well as to strangers, and to clergy (both previously to their Ordination and afterwards), as well as to lay people."

SECTION IX.

BISHOP LUSCOMBE WRITES TO MDE. A., STATING ON WHAT TERMS
ALONE HE CAN ADMIT HER TO COMMUNION.

AFTER I had written the above, I gave a full account to Bishop Luscombe of the last interview with Mde. A., and of the manner in which she had received the communication of his sentiments. He said that he had wished to avoid it ; but he thought it his duty *now* to write to her himself. And accordingly, the next day, being *Thursday, January 27*, he gave me the following Letter, which I was to take or send for him to Mde. A :—

"Bishop Luscombe presents his most respectful compliments to Mde. A. ; and as she may probably present herself to receive the Holy Communion in his church, he hopes she will permit him to make known to her, that no persons not originally belonging to the English Church by Baptism have any right to join themselves to its Communion without being first allowed and admitted by competent authority.

"Nothing can be further from the Bishop's wish or intention than to put Mde. A. to any inconvenience, or to require any more of her, than a sense of his duty dictates, to justify himself in giving to her the Communion knowingly, if she should present herself at the Lord's Table together with English persons, who are, by right of their Baptism, members of the English Church. In order to attain this object, and at the same time to obviate the necessity of putting Mde. A. to any trouble, the Bishop begs leave to state what

are the necessary qualifications on her part, to justify him in admitting her as a stranger to the Communion :

“ I. That Mde. A. should believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, as contained in the Apostles’ Creed, and desire to believe them in the same sense in which they are held by the English Church :

“ II. That Mde. A. should have been Baptized in this Faith, with water, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and Confirmed by a Bishop ; or with Chrism consecrated by a Bishop :

“ III. That Mde. A. should be free from all kind of *just* excommunication by the canons of that Church (the Russian) in which she was Baptized and Confirmed.

“ The Bishop trusts that Mde. A. has all these qualifications : and he will be ready to take her presentation of herself at the Communion (without giving herself the trouble to reply to this note) as an assurance that she has them, and to give her the Communion, whenever she shall desire it : But, at the same time, he feels that he should be failing in his duty to the Church, if he either gave any countenance to the opinion that her Ministers are allowed to offer the Sacraments promiscuously to all comers, or designedly granted the Sacraments himself to strangers, without any step, in the first instance, to secure their being duly qualified.

“ The Bishop trusts that Mde. A. will duly appreciate the motives which have induced him to make the above communication ; and he concludes with assurances of his high and sincere respect for Mde. A.” [Signed,]

“ M. H. LUSCOMBE, *Bishop, &c.*”

SECTION X.

NOTE FROM MDE. A., AND REPLY INCLOSING BISHOP LUSCOMBE’S LETTER : SUGGESTION HOW SHE MIGHT PROCEED, IF SHE WISHED TO DISPUTE HIS JUDGMENT.

ON Friday, January 28, I received the following note (written in French) from Mde. A. :—

“ SIR,—Excuse me for not being able to receive you on Saturday, that is to-morrow [the day she had fixed]. Though it is very seldom that I am able to stay at home on Sunday morning, *this one time more* I propose to you to

come at four o'clock on Sunday. I hope, Sir, that you will be so good as to say to me then all that you have still to say about religion ; for from that moment it will be no more possible for me to receive you, except at those hours when I receive my other good acquaintances, that is to say, on Mondays and Thursdays, after half-past two ; except it were on some extraordinary occasion, which might require a particular conference. I rejoice to think of the spirit of peace, charity, and good-will which has presided at our two conversations. I pray abundantly our Divine Master to bless all that has been said, for the salvation of our souls, and the souls of others besides ; to *complete* the good seed in our hearts, *if it be there* ; to sow it there, if it is not there already ; and that all that befalls us, all that we say and think, may be to his glory ; for it is *for Him* that we are here below. Believe, Sir, my fraternal consideration, &c. &c." [And signed by herself,] " N. A."

Which was answered as follows :—

“ DEAR MADAM,—I will call upon you at four o'clock on Sunday, and am sorry to think that it must certainly (even had you been able to see me afterwards) be the last time I have the pleasure of seeing and conversing with you about religion ; at least this time, that I am now at Paris ; as I shall be obliged to leave for England on Sunday night. I say that I am sorry, because I could have wished to know more exactly how far we agree at present, and how far we differ upon some of those fundamental doctrines which cannot be really believed by a pious mind, and considered, and dwelt upon, without drawing after them, in due time, the whole system of the true religion. On the other hand, I thought that the mode of examining such matters together, by agreeing to be more and more on our guard, and to pray more and more against whatever fault or error we might either of us suspect to be in the feelings or views of the other, was one which could not do either of us harm, and which might, by God's blessing, do both of us good. You have made me, however, a promise, to which, if seriously and habitually attended to and kept (a thing difficult to do in the midst of the distractions of life, when the heart of the promiser has as yet no great sense of the need of any such

prayer),—to which, I say, I am quite willing to commit the issue of the whole question between us; and to obtain which, I would have gladly come twice the distance that I have, even if I had then been obliged to return without another word passing between us.

“I make no doubt that my own ‘formal’ question about your being a member of the English Church, and the principles upon which you can be legitimately admitted to Communion, will not require any further conversation than such as there will be plenty of opportunity for on Sunday. You do not indeed seem to understand the public importance I attach to it, nor to see that it is my duty, as I think it is, to trouble myself to interfere in it. But I am sure you do not imagine my motive is to give or occasion you any unnecessary annoyance. In order to place before you at once all that I desire to ascertain further on this point, I send you now, together with this note, a Letter which I have received from the Chaplain, Bishop Luscombe, for you, and which he wrote in consequence of my telling him that I had shewn you the Letter which I had previously addressed to him, and his Answer. I send also a sketch of an imaginary Letter, such as I suppose would express your view of the question, if you were inclined to try to set aside Bishop Luscombe’s judgment, and yet did not wish to take to yourself the Holy Communion upon a contrary principle, without making some kind of appeal or communication in the first instance to some superior authority in the Anglican Church: in which case, viewing the Bishop here only as Chaplain to the British Embassy, you might properly apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury. My wish in putting what I conceive may be your view of the case into writing, and in requesting you to read it, is, that I may know from yourself, if you please to tell me, whether I rightly understand or misrepresent your sentiments: And my reason for doing this in the form of an imaginary Letter to the Archbishop is, to lay before you, as clearly as I can, the nature and bearings, as I view them, of the formal or practical question: And also, because some such course would really be the proper course for you to pursue, if you were disposed to oppose me *fairly* by pushing the Ecclesiastical question to its solution; or saw the propriety or duty of doing so on your own

account ; unless, *i. e.*, you either acquiesced in Bishop Luscombe's judgment, or resolved to take to yourself the visible privileges of a visible church or society in opposition to her visible representative, in virtue only of your own inward sense of an inward right to them as a member of the inward or invisible Church : Which latter course I really do not think you will upon reflection consider to be justifiable, or consistent even with good manners, were it only towards a mere human society.

“ To return to the other and more general question of religious truth, I will only say, that the tone of your note, though very kind and civil to me, seems to whisper in my ear, ‘ Now I hope I shall get rid of you at last ; ’ whereas, for my part, you know I had disclaimed, from the very moment you first taxed me with it, all wish or intention of seeking discussion with you, to change in the first instance any particular opinion you might have. I merely desired to be allowed opportunities, either now or at any future time, of talking with you generally about religion. Believe me to be, &c. &c.”

“ N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

Sketch of such a Letter as Mde. A. might address to the Archbishop of Canterbury (if she should desire to set aside Bishop Luscombe's authority and judgment) inclosed in the above, together with Bishop Luscombe's Letter to Mde. A. as given already in Section IX.

“ MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I take the liberty of applying to your Grace, as being, if I am not mistaken, the highest Spiritual Representative of the Anglican Protestant Church, of which I have for some time become a member, in consequence of finding my right to Communicate called in question, or at least made to depend for the future upon my acceptance of conditions which I do not conceive to be warranted by the Bible, or by the spirit of the Anglican Church, as based, in common with the other Evangelical Churches of the Protestant Reformation, upon the principle that the Bible, and the Bible only, is to be the rule for the consciences of Christians.

“ I belonged originally to the Greek Church, in which I was baptized, and to the superstitions and idolatries of which I was for a long time, from ignorance, very deeply attached. But at length, while residing among the Evangelical or Reformed Churches of France and Switzerland, I came to perceive the truth of the great principle of the Protestant Reformation ; and as I began to make the Bible, and the Bible only, the rule of my faith and practice, I found the conviction gradually grow upon me, that the doctrine of the Greek Church respecting Pictures, Relics, Invocation of Saints and of the Virgin, and the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Lord's Supper, are heresies, which separate that Church from Christ, and make it to be in effect dead, and no true Church at all. Finding myself (I know not by what merciful dispensation)

to be alive, while yet outwardly and nominally attached to the dead body of a heretical and idolatrous Church, I resolved to quit it : and having in the mean time found reason to disagree with the Calvinists in some things, particularly in their opinion that even the lesser details of the holy Scripture are inspired, and seeing the Anglican Church equally founded on the Bible, and equally proclaiming the principle of liberty of conscience, and quite contrary to the Greek religion, I resolved to join myself to it.

"I accordingly made known my intention to the Chaplain of an English Congregation at Geneva, who approved of it, and agreed with me in viewing the Greek Church as dead, and in supposing that the English Church was contrary to it, and that by Communicating in the English Church at the suggestion of my conscience, like other people, who kneel down and take the Sacraments at their own discretion, I should clearly and publicly separate myself from the Greek, and unite myself to the English Church, and acquire all the rights of a member of the latter.

"Accordingly, I did so ; and have since Communicated in other Anglican Chapels on the Continent ; have seen many English people, and several Ministers ; and have never yet found any who called in question either my separation from the Russian Church by the act of Communicating in the English, or my right to Communicate in the English, if I pleased.

"I was informed that my husband, having had it suggested to him by a member of a new sect of Dissenters in England called 'Puseyites,' that the English Church does not excommunicate, nor desire to convert as heretics and idolaters the members of the Greek, had written to your Grace on the subject, and had received no answer ; which I took for an assurance that your Grace approved of my having renounced the idolatrous Russian Church in order to embrace, upon Protestant principles, the Anglican form, which I consider as the most pure and perfect, of the Evangelical Reformed Religion.

"I have also become aware since that my husband, having been referred by the Chaplain at Geneva to the Bishop of London, to shew that he was not at variance with the Bishop, who had licensed him, in countenancing my assertion that I had rightly quitted the Greek Church, and had really become a member of the Anglican as a convert from it, and also in denying the doctrine of the Real Presence to be that of the English Church,—an answer had been returned by the Bishop of London to this effect, that any English clergyman ought to give the Sacraments to any person of good life and conversation, who professed agreement with the doctrines of the English Church ; and that whether such person was a convert or not from any other Church was a matter for that person's own conscience to decide ; that the clergyman need not decide upon it ; and that for himself, in the present instance, he would give no opinion. I therefore took this to be a still further corroboration of my view of the English Church, and of the legitimacy of the mode in which I have joined myself to its Communion.

"But recently I have found that the Anglican Chaplain in this capital, who is also a Bishop of Scotch consecration, denies that a member of the Russian or Greek Churches can be received as a convert into the English ; and further denies that I have as yet been legitimately received to the Communion of the Anglican Church at all ; and prescribes terms, to which he expects me to accede, if I present myself to Commu-

nicate in his Chapel ; namely, that I must believe the Creed *in the sense of the Church*, that is, agreeably with his judgment, and not merely as I may view its articles in Scripture ; and that I must present myself to Communicate in virtue of being free from all bond of just excommunication in the Russian Church ; a condition which implies that I must Communicate in virtue of *recognizing and belonging to* the Russian Church, and not in virtue of *renouncing* it.

“ For my own part, I feel no hesitation in following that course which Scripture and my own conscience recommend to me. I cannot doubt that the Anglican religion is a branch of the Protestant Reformed, although I see a party struggling to base it upon the contrary principle of Catholicism and Apostolicity. Anglicanism being double, I certainly have never intended to join myself to any other than that Protestant Anglicanism, which is based upon the great principle of the Reformation, which owns the other Evangelical or Reformed Churches as of kindred origin, and of one religion, though perhaps less perfectly constituted ; and which imposes on the individual conscience Creeds, and Canons, and Rubrics, only so far as they can be conscientiously accepted as agreeing with the sense of Scripture. Seeing the National Religion and Church of the English decidedly Protestant, and seeing the English generally taking the Sacraments as they please, without any other responsibility than that which they owe to God and to their own consciences, and never having heard any body hitherto, but one ‘ Puseyite,’ call in question my right to imitate them, or to hold such opinions on particular points as I may now hold while still Communicating in their Church, and having besides the support of several Ministers, and, as I understand it, of your Grace and of the Bishop of London, I have resolved to persevere in the course which I have hitherto followed, notwithstanding the opinion which has been expressed by the Chaplain here, Bishop Luscombe, unless I should receive from your Grace any intimation that he is right in his views. In *that* case, as I am myself perfectly convinced of the heresy and nullity of the Greek Church, and am in no absolute need of the Anglican Communion, (for any other form of Evangelical Protestantism which is built on the right and duty of private interpretation of the Bible, and of rejecting traditional authority, would do equally well), I should think it my duty to consider matters over with the Bible and my own conscience ; and I might probably join myself to the Communion of the English Methodists, who have a chapel here at about the same distance from my house as that of the English Embassy. For I should not think it consistent with a sense of decorum, nor with that respect which is due to every society, to thrust myself upon the Communion of any Church whose chief governors were really averse to receiving me. But I feel confident that I shall not be placed under any such necessity of leaving the Anglican Church, the largeness and liberality of which I highly value ; and that I am only anticipating your Grace’s judgment, in taking it for granted that I may safely prefer the common usage and general opinion, which I have hitherto met with among the English, to the anti-Protestant rigour of that section which views our Church as a branch of Catholicism. I remain, &c.” “ N. A.”

[How Mde. A. at a later stage of the controversy went herself to London on purpose to apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his countenance in opposition to Bishop Luscombe, and how she succeeded in two interviews which she had with the Archbishop in obtaining what she desired, will appear hereafter.]

SECTION XI.

POPULAR VIEWS OF THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE ANGLICAN
AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCHES.

BESIDES the above inclosure, I also drew out for Mde. A. the following statements of the relative positions of the Eastern and Anglican Communions, as popularly apprehended on either side :—

I. *Supposable accusation of the Eastern Communion by the Anglican :—*

“Whereas the Eastern Church denies one essential article of the Faith, namely, that the Holy Ghost *proceeds* not from the Father only, but *also from the Son* ; and teaches the Popish doctrine of *Seven Sacraments* (which language is unknown to the Fathers of the Church) ; and also has borrowed from Rome the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, or that the natural ‘*substances*’ of bread and wine are clean removed after consecration, the ‘*accidents*’ only remaining ; and teaches that Christ’s Sacrifice, said by the Apostle to have been offered once for all, is reiterated in every Liturgy ; and that the Priest offers up in his hands the *material* Body and Blood of Christ for the quick and dead ; that the Eucharist is *necessarily* to be lifted up by Christ’s ordinance after the Consecration, in order that the *creatures of bread and wine* may be idolatrously worshipped with divine worship ; that the forgiveness of all sins is *necessarily* dependent on confession to a Priest ; that Extreme Unction is a *necessary passport for the dying* ; that the state and *destiny* of the departed can be *changed* by prayer, implying Purgatory, or worse ; that pictures are to be worshipped, and relics, *contrary to the Second Commandment*, which is manifest idolatry ; and that it is profitable to pray to the Virgin and to the Saints, *as if there were many mediators*, and not one only, and as if it were lawful to worship creatures as *lesser deities, like the heathen* ; that vows of celibacy are lawful or profitable ; that Bishops, Priests, and even Deacons, may not marry after ordination ; nor as often as they please ; together with many other idolatrous, superstitious, formal, and unscriptural doctrines and practices, to an excess greater even than that of the Romish apostacy : For these and other similar causes we judge that the Greek Church is to be accounted corrupt, idolatrous, and dead, a portion of the Babylonical, Popish, idolatrous, and Antichristian apostacy : And we ordain that such of its members as may desire to quit it, and to profess Scriptural Christianity unstained by idolatry, and free from the deification of dead men, shall be received as converts to the Communion of our pure Reformed and Apostolical Anglo-Catholic Established Protestant Episcopal Church, in the same way as it has been usual to receive Papists, on repentance and abjuration of their wicked errors : and that, if (desirous of becoming) Ministers, they shall also subscribe *ex animo* to the XXXIX Articles of the Synod of London, and accept them as of Œcumenical authority, *according to the popular interpretation.*”

II. *Supposable accusation of the British Communion by the Eastern :—*

“Whereas the Anglican Church has joined and followed the Church of Rome in interpolating the Catholic Symbol of Faith ; teaching that the

Holy Ghost proceedeth not only from the Father, but also from the Son ; and denies five of the Seven Sacraments to be Sacraments of the Gospel ; and pretends that the transubstantiation, or change of the substances of the bread and wine cannot be proved by Holy Writ ; that the most holy, and tremendous, and unbloody Sacrifice of the Liturgy, in which it is commonly and truly said that Christ is offered for the quick and the dead, is a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit ; that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is not to be lifted up ; nor worshipped ; nor reserved ; that people who have committed mortal sins after Baptism may Communicate at their own discretion, without making confession to the Church, offering themselves to penance, or receiving Absolution ; that the Unction of the Sick with Oil was to be confined to cases where the anointer had the gift of miracles, and knew that he was empowered to work a cure ; that it is unlawful and unprofitable to pray for the departed ; that ‘ the Romish doctrine of worshipping and adoration as well of images as of relics, and also Invocation of Saints’ (by which we understand the doctrine and practice of the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church from the end of the third century, by their own confession, to be aimed at) ‘ is a fond thing, vainly invented, grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but repugnant to the Word of God ;’ that Vows of Celibacy are unlawful, or unprofitable ; and that Deacons, Priests, and even Bishops, may marry at their discretion, and as often as they please, after ordination : that the Civil Governor is in all causes, and over all persons, Ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme ; For these, and similar enormities, we judge the Anglican Church to be a form of the Great Western heresy of Protestantism : And we ordain that such of its members as may be willing to return to the true Faith and Church be reconciled to the Orthodox Catholic Church as Lutherano-Calvinists, upon their abjuring the heresies of Lutheranism and Calvinism.”

[On the other hand may be considered what is printed in the ‘*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine* :’ London, Rivingtons, 1846.]

SECTION XII.

THIRD INTERVIEW WITH MDE. A.

ON Sunday, January 30, I again saw Mde. A. She said she “ had read the Bishop’s Letter to her, and the imaginary letter from her to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and that I had given her an arm against me : That even a Pagan, much more a Christian, would have pitied her ; and would not have sought to add to her persecutions and difficulties, as I had now done : For that now she must consider with her conscience what to do ; she could not tell yet what she should do. Perhaps I might succeed in taking from her her only remaining comfort, that which she had hitherto found (and her joy and gratitude for which her letters to Russia had expressed,) in the free Communion of the Anglican Church : Perhaps I might succeed ; she could

not tell : *But, no : she had our Saviour with her : and so He would deliver her.*" She reminded me of the verse, '*They have digged a pit before me, and are fallen into the midst of it themselves;*' which, she said, "is your case ; as you have given me a weapon against you. You have already been the cause of my not attending the Chapel this morning." I told her there was nothing I more ardently desired, than that she should be able and willing to Communicate in our Church in a legitimate way : but that to 'take' our Sacraments without any definite belief, or even any intention of believing the doctrines of our Church, could do her no real good ; and, if allowed to be publicly done, must do our Church a most cruel wrong.

She then began to speak about 'Puseyism,' and the English Church, saying, "No doubt Henry VIII. caused our religion to be changed only enough to make a separation from the Pope ; and, so far, I can understand well enough (as indeed I see is the case) that in other respects a vast deal of Catholicism must have been left, and was left in it. And if you seek, as I suppose 'Puseyism' does seek, to make that again to be the principle of the Church, and to revive it, instead of carrying on and perfecting Henry VIII.'s and Elizabeth's *very imperfect* Reformation, then it is no wonder you think your religion may agree with the Greek : for you both hold the same 'Catholicism' without the Pope : But in truth Henry VIII. left a vast deal to do : and without *progress* there cannot be life. In our Church [the Anglican] there is life ; and there has been *progress* (that is, to more and more of spiritual liberty) ; while the Greek is a dead skeleton." An attempt was made to correct from history her idea that the Anglican Church, as such, had *progressed* in that way which she asserted : but she held to it, and said, "I accept the Anglican Church and its *semi-Catholic* formularies in the *free and spiritual sense of that Protestant progress, which has been made since Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.*" She was asked, how she could say in her note that she would pray the good seed '*may be sown* in our hearts, *if* it is not there already,' if she had really been sincere in acknowledging the other day that the Baptism of water is the *means* of regeneration. She again most pertinaciously asserted the identity of the Christian 'Baptism of water' with the

Baptism of John the Forerunner ; saying, “ that it is only preparatory for the Baptism of the Spirit, which comes after ; and that it was of the latter that she had spoken in her note.” Answ. “ Why then did St Paul re-baptize with water those twelve persons at Ephesus, on the express ground that they might be Baptized unto the Holy Ghost ? ” She said, “ Many extraordinary things were done in the first founding of the Church : and as for the Catechism, &c., I see you are always losing yourself in the letter which killeth.” Being asked if she had read in the Prayer-Book the Athanasian Creed, and if she believed the first two verses, she did not recollect whether she knew that Creed, or not : but on hearing the verses repeated, she smiled at such pertinacious formalism, and said, that “ she did not view these things in the letter, as Henry VIII. had left them, but according to the progress that has been made since : and that the end of the whole was to re-establish the glorious liberty of the Gospel.” She said that she had never *Communicated* with the ‘ Méthodistes,’ or with any other sect, before she Communicated in the Anglican Chapel. She observed, that the imaginary Letter to the Archbishop represented her sentiments upon the whole accurately enough ; though there were some expressions which she should not have used perhaps for herself. Being asked to instance some, she said, “ Such as calling the Russian Church absolutely ‘ *dead*.’ I do not judge. It is nothing to me. It persecuted my conscience ; and so I left it : but I judge it not. The Anglican Church left me free access, without persecuting my conscience : so I joined it. But if it persecutes my conscience, I must consider what to do : and I know I shall be directed.” Answ. “ You certainly called the Russian Church *dead* decidedly enough the other day.” She said, “ You in a manner drove me to it ; but it was the first time.” [Her daughter, however, whose views were much more moderate, had said nearly the same.] She accused me again of being a most infatuated and zealous formalist ; of not being really a Christian ; nor having hope in me. I asked her to tell me how she would teach me, or any one else, her religion, if we were her disciples ? She said, “ I would bid you read the Bible, and pray to God.” Answ. “ Suppose we replied, that we did so already.” She said

“Continue to do so.” Answ. “Suppose we had continued to do so for some time, and found the conviction grow more and more upon us, that what you call forms are means to spiritual religion?” She said, “That may be from some secret fault, which perverts all; and therefore one must examine oneself, and pray against such.” Answ. “Suppose we had been used to do this also? One may add, that it is a strong sign of truth when that which grows upon us is contrary, and is felt to be contrary, to the bad part of our nature; and opens out more and more of good to us for duty, or aim, beyond what we can adequately strive after.’ She declined seeing me more, except when she received her other visitors, on Mondays and Thursdays; and said, she was going back to Russia after two or three months, and should have to give account of her conduct there. I said, “If they re-convert you there, I hope you will not abjure the Anglican Church as identical with your Protestantism.” I left with her St Cyril’s ‘*Catechetical Lectures*,’ Keble’s ‘*Selections from Hooker*,’ and a Letter with the *Doctrinal Statements* given above, in Section VI., to send to her husband and daughters, desiring her first to read them herself. She seemed surprised at my telling her she did not appear to be at all reasonable; and that it would be easy to shew her this was true, by putting one or two questions to her little girl or to her servant: that she might see how differently common sense, even in the most Protestantized Anglican, would answer from her: that I had told her husband at once, on reading her letter, that, humanly speaking, there was no chance; while her daughter’s letter, on the contrary, was quite straightforward and reasonable, though expressing those prejudices which are common among the English. She said, her daughter “was a good girl, but had never attended much to such questions till a year before; and that she had received her original Protestantism [certainly not her Anglicanism] from her, without thoroughly understanding it.”

Mde. A. undertook to forward the Letter with the Series of doctrinal statements inclosed, to St Petersburg, and I learned subsequently from her husband that they were duly received. But the Statements of Section VI. should there be considered chiefly as having been communicated to Mde. A., and as bearing on the history of the controversy with her.

SECTION XIII.

BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH MR AND MRS O. : WHO, BEING CONSULTED BY MDE. A., ADVISE HER TO SEE OR WRITE TO BISHOP LUSCOMBE : AND DIRECT HER ATTENTION TO THE XXXIX ARTICLES.

NOT being able to remain longer at Paris without neglecting other duties at Oxford, I had been on the point of leaving it, and had already taken a place in the 'Diligence' for the night of Sunday, January 30, when Mde. A., (as related above), wrote to appoint the afternoon of that day, at four o'clock, instead of Saturday the 29th, for a last interview. This change obliged me to forfeit the deposit, and to put off leaving for one day.

In the mean time, on Saturday, January 29, learning accidentally the address of Mr and Mrs O. [see above, Sect. iv.] and finding myself in their immediate neighbourhood, I spent that time which was to have been given to an interview with Mde. A. in calling upon, and making acquaintance with them. The project of doing this, since Mde. A. had at length received me, had been altogether dropped, when the accident above-mentioned, joined with the announcement on her part that she desired our next conference to be final, and my own wish to know what line of conduct she pursued after receiving Bishop Luscombe's Letter, determined me to return to it, and to carry it into effect. I found Mr O. at home, and told him very fully my object, and the nature of the controversy with Mde. A.; to all which he seemed to listen with a very friendly interest; and spoke with equal openness of his own views and feelings. He said that they were intimately acquainted with Mde. A.; and she had talked with them of the same matter in her own sense: that he was himself 'something of a *Puseyite*;' and was on terms of friendship with many '*Catholics*' of distinction, whom he named: that he had told Mde. A. that "it is really very difficult to say what *our* religion (the Anglican) is: but she seemed to him to have renounced one religion and Church without really embracing any other: that, if she wished to be Anglican, there was the Anglican Confession of the XXXIX Articles, which he

advised her to read and study; that for himself he could never sign them; but all the Anglican clergy are obliged to sign them.' She had asked him if he knew me; saying, that I was "an English *Ministre* engaged by her husband to try to bring her back to the Russian Church: he had answered, that he did not; and that if I were the same as the writer of certain publications against his friend Dr Wiseman, he did not much agree with my views." He said, that "as he sympathized personally with Catholic opinions, he would gladly do all he could, consistently with his friendship for Mde. A., to assist me, or at any rate to remove any unjust prejudices she might have conceived, and to advise her to examine the question seriously, (if she consulted them), and to do what was proper and reasonable towards the Bishop. He invited me to dine with them on the following day after the interview with Mde. A., when I should meet Mrs O.; and having been already obliged for the sake of that interview to delay leaving Paris, I was enabled to do so; and met her accordingly. She told me she had thoughts of calling upon Mde. A. the next day, Monday, (that being one of her receiving days); and it was very likely she would mention the subject to her. On returning to the hotel, I found that the times of departure for the steamers to England were so fixed, that having failed to leave on Sunday night, there was now no advantage to be gained by leaving Paris before Tuesday afternoon. Thus Mde. A.'s. change of her appointment for our final interview not only occasioned me to make acquaintance with Mr and Mrs O., but also, by detaining me over the Monday (a day on which she received), made it possible to call again on Mrs O. on the morning of Tuesday, February 21, before I left Paris for England.

Mrs O. then told me that she had seen Mde. A. the day before; and that, as she had anticipated, she had immediately introduced the subject of her conferences with me, saying, that they wanted to drive her out of the Anglican Church: that Mde. A. had put all the Letters [except Bishop Luscombe's to herself] into her hands, desiring her to read them, and to advise with her upon their contents. She had talked of me, and of "Puseyism;" and had said she was resolved to go back to St Petersburg, and to answer,

if it must needs be so, for what she had done ; but that she should have a great deal to get up first ; and wished Mrs O. to assist her. Mrs O. had replied, that it was manifest there were great differences in the Anglican Church : but as for going to the bottom of them, that was too deep a matter for her to do fully for herself ; so she could not at all pretend to direct another : only she must set to work, and go fairly into the question, if she wished to arrive at a clear opinion. Mde. A. said, she suspected me of wishing to persuade her that Anglicanism was something quite different from what it really was ; and she did not know enough about it to be able to refute me, never having been in England, and having found all the English people she had seen apparently to view it much as she viewed it herself. I observed, that all this was much more reasonable than her conversation with me had been.

On Tuesday, February 17, after having returned to Oxford, I received a letter from Mr O. containing the information, that since I left Paris “ they had seen a great deal of Mde. A., who had consulted Mrs O. with such frank and unlimited confidence, and had entered on all her feelings, position, doubts, and difficulties, with such a straight-forward reliance on her friendship and judgment, that they had both felt that it would be improper to conceal from her their acquaintance with me.” He said, “ they had told her that the doctrines and opinions she impugns were, in most points, in complete accordance with their own opinions ; and had somewhat softened her prejudice against me as the envoy of her husband : that, however, the main point was not at all advanced : nor could he hold out any hope of success. His great fear was, that among the many with whom she seemed disposed to discuss her opinions, her position, and her sufferings, she might fall on counsellors more Calvinistic, and even more dangerous to what he considered true Catholic doctrine, than some of her present opinions appeared to be. The point,” he said, “ the only point which I can urge at present is, to see and converse with the Bishop.”

[Afterwards I was told by the daughters of Mde. A. that Mr and Mrs O. had advised their mother either to see, or at least to write to, the Bishop, after having received his Letter, before she again Communicated : and that at the same time

they had inspired her with great confidence by shewing her the XXXIX Articles, which she had never before read, and which she thought gave her a clear case; while her friends, who shewed them to her, though they called themselves ‘*Puseyites*,’ and said that in their private opinions they agreed with ‘*Catholicism*,’ yet agreed also with her in thinking the XXXIX Articles to be much in her favour.]

At the end of his letter Mr O. desired to know my opinion on certain points in the XXXIX Articles, which I sent to him at length, and which, as he was at that time conversing occasionally with Mde. A., and agreeing with her in putting on the Articles an interpretation contrary to mine, shall here be subjoined. “The Articles of our Church,” Mr O. wrote, “have ever appeared to me to be rather an attack on an enemy, than a solid structure for oneself. These Articles *literally* construed, and many of the tenets which I constantly hear from the regularly-constituted but Protestant Preachers in the Anglican Church, are to me the evident offspring of constrained *political* reform, rather than the cautious and reluctant suggestions of a humble but sincere desire to purify errors.” And herewith he enclosed some questions in the same spirit on fifteen different Articles, the answers to which will be found in the next Section.

SECTION XIV.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS PROPOSED BY MR O. ON SEVERAL OF THE XXXIX ARTICLES.

On Articles X and XIII.

“Of course all men have power to do good and evil, in some sense, after the Fall, as well as before; else the words ‘*good*’ and ‘*evil*’ and the ideas of praise and blame could hardly exist. The first sin, or fall, did not at once change man into a devil; (if it had, there could have been no recovery); but it only introduced a principle, the development of which by his own will to the destruction of all the good, and all the power to do good, still remaining in him, he had *no* power, of himself, to stop or prevent: much less to cast out the evil admitted, and so to restore himself to that original perfection of nature, which alone could please God, or produce fruits pleasing to Him. The only question which can be raised, so far as I can see, upon the matter as thus stated is, whether the good, and the power to do good, remaining in man after he has admitted the principle of evil, must not be pleasing to God? To this I answer, that *so far as* anything is good in itself, of course it *is* pleasing to God; just as all that is bad is displeasing to Him: but *so far as* it is of the will of the

creature now separated from God, and not from his will in its perfect state, *in God, so far it is not* pleasing to God, but has in it the nature of sin. By one act of his will against the Commandment of God man separated himself from God : and, once separated from God, that which still remains of good in him, though good as having been part of God's perfect work, no longer receives praise of God as belonging to the man himself : for it is tainted by the rebellion now inherent in his will : and is in the way to be more and more corrupted and lost. For as, when the will was joined to God in the upright creature, all, even the smallest acts of his will were sanctified by that union, so, when the will is separated from God, (which separation is the true death, and was incurred by Adam's first sin), all, even the minutest acts proceeding from the will, whether indifferent or *good* in themselves, are *so far* unpleasing to God. To illustrate this I will take two cases : Suppose a man habitually wicked and reprobate at the point to die : you may yet find in such a one, in every case, more or less of *natural goodness*, nay, even of goodness which seems to have been originally connected with grace, remaining in him : and this, like all goodness, is *in itself* pleasing to God, rather than what is evil : but yet it is not well pleasing to Him *as belonging to the person in question*. Why ? Because his rebellious and vitiated will is a principle of evil entering into all his thoughts, words, and actions, and ever tending to destroy more and more the good that still remains in him. So, when he dies, you may say either '*The good which he hath*' is taken away from him, or '*The good which he seemeth to have* : ' for he cannot *really have* any good thing for *his own*, when his will, which is the principle of all in him, is separated from God. Again, suppose any act you please, the most virtuous and praiseworthy that man can do, to be done by the natural will *apart from God*, then we may see that it must be *so far* infected with sin, notwithstanding its goodness, by considering what would be the consequence, if the will which does it asserted the contrary ? if it said within the heart of man, ' I can and will do what is good *of myself*, though deprived of the assistance of God ? Would not this be the very extreme of conceivable wickedness ? God is goodness itself ; and from Him, and by Him alone is all goodness in His creatures. When the creature is perfect, its perfection is only good and well-pleasing to God in virtue of union with Him, not in itself *as apart* from Him. When the will of the creature (*i. e.* the creature himself) is separated from God by sin, the remains of God's goodness in him are no longer *his*, nor well-pleasing to God *as his*. If he attempted to claim them for his own, and *to be good apart from God*, he would be really committing the utmost act of spiritual rebellion which is conceivable even of devils.

"I do not think we shall now find any difficulty, if we examine Article X by what has been said. Let us take it clause by clause. '*The condition of man after the Fall of Adam is such, &c.*' '*After the Fall of Adam* : ' when is that ? Strictly speaking, I suppose, *before the offer and promise of a salvation not obtained by man for himself, but coming from God*. No one can deny this to be true. The condition of our first parents, Adam and Eve, after the Fall, and before they were judged, and a Saviour was promised to them, was indeed such, that ' they could not by any natural strength or good works of their own turn themselves from their downward tendency, ' towards God ; or prepare themselves ; ' so as to deserve to have any faith or redemption proposed to them ; or so as to accept it, if proposed. But

when they had been judged, and a Saviour had been promised, and faith in that Saviour to come offered them, all of God's free mercy to their insufficiency, and sacrifice and prayer in the expectation of the salvation to come had been ordained, and hope added to excite their efforts to obey God's moral law still graven upon their consciences, *then* it would be no longer true to say that man could not *in any way* please God. For both before the flood and after, and before and after Moses, both among Gentiles and the Jews, we read that men 'walked with God,' 'pleased God,' were 'faithful,' and 'just,' were rewarded, and promised further rewards, for their good works. But then, we must observe, that these their works pleased not God absolutely, as wrought by the will of fallen man separate from His grace, by natural strength, (as if Adam in Paradise after the Fall, instead of hiding himself, had boasted that he could turn or prepare himself, or please God); but rather in a sort of shadow of our Christian faith; as St Paul says, '*These all died in faith*;' assisted by a shadow at least and anticipation of that full Grace of God which should be given in Christ, and which now makes the least of those in the Kingdom of Heaven greater even than the Baptist was before. But neither before Christ any more than after could either Jew or Gentile please God by any natural strength *apart* from that salvation in Christ, which had been promised. When Christ was preached, it was made manifest *who* had been pleasing God, and *who* not. The Magi and Cornelius, and others like them, as well as Simeon and Anna, Nathanael, and others among the Jews, *had pleased* God; not as of themselves, apart from Him, but as depending upon Him, and upon such Grace as He might bestow, in the hope of the promised deliverance, in and for the sake of the Deliverer Himself. On the other hand, the vast majority of the world, both Jew and Gentile, instead of having kept the hope of the promise, and pleased God according to their state, by living in such a disposition and habit of mind as to accept its accomplishment when the time came, had utterly corrupted themselves; rejected Christ and His Gospel when preached to them; and boasted either of legal or of natural righteousness, *apart* from the Saviour, which then only could have been pleasing to God, if it had been wrought in hope of, or in preparation for, His coming. So general was the corruption, that the holy Apostle, and the Church ever since, speaks of the world at large as trusting to nature, or the Law, apart from Grace, and even as disposed to reject Grace. But the true children of Abraham under the Law, and the true workers of natural righteousness (such as perhaps was Socrates, and such as we know were the Magi and Cornelius) would work works well-pleasing to God, not by natural virtue apart from Grace, but by virtue of the anticipatory shadow or foretaste of that Grace which was to be given through the redemption to come. And *their* righteousness of nature and of the Law would not have been found contrary to, but would have served only as a preparation for, the righteousness which is in Christ. And when Christ was actually preached to them, they would have passed not from a state of *nature apart* from Grace, (which cannot please God), but from nature overshadowed by Grace to Grace in its fulness overshadowing and renewing nature. Lastly, if any one after having been Baptized attempt, like the Pelagians or the Semi-Pelagians, to assert any power or virtue to the will of man to please God, or to fit itself to please God, *apart* from Him, whether before or after Baptism, he introduces exactly the same rebellion as we have spoken of already.

For neither before the Law, nor under the Law, nor under the Gospel, has the will any power, *apart* from God, either to prepare itself to please, or actually to please Him. Works of mercy in a Chinese are in themselves pleasing to God, and murder and violence hateful : the same in a Jew : and if they are so done, and with such dispositions, as agrees with the preventing Grace of God preparing the nations as well as the Jews for Christ, they *may* please God not only in themselves, but also as the works of those who do them, in virtue of that Faith, and Redemption, and Grace, to which they in a manner look forward. But if you look on mankind not as expecting, and living *in* and by the hope of, the Salvation to come, then you may say of all alike, that they were in the shadow of death, till the light actually came : and that no act of theirs, done by the mere power of their fallen nature, could, in itself, be really good, so as to please God, considered apart from the Saviour and His merits, whose coming was to cleanse all that had gone before, as well as all that should follow after. And exactly the same may be said of the will even of Christians, *if* we view it *apart from Grace*. So, it can never in any thing please God. I will only observe further, that the Article, though asserting a proposition which holds good of all the three states and times which have been mentioned, has yet special respect to the state of the Jews and the Gentiles, viewed as alienate from God, left to themselves, ‘concluded under sin,’ and following, if they follow any righteousness at all, some fancied righteousness, either of nature or of the Law, which can never save them as apart from the Grace of Christ.

On Articles XI. and XII.

“That we are justified by faith only is affirmed by Article XI. This is quite true. But when ? For we may be made, or declared, or accounted just from unjust at different times, and in different respects. When then, or in what respect is it, that we are justified by faith only, and not for our own merits and works ? The Article sends us to the Homily for explanation ; and the Homily tells us, that our ‘justification by Faith only’ is *in Baptism*. But for *final* justification, at the end, we must have works also, if we had lived any time after our Baptism : and we shall be judged, that is, shall be acquitted or condemned, saved or lost, rewarded or punished, and that more or less, according to our works. We shall then receive, each one of us, whatever the working of our will shall have ‘*deserved*’ *in Christ* for good, or whatever the working of our will of itself, *apart from and contrary to Christ*, shall have deserved for evil. Justification then is ‘by Faith only without works’ *at the beginning*, in Baptism : Justification ‘by Faith and works,’ or ‘by Faith with its works,’ or ‘by works done in Faith,’ or ‘by works,’ as St James says, ‘and *not* by Faith,’ that is, not by Faith without works (which is dead) *is at the end*. Further, works done in Faith after Baptism are indeed ‘fruits of Faith :’ but the Article does not deny that they are *also* something besides ; that is, means of obtaining from God more and more Grace both to believe, and to do, &c.

On Article XIV.

“Though it is true that some things are of counsel, and not of necessity *in themselves*, yet, as long as there is a commandment to love God with our whole heart, ‘with *all* our heart, and soul, and strength,’ nothing which we perceive we have grace to do can be a matter of supererogation to us. I do not suppose that any formal doctrine of the Church of Rome is condemned in this Article, but only a bad practical tendency, which

must evidently be fostered by teaching people to dwell upon the idea of their own doing things to please God, over and above what is necessary. There is a difference among Roman divines themselves about Supererogation, one party blaming the practical tendency of the other party just in the same way as, I suppose, it was intended by our own Church through this Article to blame and correct the evil tendency which had previously existed. No doubt we are all constantly committing the sin of *omission* of duty more or less : but in what degree that omission is a sin of infirmity only, and in what degree it is wilful, is for us to ask our own consciences. In its worst form it would constitute the sin of sloth, which is counted among the ‘deadly’ or greater sins. I certainly cannot agree with you in thinking this Article useless. The only thing I regret is, that it is not fuller, and does not guard against the misinterpretation commonly put upon it, as if it denied that certain things may in any sense be called works of supererogation, a position, which even the common language of Protestants refutes. For the same people among them who confess that it is a duty to go to church, for instance, on Sunday, would be the first to observe of any neighbour who went on week-days, that this was ‘a work of supererogation.’ And yet, on the other hand, nothing could have a worse tendency than to teach the people to make such a distinction in thinking of their own acts ; or to do extraordinary acts with the idea of extraordinary merit. It certainly is safer and better to say, ‘Do as much as you can, that you may have the greater reward : but however much you may be doing, never think that you do so much as you ought, or even so much as you easily could. And you owe to God all you *can*, not only in the way of obeying his commandments, but also in the way of following his counsels. For to love Him with all your heart and strength comprehends both.’

On Article XVII.

“Predestination is now seldom thought of, except with reference to the individual. But this is not the way in which it is viewed by early writers in the Church : nor can our Article, which expresses the current theology of the 15th and 16th centuries, based upon that of St Augustine, be understood without placing ourselves at another point of view. The antients viewed it in this way : *First*, our Saviour Jesus Christ is the Lamb of God *predestinated* from before all ages, slain from before the foundation of the world. And yet, you will observe, this predestination no ways interferes with the true liberty of the human will. He Himself says, ‘*Cannot I now pray to my Father, and He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of Angels ?*’ And the laying down His life is not at all the less His *voluntary* act, which He was free to do, or not to do, for all that it was predestinated. *Secondly*, the Church is *in* Christ foreknown, chosen, predestinated, called or elected, justified, and sanctified ; all *in Him* ; as St Ignatius, who lived with the Apostles, writes also to particular Churches, ‘*To the Church which is in* (such and such a place or city) *elect, sanctified, predestinated from before all ages in the Blood of Christ :*’ or words to this effect. *Thirdly*, as the Church is foreknown, predestinated, and called, etc., *in Christ*, so are we, that is, individuals, *in the Church*. We are foreknown, predestinated, and called, and sanctified *in her* ; not as if we had these things separately, and apart to ourselves. And as *Christ’s* predestination did not interfere with *His* free-will, so neither does *the Church’s* predestination *in Christ* interfere with

the freedom of the human will *in her, and in her members*. The Apostle says, ‘Whom he did foreknow, He also did predestinate, etc.: and, moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also *called* :’ and he constantly addresses the Christians to whom he writes as both ‘*called*’ and ‘justified,’ as ‘saints,’ and so, by consequence, as having part in that foreknowledge and predestination, which in order precede ‘calling’. And yet, he none the less, for all that, exhorts them to ‘work out their own salvation with fear and trembling;’ and to labour ‘to make their *calling and election sure*.’ So then the foreknowledge, and predestination, and calling of the Church in Christ, and of ourselves in the Church, involves no idea whatever of any controuling necessity over our will, but leaves us free to ‘*assure ourselves*’ more and more by our good life of our predestination, calling, and election; or to feel more and more by our bad life that we are in danger of having no part in the predestinated Church of God. Of course, *how* the eternal purpose of God is accomplished, and yet our will left free, is a mystery altogether out of our reach: but we shall never, I think, find any practical difficulty arising from the question, if we bear in mind this one rule, that we have no authority for speculating upon any other predestination, than *that* which we may have, *so far as we are members, and living members, of the Church which is predestinated in Christ, Who was Himself* predestinated to be slain before all ages, and *yet was free* to lay down His life, or not to lay it down, as He pleased. But about any abstract predestination of individuals to happiness or misery, separate from the predestination of the Church, neither Scripture, nor the Fathers, nor this Seventeenth Article of our Church, so far as I understand them, say any thing at all.

On Article XVIII.

“The Article does not say that all who are not Christians, or members of the Christian Church, shall necessarily perish; but only, that they certainly will not be saved ‘*by the Law or Sect which they profess*,’ which, being contrary to the Faith of Christ, is, *so far*, a way of destruction, and not of salvation. Our Lord says, ‘He who believes,’ that is, hears and believes, ‘and is Baptized,’ and continues in the state in which he is placed by Baptism, ‘shall be saved: and he who believeth not,’ that is, hears you preach, and refuseth to believe, rejects and opposes the Salvation you offer him, ‘shall be damned.’ But about those who never hear, nor are addressed so as either to believe or to disbelieve, nothing at all is said: nor have we any power of our own conjectures to say any thing. All we know is, that *if* any of them are saved, they must be saved *not* by any law or belief which is different from the faith of Christ, *but* by Christ and by His merits, applied to them in some way which is not revealed. We know indeed that if either the Gentiles had continued in the Patriarchal faith of a Saviour to come, or the Jews in the faith of Abraham and of Moses, they would have been prepared to embrace the Gospel whenever they heard it, and would have been inheritors of its benefits in the world to come, even though they had never heard with their ears Christ preached in this world. But the Gentiles having corrupted themselves with false religions, and the Jews having gone about to establish a righteousness of their own apart from Christ, the Scripture speaks of all as being generally in a state opposed to that of Grace; out of which state they are to be called into the Church. We have then no right to speak of, or to offer to men, any other Salvation, than that which Christ has

offered, and which He sends us to offer in His name. To tell them that *we think* they may be saved as they are, would be to do the very contrary to that which we are sent to do.

On Article XIX.

" This Article speaks of the same Church which you understand to be the true Church, and of no other. It implies a recognition of it in its whole existing extent and organization by mentioning several of the chief Patriarchal Sees. The only difference between this Article and the definition current in the Latin schools at the time it was made is, that the current definition added '*sub legitimis Pastoribus, et præcipuè sub capite Papæ Romano :*' which clause was understood in such sense, as that the visible Church should always necessarily be bounded by practical obedience to the Pope, or to the Roman See. And this necessity again was based upon an asserted infallibility, vested either in the Pope himself, or at least in the Church and See of Rome. Against this is intended that clause which follows in the Article, that *as* the other chief Patriarchal Sees have erred at one time or another, *so* Rome also may err, and indeed actually has erred, as in the cases of Honorius and Liberius. The principle being thus denied, the consequence, namely, that the visible Church is necessarily bounded by practical obedience to Rome, is set aside also. And the effect of the Article is to make the Orthodox Greek Church and our own division of the Latin re-enter into the definition of the Catholic Church, unless some other and more essential error can be proved against either the one or the other, than the mere fact of their standing out against the Pope in that quarrel, which unhappily exists between him and them.

On Article XXII.

" That there is a middle state, all our Divines of note teach ; for instance, Bishop Bull : also, that it is a pious, and primitive, and Catholic custom of the whole Church to pray for the souls which are in that state. Further, (as Bishop Jolly, and the Scotch and English Bishops who corresponded with the Eastern Patriarchs in the last century), that they are specially benefitted by those prayers of the Church which are joined with the Oblation in the Holy Eucharist. Thus far the Greek, Anglican, and Roman Churches are all agreed : But from this point begins a difference, the Greek and Anglican Churches asserting generally of the faithful, that their souls after death are in a place of peace, rest, and refreshment, of greater or less degrees indeed, and in which some may be capable of suffering some pain, but which is nevertheless upon the whole a place of rest and peace, and not of torment. The Roman Church, on the contrary, represents the intermediate state of the faithful departed as generally and properly, for all except the very highest saints, a place of torment and punishment, although they cannot deny that in some respects this may be mixed or alleviated by contrary elements.

" With respect to relics and images, I do not see the least inconsistency between your statement and the Article, upon which I will only observe further, that it contains *no theological proposition whatever*, but merely blames practically the system then existing, and sought to be maintained as a necessary part of the Christian religion by the Roman party in England, as elsewhere ; and this upon five points. The right way to understand it is, as it seems to me, *first*, to ascertain distinctly in one's own mind what is the true and orthodox doctrine, without reference to Rome,

on each of the five points : *then*, what was that system or opinion, on each point, which actually existed, *or* was asserted to exist, in England, when the Article was framed, and which it was intended to correct. *Lastly*, we may observe, that if under the ‘Purgatory’ of the ‘Romanenses’ it it was intended to condemn the doctrine of an intermediate state and prayers for the dead, or under the word ‘Pardons’ Indulgences of canonical penance, or under Adoration and worshipping of Relics; *such* honour as had always been paid in the Church both in the East and West to Relics, or under the name of ‘Images’ the Canon of the Second Nicene Council *in itself*, without reference to practical abuses, or under ‘Invocation of Saints,’ in like manner, *the mere act of uniting ourselves with the Saints in prayer*, however expressed, as we find it in all the Fathers, Latin and Greek, since the end of the third century; if, I say, the Article had intended any of these things, it would surely have been very dishonest and disingenuous to say ‘*Doctrina Romanensium*,’ when the thing meant was ‘*Doctrina totius Ecclesiæ Græcæ atque Latinæ*’ at least for many ages before. And further, I do not see how any people who held such an opinion could either frame or accept a canon binding all preachers to ‘teach only that doctrine which should be agreeable to the consent of the Catholic Fathers and antient Bishops,’ a canon made and enjoined on our Clergy by the same Convocation which first imposed subscription to the Articles.

On Article XXIII.

“All that you observe upon this Article is implied in the Latin version, or rather copy, (for the two are of equal authority, and indeed the Latin is the original) : for in that the word used, where we have in the English ‘*call and send*,’ is *co-optare* ;’ which word signifies the act of a *self-electing* body ; and is evidently a recognition of that existing custom, which had ever been in the Church, that the Bishops should perpetuate their own body. When Luther, being a Priest, took upon him to make a new Clergy, he could not be said to ‘*co-opt* ;’ still less Calvin, who was not even a Deacon. There are besides many passages, (as the Preface to the Ordination Service, referred to and approved in the XXXIX Articles ; the Collect for the Ember weeks, &c.) which abundantly shew that you are right in your way of understanding this Article.

On Article XXV.

“I think you are unguarded in your language, when you say you ‘admit only two Sacraments.’ This way of speaking is purely arbitrary and novel. Neither our Articles nor the Catechism really sanction it. The Homilies and the Prayer-Book (in the Marriage Service), as well as the Fathers, the usage of the whole Church, and Scripture itself, are all against it. It is in fact so utterly groundless, that it would not bear translating into Greek. ‘*Δύό μόνον ἱεῖρη μυστήρια*’ would sound absurd, as indeed does ‘*Duo tantummodo sunt Sacramenta*’ in Latin. In the Marriage Service in our Prayer-Book, *Marriage* is called an ‘excellent Sacrament,’ (the Greek word ‘*Mystery*’ only being used instead of the Latin ‘*Sacrament* :’) In Scripture it is the only one of the Seven which is so called : And the Homilies call several others, besides it, and the Two of which you speak, by the same name. Any rite conferring Grace is in Ecclesiastical language ‘a Sacrament.’ And, to take the others : Even the popular phrase ‘*the Apostolical Rite of Confirmation*’ shews that *Confirmation* is not a mere profession, but a receiving of the ‘Gift of the Holy Ghost.’ Also St Paul places the ‘*Laying on of Hands*’ among the ‘*Elements*’ of Chris-

tianity. *Absolution* certainly confers a grace of restoration and pardon to him who is truly penitent, by Christ's own words, '*That which ye loose on Earth &c.*' Of *Ordination* St Paul says, that the Holy Ghost is given in it '*by the laying on of hands of the Presbytery ;*' and the passage is referred to in our own Ordination Service. The fact is, that there are two, and only two *chief* Sacraments, answering to the cardinal rites of the Law, Circumcision and the Passover, which may well be called '*the two great Sacraments of the Gospel,*' the one for the beginning, the other for the continuation of spiritual life ; by which Christ communicates His own substance ; which He is especially recorded in the written Gospel to have instituted Himself, both in matter and form ; which alone are '*generally,*' that is, to all men, necessary to salvation : But after and in these there are other Sacraments innumerable, both in Scripture, in the Church, and in the world. However, Peter Lombard, in the twelfth Century, reckoning up the chief Rites or Sacraments which are in the Church, and by which the Church is formed and kept together, counted *Seven*. And for my own part, I cannot say that he counted amiss : for I see that those *Seven* have a true relation to one another, so that they together make a kind of whole. It is true, as I have said, that *Two* are the chiefest of all ; and again, there are innumerable others besides the *Seven* ; but still, the *Seven* have such a relation in common, that I do not think you can easily take one away, so as to leave six, or add one, so as to make eight. For, *i.*, children must be *born naturally* before they can be born again spiritually. For this we need *Matrimony*. Then, *ii.*, we need *Baptism* for their *new or spiritual birth* : To which, *iii.*, for *strength*, *Confirmation* is added. Then, *iv.*, when they are spiritually born, they need spiritual food. This is the *Eucharist*. *v.* If their *souls* are hurt by sin, so that they fall away from their spiritual state, and are in danger of spiritual death, they need a Sacrament of *spiritual healing and restoration* ; which is *Penitence and Absolution*. *vi.* If their bodies in like manner are sick, they are offered in the *Prayer of faith with unction of Oil* a Spiritual Sacrament for remission of sin, and even for *bodily restoration*. And, *vii.*, for the *administration of all these* we need one more, which is the *Ordination of Clergy*. I propose, therefore, to you to remodel your phraseology (for it is more a question of words than of things) in this matter.

On Articles XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII.

"For the whole matter of the Eucharist I would refer to a long Letter which Mde. A. will, I dare say, shew you ; and of which I have spoken in my own letter to you. There is nothing, I apprehend, in the Article against '*carrying about*' the Sacrament *to the sick* ; or '*reserving*' it *for them* ; or '*lifting it up,*' in the *Oblation* ; or '*worshipping it*' with such reverence and respect, inward and outward, as is due (to use Bellarmine's expression) to '*the robe of Christ ;*' or to worshipping with divine worship Christ Himself, Whose presence it, that is, Its outer part, signifies and witnesses, and conveys, to our faith. What is condemned, or at least declared to be unnecessary, and blamed, and put away at the same time, in our Church, is the carrying the Sacrament publicly in processions, as on Corpus Christi Day ; the reserving it on the Altar continually to be visited and worshipped ; the lifting it up *after* the Consecration to be seen and worshipped by the people ; and lastly, the worshipping the material Elements with divine worship ; or, if that be thought too monstrous an error for any to fall into, the worshipping of them as conceal-

ing the *natural* Body of Christ substituted in the place of their *natural* substance, (which is the same thing as to blame the idea and definition of the Roman Transubstantiation). But I rather think the worshipping of the material elements with divine honour must be intended: though I cannot bring myself to suppose that any members of the Roman Communion have any intention of doing so.

On Article XXXI.

“For this Article I would refer you again to that Letter which Mde A. has in her possession. In it you will find the distinction stated between the modern Roman notion of the Oblation, which alone is condemned in the Article, and that which is Orthodox, and really Catholic. It is certainly true, that the Eucharist is called, and is, a Sacrifice; in which the unbloody symbols of bread and wine are offered instead of the bloody symbols of victims, such as bulls and goats. It is also quite true that the offering of this Sacrifice profits the whole Church, both those living on earth, and those departed. The difference between our Church and Rome is not about these points, but about the manner in which Christ is said to be immolated or offered in the Eucharist; whether the actual and external Oblation in the hands of the Priest be bread and wine, while the inward Sacrifice is the pleading or offering to the Father the Sacrifice of the death of Christ once, and once for all materially offered on the Cross; or whether the Priest offers *materially* in his hands the natural Body of Christ; which would be to repeat the Oblation offered on the Cross. To put the difference in a still clearer light, it will be enough to say that in the Greek and in all other Liturgies but the Roman (and in those two in our own Communion also which have anything like a full Prayer of Consecration), ‘the Great Oblation’ stands after the Words of our Lord, but before the Invocation of the Holy Ghost to change the elements; while in the Roman the whole force of the Consecration is made to consist in our Lord’s own Words; and the Invocation, which in all other Liturgies follows after the Oblation, being taken away, or omitted, the Oblation itself appears in a totally new light. But you will see more concerning this in the Letter referred to. The common notion of the Oblation in the Roman Communion is indeed a ‘blasphemous’ notion in the etymological sense of the word ‘blasphemous,’ that is, ‘injurious’ or ‘derogatory’ to the unity of that one Sacrifice on the Cross, which can never be repeated. You will not, I think, find in antiquity any trace of the modern Roman practice of multiplying Altars and Priests, for the sake of multiplying Oblations, as distinguished from the Public Liturgy and Communion. In early times no one was allowed to remain without Communicating; nor has the Eastern Church to the present day ever *approved* of their doing so, though she has for many centuries been obliged to tolerate the custom, as a choice of evils. At the same time, in a Church where the custom of being present at the Liturgy without Communicating is allowed and prevails, I quite agree with you in trusting that a pious and well-disposed Christian may be benefitted by the prayers and the Oblation, though he does not take part in that Communion which is the end of both. However, I should add the proviso, that he be not wilfully a non-communicant: that he be not making this habit of being *present* at the celebration of the Mysteries a pretence or excuse for neglecting to strive with all his heart to live such a life, as to be fit to Communicate as often as he is present. Of course I do not suppose that the whole actual cele-

bration of the Mass or Liturgy in the Roman Church loses its efficacy to Christians who are sincerely desirous of its benefits, because the doctrine or usage concerning it may be more or less corrupt. On the contrary, though the popular 'doctrine of Masses' repeating for the quick and the dead the material oblation of Christ's Body and Blood may rightly be called a 'blasphemous' (or injurious) fable, and a dangerous deceit, the Roman Liturgy *in itself* never ceases on that account to be 'the Divine Liturgy:' and its celebration is the most solemn act of Christian worship, by which the effects of the Bloody offering upon the Cross are most abundantly derived to the Church. You seem to think that the notion of the Priest offering for the people, while they merely stand by and join in prayer, without Communicating, is primitive: but I have never yet found any trace that it was so; in fact, quite the contrary.

"All that you say on *Confession* and *Absolution* I quite agree with, and think it to be in unison with the doctrine of our Church. Only, I would go further, and ask, What authority has our Church ever given to sinners, who know themselves to have been guilty of excommunicable sins, for thinking that they may rightly 'take the Sacrament' as soon as *they think themselves* penitent, without ever accusing themselves to the Church, or seeking her Absolution? Such conduct seems to me to be, as you justly describe it to be, merely '*cheating* the Church.' For the Church excommunicates all whose offences she *knows*: and *until she knows* any thing against us, she supposes us to have kept our right to Communicate. On this subject I send you a Sermon recently preached by [an author, the Rev. Charles Wordsworth, then Second Master at Winchester], whose disposition is certainly to put the matter in the very softest light, and in that least offensive to popular prejudices. And yet what a contrary view of the theory of the Church does he give from that which is popularly recognized! In your remarks upon *Miracles* I quite agree: but do not see that there is any sign of the contrary opinion having been recognized by any *Authority* in our Communion, &c. &c."

"N. N."

SECTION XV.

WRITE AN ACCOUNT WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE TO MR A.

ON Monday, Feb. 21, I wrote to Mr A., inclosing to him copies of my Letters of Jan. 22, [see above, Section III.] to Bishop Luscombe, of the Bishop's Answer, and of the Bishop's Letter of Jan. 28 to his wife [see above, Section IX]. The rest of the Letter now written was as follows:—

"All the above documents were left by me with your wife, who seemed to feel that they placed her under the necessity of doing something; either, *firstly*, of reconsidering her religious opinions, and accepting the Communion of the English Chaplain, Bishop Luscombe, on his terms, which would be to seek it *as a member of the Russian Church*, and not as apostatizing from it; or, *secondly*, of disregarding Bishop Luscombe's communications, and without any change in her opinions, continuing to take the Sacraments on the chance of the Bishop's not recognizing her, or of his supposing her to accept his conditions; (but this, I think, she

felt would not be consistent with good manners, to say nothing of religion); or, *thirdly*, of attempting to set aside the Bishop's judgment by appealing to some higher authority in the Anglican Communion, with the view of procuring from it some countenance to her own acts and notions. Her choice seeming naturally to lie between the first and the third of the above means of proceeding, I gave her a sketch of such an appeal as she might make either to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to the Synod of the Bishops of Scotland, who Consecrated Bishop Luscombe, if she resolved to set aside his decision. I also wished to ascertain whether I rightly understood her sentiments. The sketch I gave her was as follows :"—[See above, in Section x.]

"It remains for me to state briefly what are the results I anticipate from each of those different lines of conduct which your wife may eventually pursue in consequence of Bishop Luscombe's communication. *First*, if she were (which I cannot suppose at all probable) to take the Sacraments as before, without letting the Chaplain know any thing about it, still retaining her former opinions, I do not see how either the Chaplain, or the Church which he represents, could be held responsible, unless they knew her by sight; and in that case it would be their duty to repel her. *Secondly*, if she ceased to frequent the Bishop's Chapel, or to call herself a member of the Anglican Church, and joined herself to some other 'Evangelical Confession,' she would be herself in a manner admitting that the Anglican Church was not such as she had supposed, and that she had not really been admitted into it as a convert from the Russian. And then I should have no reason, as a member of the Anglican Church, to pursue the matter further, otherwise than as I might wish to persuade any person, of whatever Denomination, to relinquish error. *Thirdly*, if she appealed from Bishop Luscombe's judgment either to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to the Synod of the Scottish Bishops, it would rest with them to answer, and to shew, so far as their authority went, whether my view of the Anglican Church or hers, that of the Chaplain at Geneva or of Bishop Luscombe at Paris, were correct. *Fourthly*, if she acceded to Bishop Luscombe's terms, and changed her language and opinions, so as honestly and sincerely to profess to believe, and to wish to believe the Faith of the Anglican Church, and to seek its Communion not as renouncing, but as still belonging to, the Russian Church, then I would defend her in what she did: and, if I were in Bishop Luscombe's place, I would give her the Holy Communion as he has offered to give it her: though, I confess, knowing what I do of her opinions, I should have thought it my duty, if I had been in his place, to see her, and to ascertain distinctly what she really believed, before I consented to give her the Communion. However, you will observe that Bishop Luscombe's terms do in fact sufficiently involve those principles, on which the Communion may safely be granted. For if it should appear afterwards that she either did not believe any article of the Christian faith held by the Anglican Church, or by the Russian, so as to incur the *just excommunication* of the latter, she would have been, whether wilfully or ignorantly, deceiving the Bishop, and would not have been really qualified to Communicate according to his conditions. If, indeed, she were to accept the Bishop's conditions with a sincere wish to know and believe the true doctrine of the Anglican Church, then I should not care much how erroneous her actual views of its doctrine were. A little time, and patience,

and better information, would sooner or later bring her right. And if I am right in asserting that the religion of the Russian and Anglican Churches is really, in spite of appearances, one and the same, then she would eventually come to see this too, if her friends were patient, and reasonable, and charitable, and above all, themselves practically in earnest in religion. But it is *possible*, I confess, that she may put off a few civil words upon Bishop Luscombe, without ever really accepting his terms. If this should unhappily be the case, the only course to be pursued will be to appeal to Bishop Luscombe first, and afterwards, if further authority be needed, to the Synod of the Scottish Bishops who consecrated him, to know whether they have given, or will in future knowingly give, their Communion to persons holding such and such heresies or errors, which subject the holders of them to just excommunication in the Russian Church. But this, though it might be the only course left to vindicate the true doctrine of the Anglican Church, if Mde. A. were to obtain Bishop Luscombe's Communion by an *unreal* acceptance of his conditions, would yet ruin the little hope that we may have of ultimately, by God's mercy, seeing a change wrought in her opinions. She thinks herself persecuted already, shrinks from public notice, wishes to go on quietly with her Anglicanism as she pleases, and cannot so much as understand that she is doing an injury to any one, least of all to the Church, which is for her a mere nonentity. The truth is, that things are much as you said in your former letter. There is so much of evil, and of evil so deep, in our Communion, that many people are quite incapable of seeing it in any other light than that of a sect of Protestantism. And however sure we may feel that we have truth and reason on our side in representing it otherwise, nothing but the outward development and ascendancy of orthodoxy, with the formal condemnation of the contrary heresies, can make us appear to be in the right. &c. &c."

"N. N." (*Deacon.*)

SECTION XVI.

INFORMED BY BISHOP LUSCOMBE THAT MDE. A. HAS OBTAINED THE COMMUNION FROM HIM; AND BY MR O. THAT SHE RETAINS HER FORMER OPINIONS: LETTER TO MR O.

ON Tuesday, March 15, I received the following note (marked '*private*') from Bishop Luscombe:—

"Rev'd. and Dear Sir,—You will hear with pleasure that Mde. A. was among the *Communicants* on Sunday last, after having notified to me her intention, and given me reason to feel that my letter had been approved. I replied by a short note, expressing my satisfaction; and she was pleased to utter her very favourable opinion of me . . . Believe me, &c." "M. H. LUSCOMBE, *Bishop, and Chaplain, &c.*"

But on Saturday, March 26, I received a letter from Mr O. acknowledging the receipt of what I had written in

answer to his questions on the XXXIX Articles, and containing besides the following passages concerning Mde. A.:—

“ A more intimate acquaintance with her has induced me to appreciate her more highly than I did. . . . In her religious views and wishes she is certainly quite sincere. In your letter to me you lay much stress on her being duly impressed with the importance of the position she is placed in as regards the mutual relations of the Anglican and the Greek Church. Now it strikes me that alarm at that very position is one of the most prominent reasons which counteract any active steps on her part to consult authorities, or to place herself in contact with dignitaries of our Church. The ardent desire for union in the Christian Church which so warmly animates us, seems entirely to sleep with her ; and what she appears to desire is to glide calmly into a community *whose tenets coincide with her own*, without enquiring how far they may differ from those she quits. She tells me that she abhors ‘ Calvinism ’ as much as I do ; but she will not on any terms consider the doctrines and opinions which you and I acknowledge, as a fair representation of the Anglican Church. And were I able to prove to her that the true spirit of the Anglican was in perfect accordance with the Greek Church, it would only drive her to a more Protestant congregation ; *as her great wish appears to be to quit the Greek, and to take the Anglican only on her own terms and conditions*. And indeed the Anglican Church is so indefinite and discordant with itself, that any one may, *in my opinion*, entertain almost any shade of opinion on any vital points, and still be in accordance with some portion of what are commonly called among us the orthodox clergy.

“ I happened to kneel next to *her* last Sunday in *receiving the Communion* from Bishop Luscombe. &c.” “ N. O.”

In reply, I wrote to Mr O. from Oxford the following :—

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I am very much obliged to you for your letter received yesterday (Easter Eve), as I am also for your undertaking to send the books to Mde. A. Nothing could have given me more lively satisfaction than to have learned that Mde. A. had again *Communicated* in the English Chapel, if she had done it upon a different principle from that on which she did it before ; that is, with Bishop Luscombe’s knowledge and approbation, and with a sincere acceptance of those terms on which he offered her the Communion in a letter which I myself delivered to her from him. These were, that she should ‘ *believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith as contained in the Apostles’ Creed, and desire to believe*

them in the sense of the Anglican Church ; and further, that she should be free from all bond of just excommunication in the Russian Church.' If, I say, she had accepted or satisfied these conditions *sincerely*, I should be well pleased to hear of her Communicating at our Altars, and would be ready to defend the act of those who gave her the Communion, and her act in seeking it, against all the world, even if all the Authorities of the Russian Church and State and her husband himself were offended at it. For, *with respect to the first of these two conditions*, however true it may be, that people of all sorts of opinions are to be found nominally within the pale of the Anglican Church, still it is very far indeed from true to say, that any one opinion has as good a right to call itself the doctrine of the Anglican Church as any other. There may be points not sufficiently defined. I freely confess I think there *are* many such, and some of them of great importance ; but still, the main and most necessary doctrines of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith and Religion are so clearly taught in these formularies which are in daily use for the instruction of our children, and in the public offices of our Church, that even a child might be taken for arbiter between a real Churchman and a person who holding such opinions as I fear Mde. A. still holds, should call himself a Churchman. I should not care so much what particular opinions, however erroneous, she held at the moment, if she could sincerely say that she *wished* to believe as the Anglican Church *really* believes. If she had this *wish*, she would before long come, I am sure, by God's grace, to believe rightly, even though she believed amiss on every article of the Creed when she began. And so also *with respect to the other condition*, of her being free from all *just* excommunication in the Russian Church : If she honestly accepted this, she would present herself to Communicate in our Church *as a member* of the Russian Church, and not as an apostate from it. And she has Bishop Luscombe's assurance, in his own hand-writing, that he would not knowingly give the Communion to any Russian, otherwise than as to a member of the Russian Church. *Now*, as the case stands, she must either (since you say she has not changed her opinions) have taken the Sacraments in spite of Bishop Luscombe, trusting to his not recognizing her, or to his supposing that she had accepted his conditions, when she had not, (which her own sense of good manners, to say no more, must have precluded her doing) ; or else, if she has had any communication with the Bishop, she must have deceived him, and must have led him to suppose that she really accepted his terms, desiring to Communicate as a member of the Russian Church, and believing, and desiring to believe, the Creed of the Anglican Church, not in any private sense of her own, but in the sense of the Church herself, whatever that may be.

"I cannot tell you what pain the thought of this gives me. I am unwilling to suppose that Mde. A. would *knowingly* and purposely do any thing disingenuous, especially when she had Mrs O. at hand to advise with, who is herself a member of the Anglican Church. *She* would at least have had influence enough to make her see the difference between an honest and an evasive acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's terms for giving her the Communion, however difficult it might have been to persuade Mde A. at once what was the real doctrine and belief of the Anglican Church on any particular point, (for instance on that of the Real Presence,) on which she might believe amiss and yet think she agreed with our Church. Do pray tell me how all this has been ? When I left Paris

myself she seemed to feel that she must do something ; either appeal against Bishop Luscombe to some higher authority ; or take the Sacraments, if she could obtain them unperceived, upon her own principles without attending to his communication to her ; or cease to call herself a member of the Anglican Church ; or, lastly, reconsider her own opinions, and modify them at least so far as to enable her *honestly* to accede to Bishop Luscombe's terms, and to assure him that she *really desired* to believe the faith of the Anglican Church in the sense of that Church, and no longer pretended to renounce the Communion of the Russian. I well know, that if she had changed her opinions thus far, and only thus far, she might still have believed many most pernicious errors, utterly contrary to the faith both of the Anglican and of the Russian Church ; and that her husband might have accused Bishop Luscombe of giving the Sacraments upon terms which made him or his Church to tolerate heresy ; and me, as well as the Bishop, of being little better than an impostor in pretending that the two Churches are really capable of Communicating together through their agreement in the essential faith. He might have said that his wife professed in the name of the Anglican Church several heresies, for which she was '*justly*' liable to the excommunication of the Russian ; and was nevertheless admitted to the Communion by an English, or rather Scottish Bishop ; and, to make the absurdity greater, admitted to it *as a member* of the Russian Church. I know that all this might have been said. But still, I could have defended, and I think successfully, the act of Bishop Luscombe in giving her the Communion, if she had *honestly* accepted those conditions. For the Creed is 'the Faith,' into which we Baptize ; which we repeat in the Morning and Evening Prayer, as expressing our continuance in the faith of our baptism ; which we propose to the sick and dying, in order to know whether they believe as Christian people should, or no. It expresses the common Faith of the Russian and English, and of all true Churches. And whatever I might happen to know about M^{de}. A.'s opinions, Bishop Luscombe was not bound (before any distinct and formal accusation was made to him) to suppose that she attached any heretical sense to any article of the Creed : and he might reasonably think it security enough, if she gave him a solemn assurance that she was sincere in *wishing* to believe it in the sense of the Church. For so, even if it appeared afterwards that she was more or less in error on any particular point, he would have ground for trusting that she would at least have a reasonable and Christian disposition, and seek to use all proper and accessible means of informing herself what was really the doctrine of the Church on any points on which she found herself charged with error. And in the same way, if she had done any act, or held, or was accused of holding any opinion, such as to incur the excommunication of the Russian Church, there also he would have had some sort of security, that she meant to be reasonable ; and that if on examination it appeared that the Anglican Church, as well as the Russian, was really against her on the point in question, she would not think herself more perfectly inspired than both the Churches together, but would be ready to reconsider and to submit her own opinions. While, on the other hand, if it appeared that though she had indeed incurred the excommunication of the Russian Church, it was such an excommunication as Bishop Luscombe and the Church which he represents deemed unjust, as, for instance, if she were liable to be excommunicated for the mere

act of Communicating, though on the principle of intercommunion, with the English Church ; or for holding the opinion that much gross abuse and superstition, or even idolatry, attaches popularly to the Invocation of Saints, and to the outward reverencing of Pictures in the Russian Church ; or for believing that our doctrine on the Procession is reconcilable with the Greek ; or for denying the Roman definition of Transubstantiation by the distinction of ‘substance’ and ‘accidents’ ; or the Romish notion of a material Oblation of Christ’s natural Body and Blood in the hands of the Priest *after* the Consecration ; then, I trust, I should myself be as ready as any man to defend Mde. A.’s conduct, if she stood out against the Anathemas even of the whole Eastern Church ; and would exhort her not only to resist her husband’s wishes or ‘persecutions,’ but to go to St Petersburg, and make good her cause publicly, and Communicate in the English Chapel there : and I would be ready myself to go with her, and to assist her to the best of my power in making her cause good. In a word, I would not be backward to exhort her to suffer, if necessary, real persecution in a good cause. But as it is, I am sure I suffer as much ‘martyrdom’ from her conduct, as she can think she suffers from any of her persecutors.

“ I have written this letter to you just as if I were writing to Mde. A. herself ; and have now only to add, that I intreat Mrs O. to try to lead her to see that she has placed herself in such a position by professing to accept Bishop Luscombe’s terms, that common honesty requires her, from henceforth, to make a serious business of ascertaining what the doctrine of the Anglican Church really is : Also, that my object is very far indeed from being that of merely persuading her to submit blindly to the common popular notions of the Russians either about Pictures or Invocations, or about Intercommunion with the Anglican Church. She might perhaps (though I hope it would be otherwise) find quite as much difficulty, though in a better cause, if she took me for a friend and ally in trying to act and think reasonably by both the Anglican and the Russian Churches, as she does now, that she seems resolved to think and act, as it must seem to me, unreasonably, in a manner that is cruelly injurious to both Churches. But I must conclude. &c. &c.”

“ N. N.”

SECTION XVII.

LETTER TO MDE. A., SENT UNSEALED AND UNDER THE SAME COVER WITH ANOTHER TO BISHOP LUSCOMBE.

SHORTLY afterwards, on Thursday, March 31, I wrote the following Letter to Mde. A., inclosing it in another to Bishop Luscombe, which is also given below :—

“ MADAM,—I need not remind you, that when I was in Paris, I delivered to you from Bishop Luscombe a letter, in which, as in one previously addressed to myself and now in your possession, he stated to you upon what terms alone he could rightly give the Holy Communion to a person Baptized and Confirmed in the Russian Church. These

were, that such persons 'should believe the Articles of the Christian Faith, as expressed in the Apostolic Creed ; that they should not only accept the words of the Creed in some sense of their own, but honestly *desire* to believe it in the sense of the Anglican Church ; and further, that they should be free from all just excommunication in the Russian Church ;' from which Church he had expressly said in the former of the two Letters, he 'did not hold that any person *could* be received to the Communion of the Anglican Church as a Convert.'

" The Bishop, knowing how earnestly I desired that not you only, but all the members of the Russian Church, might some day be able and willing to Communicate with the Anglican upon such terms, and knowing also that I was very anxious to be informed what line of conduct you pursued after having received his Letter, wrote me a short time back a note, from which the following is an extract :—

' You will hear with pleasure that Mde. A. was among the *Communicants* on Sunday last, after having notified to me her intention, and given me reason to feel that my Letter had been approved. I replied by a short note, expressing my satisfaction.'

" I wish indeed I could ask you, with any hope of a favourable answer, whether the Bishop's impression is correct ? and whether you have really so modified your opinions, as to *wish* to believe the Creed in the sense of the Anglican Church, instead of taking that Church and its doctrine only in some peculiar sense of your own ? and so as to present yourself to the Communion of that Church no longer as renouncing, but as belonging to, the Russian ? But I dare not anticipate any such thing. It would be too good news, and too great a happiness for me to expect : For, I say it seriously, I do not know any one thing which would be a greater happiness ; or one for which I should think myself bound to give more hearty thanks, if it pleased God that it should be so. And even if you did not believe as yet in all points rightly, or were subject to some just excommunication for your opinions by the rules of the Russian Church, still, if you only *sincerely desired* to know and believe the true doctrine of the Anglican Church, and if you sincerely desired to be in all things, that could justly be required of you, a

good, and reasonable, and dutiful member of the Russian, then I could be content to wait for a while ; being assured, that where the wish and disposition is right, that is, humble, and reasonable, and Christian, any accidental errors or prejudices of opinion will in time give way : For our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the Truth itself, is loving and merciful, and has compassion upon our infirmities ; and He communicates Himself and His truth to those who seek Him rightly. But if we are wilful, or presumptuous, or vain, or proud, or slothful, or irreverent, He leaves us to ourselves.

“ ‘ *He that is guilty in one point, is guilty of all.*’ How very careful ought we not then to be ? How reverent ? How reasonable ? How patient ? How diligent to learn ? How humble ? How loving to one another ? How earnest with God to have mercy upon us, to give us more and more grace to obey His will and to increase in true wisdom, and to pardon us *those faults of which we are not conscious, and to reveal them to us, that we may repent of them ?*” [This passage was thus underlined by Mde. A. herself in 1847.] “ *For by carelessness and presumption in one point we may lose all.* But I fear that it is of no use for me to advert to such considerations, since your face is turned away ; and you reject all that can be said respecting the visible Church ; and cannot even believe that any really feel pain at its divisions, or think it their duty to labour towards a reconciliation ; but on the contrary, take it to be from mere cruelty and love of persecution, if any one interferes with a person who wishes to be suffered quietly to compromise by her conduct one part of the Church in relation to another, without either troubling herself to examine, or letting others assist her to discover, whether she is right or wrong in identifying such opinions as she holds with the belief of that Church, for which she professes to renounce and leave her own. It is certainly true, as you have observed, that there are two contrary principles, and two classes of opinion and tendency, in the members of the Anglican Church, as it now exists : and true also, that the co-existence of these two contrary systems makes the acting and ruling Authority of the Church so painfully feeble and ambiguous, that people maintain and do almost what they please ; and put almost what sense they please upon all forms of discipline and doc-

trine; and even upon the very nature and constitution of the Church itself. But still, both these two contrary systems cannot be equally true, nor equally entitled to call themselves the system of the Church. If you have anything to do with the Anglican Church, you must more or less assist the one side, or the other : you cannot avoid it. And this being the case, we certainly ought to desire to do justice to both sides. For myself, I *do really* and honestly wish, and have wished from a child, (whatever my other faults may have been), to know rightly what is the true doctrine and religion of that Church in which I was baptized. And I have felt more and more, the more I came to understand, that the ‘Catholic’ and ‘Apostolical’ Anglicanism is the true Anglicanism ; and that what we may call ‘Evangelical Protestantism’ *is not* really the religion of the Church. This is my conviction. But still I hope that this would not make me impatient, or unwilling to give the question reasonable examination, if any of my brethren seemed to join a pious and earnest disposition with contrary opinions ; and from any good motive requested my attention to their arguments. And in like manner they who with you think that ‘Evangelical Protestantism’ *is* the true Anglicanism, ought, I think, to be disposed towards us. That is to say, we should on both sides put away all pride and uncharitableness, all presumption and contentiousness, all heat and indifference alike, and begin from the mutual confession that as ‘*there is one Spirit and one Body, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all,*’ so He meant us all to ‘*be perfectly joined together in one heart, and one mind, and one judgment :*’ that now, for our great sins, contrary to the will of our Heavenly Father, contrary to the prayer of our Saviour before He suffered, we Christians differ and are divided ; we *bite and devour one another :*” [underlined by Mde. A. in 1847 :] “and that this ought to be a cause of mutual repentance and humiliation. Then we should proceed, with a due sense of the immense importance of the subject, and of our own weakness and ignorance, and with diligent preparation of our own hearts, and prayer to God, to examine *first, how far we are agreed ; and then, what are the precise differences between us ; and how far we can come to an agreement on any of them ; so as to approach,*

however slowly, towards a reconciliation. If we would pursue this course steadily, we should find our differences and divisions begin to give way. And the moment we began to feel how sweet a thing it is to do any act of humility, or to make the first move in any quarrel towards returning from sullenness or unreasonable obstinacy to charity, or to be the first to confess our faults, (even if we have been the less to blame of the two parties), the ice would thaw rapidly ; and one good thing would lead to another. Not only would this be the case, if we had more charity one for another ; but it would be so, even if we had true charity for ourselves. If we really loved *even ourselves* aright, that would lead us both to acquire more knowledge of the truth, and to reconcile strifes and differences, and to do our duty both to our own families and country, and to the outward as well as to the inward Church (which are both but one Church) : And we cannot really love the soul, if we hate or torment, or are even indifferent to, the body. You will say perhaps, ‘ Surely our fault is, that we love ourselves too well ? ’ and in one sense this is so. It is true that we are occupied with ourselves too much in one way. But in another way we neglect and hurt ourselves at the same time. We seek perhaps money, pleasure, health, reputation, flattery, distinction, ease, and other like things for ourselves. But this is *not really to love* ourselves : it is only to love or indulge particular dispositions in ourselves, which will destroy our being, and our *real selves*, if they continue to be indulged. Or again ; perhaps we are not thus worldly, but religious. We do not seek to gratify our vanity in worldly society, nor multiply vain words about the things of the day, which perish ; but we are retired from the world, to live a spiritual life in God. Still, even thus, we may be making the ideas of God Himself, and of spiritual religion, subservient to our own will. We may be occupied improperly with ourselves, even when we seem to be most occupied with God. We may reflect on what we think is good in us, to please ourselves with it : we may feed ourselves on the thought that we pray, or meditate much : that we have a high spiritual sense of union with God : that we are humble : that we suffer wrong : that we are resigned. If we do this, and in whatever degree we do this, doubtless we have our reward : but it is a reward by which our real

self is not benefitted : by which Christ, Who is within us naked, and hungry, sick, and in prison, is neither clothed, nor fed, nor visited. No ; we have not yet real charity even for ourselves, so long as we are occupied with a morbid self-reflection. We may have all other gifts, illuminations, or graces ; but if we have not charity, our soul, our true self, is cruelly injured and neglected, as well as our neighbours and the Church. Then only we begin to love ourselves really, when we begin to be occupied with reflecting upon ourselves not to find pleasure, but to feel pain : not to thank God that we are what we are, but to strive more earnestly to become what as yet we are not ; that is, by fixing our hearts upon God, learning so to love and fear Him, that we may love ourselves and others in Him : (which we cannot do, unless we love God first ; and we cannot love God, unless we also fear Him.) So we shall come to understand, that if we would really love ourselves, we must begin by hating ourselves : We must take up and bear that cross which our sins require, if we really wish to be made like to Him, Who being without sin Himself, bore the cross of our sins for us. We must deny and crucify ourselves. If therefore we think ourselves spiritual, let us feel and confess that we are carnal. If we think we know, let us learn that we are ignorant. If we have boasted that we are at the top of the mountain, let us fear lest we be really at the bottom of a pit. If we suppose ourselves to be living a life hidden in God, let us earnestly desire that He would cease to hide Himself from us. If in any thing we are confident, let us mistrust ourselves in this very thing. If in any thing we have despised others, and spoken of them as injuring us, let us now rather learn to despise ourselves, and to think that even our enemies, if we have any, are better friends to us than we deserve ; and let us for the future speak rather of our faults against them.

“ But I have wandered away from the matter-of-fact and ‘ formal’ purpose, with which I began my letter. This was merely to ask you, if you will tell me, whether Bishop Luscombe has or has not mistaken your meaning in supposing that you have offered yourself to receive the Holy Communion from him on those terms, on which alone he would be willing to give it ; that is, as no longer renouncing the Russian

Church, but as professing yourself still a member of it, and free from all just excommunication ; and, at the same time, as believing the Creed of the Anglican Church, and desiring honestly to understand and believe it in the true sense of the Anglican Church ?

“ If you can say the Bishop is under no mistake, and that you really intended to give him such an assurance, then I have nothing further to do than to thank God for it : for I could desire nothing better : and, at the same time, to intreat you to take all the pains you can to ascertain what is really that belief of the English Church, which you have professed yourself desirous at least of believing with her : especially upon those two great points, of the visible Church, and the Sacraments, on which you did not seem to me, when I saw you, either to agree with the faith of the English Church, or to have any very definite or consistent opinions of your own.

“ But if you think you have a right to accept Bishop Luscombe’s terms still retaining all your former opinions, on the ground that similar opinions are held by some members of the Anglican Church, and that they are in fact its real doctrines ; and that though you may be liable to excommunication for some of your opinions in Russia, such excommunication would be held by Bishop Luscombe and by the Anglican Church to be unjust ; then the case will stand thus : —If the Anglican Church is injuriously reported of in Russia, or elsewhere, as countenancing your opinions (which are heresies for the Russian Church), it will be the duty of those who think that the doctrines of the Anglican Church are not really held by you, and that you are altogether wrong in supposing that Bishop Luscombe, or the Church, would give you the Sacraments, if they knew the sense in which you accepted their Creed ; it will be the duty, I say, of such persons to take all right and possible measures for ascertaining by some authoritative decision, whether your sense of the Creed is indeed the sense of their Church ; and whether it was ever intended by Bishop Luscombe to give the Communion of that Church to persons holding your opinions ; that is, unless you were disposed to study these questions more attentively before you positively and finally identified the opinions you have hitherto expressed with the belief of the Anglican Church, and with your own admissibility to her Communion.

“ On the other hand, if Bishop Luscombe has mistaken your meaning, and given you the Sacraments on a misunderstanding, then it is but doing justice to him, and to the Church which he represents, in a matter which, whether you like to hear it or not, is really of public importance, to say so honestly ; and not leave him, and me too, in some degree, who was the bearer of his letter to you, subject to the imputation of having given, or allowed the propriety of giving, the Sacraments to a person who renounced the Russian Church, and only embraced the Anglican religion as ‘ a Form of Evangelical Protestantism ;’ who took all its Creeds, Canons, Articles, and other Formularies ‘ not in the sense of the letter that killeth, but only in the spirit of that Protestant progress which has been made since Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth ;’ who smiled at the doctrine of one *visible, Catholic, and Apostolic* Church throughout all the world ; smiled at the very mention of such propositions as that ‘ whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith ; which Faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly ;’ who denied the outward signs in the Sacraments to be also the means of conferring the inward spiritual graces which they represent ; who denied that Christian Baptism is Regeneration, confounding it with the Baptism of the Forerunner, and separating the Spirit from the Water ; who denied equally that the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist are after Consecration the Body and Blood of the Lord ; who did not even believe that all the details of Holy Scripture are inspired. I do not mean to blame you for holding such opinions. I have no right nor disposition to do so. But I do say, that if, with such opinions, you think yourself justified in assuring Bishop Luscombe that you believe the Creed, and wish to believe it, in the sense of the Anglican Church, and so obtain from him the Communion, you ought not to be surprised or offended, if members of the Anglican Church, who believe such opinions to be most pernicious heresies, should do everything in their power to clear away from their spiritual Mother the imputation of countenancing such heresies. Rather, you should yourself be willing *to help them* in ascertaining publicly which party is right, and which wrong.

“ In conclusion, I once more beg of you, without putting yourself to any great trouble, to answer me at least to this simple question, Whether Bishop Luscombe has or has not mistaken your meaning in supposing that you acceded to his terms, when you presented yourself to receive from him the Holy Communion? And believe me, when I say, that though I may be quite as fanatical as you can think me to be in my resolution to pursue this question, so far as it affects the relations of the two Churches, and the true doctrine of the Anglican, to its termination; and though I certainly should not be restrained by any fear of giving you personal annoyance from doing whatever I conceived to be a duty, still I do really much wish *rather* to work out the question with you as a friend, than as an opponent; in private, rather than in public: And I cannot think what it is that keeps you from perceiving that the doctrine and line of conduct which I seek to recommend to you, as alone agreeable with the principles of the Anglican Church, and with truth and duty, is no mere blind submission to the Russian Church, or acceptance of any errors or abuses which may attach to it; but one which would require much prudence and accurate knowledge to enable you to make it good, even if we were agreed to assist one another, instead of the contrary; and yet one which, if it *could* be made good, might lead eventually to a public reconciliation and restoration of Communion between the Churches; and that too without in any way dissembling the errors and abuses which may be prevalent in either Church, or imposing their acceptance as a yoke on men's consciences; but rather so as to very much lighten or remove that scandal and yoke which certainly does at present make itself felt on both sides. For the Protestant errors and abuses prevalent in the Anglican Church not unfrequently cause people, who see that they are quite contrary to the true religion, to turn Papists: and on the other hand the ignorant and formal superstitions and abuses of the people in Russia, when perceived to be more or less apart from, and not in Christ, cause people occasionally to renounce their Church for Protestantism. I do not believe that even you, uncharitably and unspiritually spiritualist and anti-formalist as you are, would think a little personal trouble, or even suffering ill-

spent for the attainment of such an object. For myself, I would willingly (so far as I know my own will) give my life to contribute any, even the least possible, assistance towards it. And whoever are disposed in the same way, I love them with the whole power of my soul : And whoever is indifferent or opposed to exertion for the reconciliation of those divisions which afflict Christendom, I regard as most cruel enemies, not I trust to hate, but to pray for. And so I remain, &c. &c.” “ N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

Letter to Bishop Luscombe enclosing the above, and dated from Oxford, March 31, 1842 :—

“ MY LORD,—I have received a letter from Mr A., in which he quotes from a recent letter of his wife a passage which sufficiently shews that she *has changed none of her opinions*. I have also received from Paris a letter from Mr O., which mentions her having again Communicated in the English Chapel, and *with the same views as before*. As you had marked your letter of March 12 to me ‘*private*,’ I did not think myself at liberty to take any notice of the information you had sent me in my answer to Mr O. : But now I have written at length to the lady herself : and I hope that you will not object to my telling her, as I have done in my letter, that your Lordship, knowing my anxiety to learn what course she adopted after receiving your two Letters (the one addressed to me, the other to herself) of which I was the bearer, and knowing also that I was personally interested, as well as requested by her husband, to do all I could to ascertain on what grounds she could be validly admitted to our Communion, had informed me of her having again Communicated, after having, seemingly at least, assented to those terms on which your Lordship had offered her the Communion. I have enclosed my letter to Mde. A. open, together with this, wishing your Lordship to read it, if you please : and then, if your Lordship should approve of the contents, and be willing to assist me in obtaining an answer to it, I would venture to ask of you the favour to send it *in an inclosure from yourself* to Mde. A. ; as then she will perhaps think herself more bound to answer it. If your Lordship should *not think proper to do this*, but still does not refuse me permission to make that use which I have

made of the information contained in your former letter to me, I would merely request that a wafer might be put upon the letter, and that it might be sent, as it is directed, to the residence of Mde. A.

“ Whatever she replies, the question which will now have to be raised is, whether certain opinions, which she has all along held and professed, are regarded by your Lordship, and by the Anglican and Scottish Churches, as compatible with the profession of believing the Creed *in the sense of the Church?* and whether the excommunications, to which such opinions subject a member of the Russian Church, are deemed by your Lordship and by the Churches of our Communion just, or unjust ?

“ Of course your Lordship could not be obliged to suspect or accuse any persons professing to believe the Creed of our Church of holding erroneous or heretical opinions, till some direct statement were made to you that such was the fact ; and till it appeared that the same persons identified their errors with that profession of the Faith of the Anglican Church, by which they had obtained from your Lordship the Communion. I remain, &c. &c.” “ N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

“ P. S.—If your Lordship should send my Letter to Mde. A. under an inclosure from yourself, you will of course use your own discretion as to mentioning that you are acquainted with all its contents. Perhaps, as it contains specific mention of some of those opinions which she now, it seems, identifies with the ‘ belief of the Creed *in the sense of the Anglican Church,*’ your Lordship might not think it advisable to shew that you knew exactly with what errors she was identifying you, till they were brought under your notice in a formal way, and you were publicly asked, whether you had knowingly and intentionally given your Communion to members of another Church holding such heresies, and liable to excommunication from their own Church for holding them ? ”

SECTION XVIII.

BISHOP LUSCOMBE DECLINES TO TAKE ANY FURTHER
STEP IN THE MATTER.

SHORTLY after sending the above, I received from Bishop Luscombe the following, dated from Paris, April 4, 1842:—

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have received your note (of March 31,) together with a letter for Mde. A., which shall be delivered at her residence this day, as you have directed, and *without any cover from me.*

“In the note which I had the honour to address to Mde. A. I wrote (as you know), ‘*Nothing can be farther from the Bishop’s wish or intention, than to put Mde. A. to any inconvenience, or to require more of her than a sense of his duty dictates, to justify himself in giving her the Communion knowingly, if she should present herself at the Lord’s Table together with English persons, who are by right of their Baptism members of the English Church.*’ I then stated the conditions; and added, ‘*The Bishop trusts that Mde. A. has all these qualifications; and he will be ready to take her presenting herself at the Communion (without giving her the trouble to reply to this note) as an assurance that she has them; and to give her the Communion whenever she shall desire it.*’

“Mde. A. addressed a note to me containing the following notice:—‘*Après avoir mûrement réfléchi, Milord, j’ai résolu de m’en référer à la dernière partie de votre honnête lettre. J’irai Communier avec vous Dimanche prochain; et je puis vous confirmer, Milord, qu’en agissant ainsi je suis parfaitement en paix avec ma conscience devant Dieu.*’ I have already informed you that Mde. A. *did* present herself on that day. It is not for me to question her sincerity: therefore *I wish to avoid any discussion of your last communication. I have done all that I think it becomes me to do; and I leave the matter to her friends.* Believe me, &c.”

“M. H. LUSCOMBE, Bishop, &c.”

“P.S.—My last note, marked private, may be used in any manner you wish. I duly appreciate *your* motives, and I beg you to do justice to mine, and to my regard for you.”

Which letter was acknowledged by me from Magdalen College, Oxford, on Saturday, April 11, thus:—

“MY LORD,—I am much obliged to you for your letter in answer to mine; also for sending the enclosure to Mde. A., and for giving me permission to make use of the contents of your former note in that communication.

“I certainly should not have understood those expressions of Mde. A., which are copied out from her note, in the same

way as your Lordship seems to have understood them : And it is very painful to me to think that I have been the means of bringing the matter apparently into a far worse state (so far as the credit of our Church in Russia is concerned) than it was before. For then the Lady had obtained the Communion only from a Priest (or Minister,) whom she herself confessed to be neither more nor less than a Genevese Calvinist under the Anglican surplice. And however suspicious it might appear to her husband, that his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury had remained unanswered, and that his application to the Bishop of London had been answered in a way that suited the ideas of his wife, still, as a matter of fact, it was easy to clear the Church of all implication in the matter, by shewing that the Chaplain at Geneva (without reference to any Bishop) could have no authority to admit strangers from other Churches to the Communion of the Anglican Church on any terms of his or their devising, whether of Conversion or of Intercommunion. But now she has obtained the Communion *of a Bishop* by apparently professing to believe the faith of the Anglican Church, and to desire to believe it in the sense of that Church, and to be free from all just excommunication in the Russian Church, while she makes no secret of her disbelieving the following doctrines ;—

“ I. That there is one visible Catholic Church, &c :

“ II. That every man who would be saved, &c :

“ III. That the Sacraments, &c :

“ IV. That Christian Baptism, &c :

“ V. That the Consecrated Bread and Wine, &c :

“ VI. That not only the general spirit,” &c :

[See the same at full length above, under Section XIX.]

“ And while further she utterly renounces the Russian Church, and justifies herself as having accepted your Lordship’s terms, while holding such opinions, by maintaining that she does indeed believe the real doctrine of the Anglican Church, and does right in regarding and accepting that Church, its doctrines, formularies, and discipline, in the same light and sense in which she finds them to be commonly regarded by the English themselves.

“ I understand that she is now about to return to St Petersburg, where it will certainly not be very easy to defend our Church in presence of such a representative of

of its Communion and witness of its doctrine and attitude in relation to the Russian Church. As for myself, I must be content to be regarded there at present as a sort of impostor.

“Once more repeating my thanks for all your Lordship’s kindness to me personally in this distressing affair, I remain, &c. &c.”

“N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

And so, to all appearance, the matter dropped, so far as it lay with Bishop Luscombe.

SECTION XIX.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR O.: COPY OF A LETTER FROM
MDE. A. TO HIM: CLOSE OF ALL COMMUNICATIONS WITH
MDE. A. THROUGH MR AND MRS O.

IN the mean time, on Wednesday, April 13, I had received from Mr O. a letter dated three or four days earlier, from Paris, of which the following is a copy:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—Mde. A. has just written to me a note, to say that she has received from you a letter [that sent under cover to the *Bishop*: see above Section XVII:] to which she does not intend to reply, but which seems to have cut off any influence, or indeed any chance of further communication in future, which you could promise yourself with her.

[Mde. A., in 1847, on reading the MS. now printed, observed that she had intended her note to Mr O. to be communicated; and as he had not communicated it, she would herself supply a copy, which she desired might be inserted. This copy, which she sent early in 1848, when translated from the French, is as follows:—

‘Copy of my Letter to Mr O.

‘Your last visit, Sir, had, no doubt, for its motive the last letter written to me by Mr N., which I guessed before to have been sent through you. I therefore beg you, Sir, as a friend and correspondent of Mr N., to tell him from me, that I do not admit that he has any right to question me: that I am not obliged to answer him: and that I shall not answer him. What is more, I will never speak with him again. Whatever he may say, whatever he may do, my only answer shall be that of our Saviour before Pilate, that is, *silence*. I held a conversation with him three times, to please my husband; but all that I said having been falsely interpreted by him, and having merely been a scandal to him, I will never again say to him one single word more.

‘ I am very well pleased that he has laid aside that tone of false gentleness and charity, which he thought it right to adopt with me in the hope, a hope entirely vain, of inveigling me into his doctrines. Even if my own convictions had not been already, by God’s grace, unchangeable, when he came to stay here, his egotistical and cruel agitation would have sufficed to arm me against all his arguments.

‘ Has any one the right to speak in God’s name, when he manifestly has not the Spirit of God? and Mr N. has it not. I say it to him in all truth, and in presence of our God; Mr N. is for the present abandoned of God.

‘ The end of his letter is an open declaration of hatred and of war. I accept his defiance with boldness, not *as of myself*. A woman, without strength, and without support, a woman, suffering from an aneurism of the heart, which alone may kill her at any time, is not at all the person to relish the strife of war: But in the name of my Master and Saviour, Who is the strength of the weak, and the hope of the hopeless; in the name of His promises to them that suffer for His justice and His truth; in the name of His faithfulness and His mercy, I accept the defiance of Mr N. I await unflinchingly all the harm that he *wishes* to do me, or that he *can* do me. A hair will not fall from my head without the permission of God. All the troubles that can come upon me, they will be of the will of God for the good of my soul: and with His Divine aid, they shall find me resigned. Death itself (which I hope for, and ask of God) will not terrify me more when near, than it does already, when the beating of my heart from time to time makes me suppose it to be at hand. And may my death, as well as the sufferings of my poor life, glorify my God and my Redeemer; and prove that I have not been altogether ungrateful for the extraordinary benefits which God has poured from the cradle upon me, the worst and weakest of his creatures. I am, &c.’]

“ Mde A. appears to me lately to have dedicated much of her time to the examination of the XXXIX Articles, which she, I believe, fully accepts and conforms to in their literal sense: And she therefore considers that she receives the Communion in the Anglican Church on the same terms on which more than half the Communicants of that Church receive it. She considers that the Russian Church distinctly acknowledges and exacts a belief in *Transubstantiation*; and this doctrine the Anglican Church with equal distinctness repudiates and forbids. And indeed I myself, with the most full acquiescence in

the *Catholic view and Puseyite doctrine of our Church*, consider this a vital discrepancy, and one which, until some approximation and convention on the subject be made between the two Churches, would prevent my Communicating in both indiscriminately. However, this I have not at all touched upon with Mde. A. She seems to me to be settled *in the general and popular tenets of our Church* : and I again assert my opinion, that any further interference at present would be productive of no good. With respect to your letter to her, as I have not seen it, but only one or two passages which she quotes to me, allow me to add, that it may have resulted from two motives, the one, interest in Mde. A.'s welfare ; and this I before mentioned to you would, I fear, be only endangered by any immediate interference or persecution on the subject ; the other, the furtherance of the admirable and much to be desired union of the Churches. But if the latter be the principal motive, *how natural is it for a woman to shrink from becoming the field of battle for such a controversy !*" [Underlined by Mde. A. in 1847.] " And with this reluctance on her part, with the feelings that exist between her husband and herself, the state of her health, and her position with regard to her children, I really think,—however I may pray for and desire the success of the cause in which you are embarked, and in which you take so lively an interest,—I think it would be hardly fair to make use of her as an instrument, or a test : more especially, as *no one can have any right to interfere with her* ; but can only derive any claim or power to control her by her own gift or free will. You must not think, from this letter, that I myself would shrink from any exertion, or relax my interest in forwarding the cause you have in view : but I think it but fair to analyze strictly the instrument with which I work ; nor can I anticipate God's assistance in a cause, if I allow even a shadow of the interest I place in it to darken the bright straightforward path by which I pursue it : and if I may apply a heathen quotation in a Christian sense, I should say '*Nec Deus intersit, &c.*' . . . Mde. A. starts, I believe, almost immediately direct for Russia. When there, kindness and good management may do much with her ; harshness and persecution nothing. I remain, &c. &c." " N. O."

Which Letter was answered Saturday, April 16, as follows :—

" MY DEAR SIR,—I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter, upon which I will make some observations, and so drop the matter. The fact is, that if I viewed the question of the true character of our Church and her doctrine in the same manner as you seem to do, I should myself say that Mde. A. had a right to hold what opinions she pleased in the name of our Church, without any other person being entitled to interfere with her. You speak of '*the popular view*' and '*the Catholic or Puseyite view* ;' and by some expressions, seem to think that the popular view, and that taken by Mde. A. (which however, if I mistake not, is too Protestant even for popular opinion) agrees the rather of the two with the literal or natural sense of the XXXIX Articles. I think and feel on this subject very differently.

I have ever felt and believed that the ‘High-Church’ or ‘Catholic’ view is the truth of our religion ; and that no member of our Church, however he may be excusable for involuntary misapprehensions, can have any sort of right to hold any other ; and further, that if he asserts any such right, it is the duty of all Bishops and Priests to separate him from their outward Communion, and of all good Christians to disown him and his opinions, and to inform against him, and procure, if possible, his excommunication. Much more, if a *stranger* seeks to identify his erroneous opinions with the Communion and doctrine of our Church, is every one, to whose knowledge it comes, bound to protest against the wrong done, and to clear himself and his Church from the imputation of countenancing what they reject and abhor.

“ If a man profess himself a heathen, an infidel, or a Socinian as to his own private opinion, it is nothing to me ; I am sorry for him ; but I have no right to force upon him my arguments, if he is unwilling to listen to them ; (nor can truth indeed be *forced upon* any body). But if he obtain the Communion of my Church, and then profess heresy of any kind *as her doctrine*, I and the whole Society to which I belong are most cruelly wronged, and *have* a right (if we cannot persuade the party wronging us to believe our true faith, and to become really our brother instead of our slanderer), to take legal and public measures to vindicate the character of our Church and religion. Nay more, if we tacitly acquiesce, we may justly be charged as individuals, and if the whole Society or Church tacitly acquiesces, it may justly be charged as a Society, if not with holding, yet at least with allowing in its members the opinions professed and held with impunity in its name. Judge yourself, or let Mde. A. judge, if she have any reason or generosity in her, what would be your feelings, if any one should go about calling himself your relation, or friend, or countryman, who was not so ? or professing to represent your opinions, when he really represented opinions which you abhorred ? And if you, in the name of your family, or nation, or Church, took measures for proving publicly that they had been publicly misrepresented and wronged, what would you say or think of a complaint that you were *persecuting* a person *with whom you had no business to interfere* ? Only let some disreputable

person give out publicly that he is a member of your family, or on terms of friendship with you, or with Mde. A., who is not so, and you (and she too, I am sure) would immediately find out that it was a duty which you owed both to yourself and to your family, to disown the pretender, and publicly contradict and expose, if not also punish, the imposture.

“ Now, I believed that Mde. A. was most cruelly and publicly wronging that spiritual family of which I am a member : and I found, without any act of mine, her representation of the Anglican Church opposed and confronted with my own, and myself challenged either to make good my own by disproving hers, or to confess that I was an impostor or maintainer of theoretical paradoxes in religion, which had nothing to do with practice. And what did I in consequence ? I merely besought her to study the questions between us ; that is, between my representation of the Anglican Church and her own, with seriousness and patience. But she utterly refuses to do any thing of the kind ; and maintains that she has a right to hold her present opinions as the doctrine of the English Church ; and that no member of that Church can interfere with her. Such conduct on her part leaves me no choice. I went to St Petersburg, and professed in my own name, and in the name of my Superior, and so also, as one member, in the name of our Church, the Catholic and Apostolical Faith and Religion. I was answered by those next under the Emperor in the Political Government of the Church by the objection that I misrepresented the Anglican Church ; for that such and such persons professed in her name opinions directly contrary to mine ; and had obtained her Communion by renouncing the Russian Church, and by embracing those opinions which I confessed to be heresies, as the doctrines of the English. Evidently then, either she or I misrepresent the Anglican Church : and if we were both reasonably-minded, we should be willing to examine the matter reasonably together. But if that cannot be, the only thing that remains is, to seek out the competent tribunal, and to go to law together, either amicably or otherwise, and to work out the question by legal and public methods.

“ She now has obtained the Communion of a Bishop of

Scottish Consecration at Paris, (who in virtue of his Consecration represents the Scottish Church, and the English also in virtue of his Chaplaincy), by professing to believe the doctrines of the Anglican Church, while she denies the following Articles of the Faith of the English, Scottish, and of the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church :—

“ I. *That there is One Visible Catholic and Apostolic Church, which has authority in controversies of Faith ; and from which whosoever is rightly cut off by excommunication, he ought to be taken by the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen and a publican, till he be reconciled by a Judge having authority :*

“ II. *That every man who would be saved, must before all things hold the Catholic Faith ; and that whosoever does not keep this Faith whole and undefiled, he shall without doubt perish everlastingly :*

“ III. *That the Sacraments are not only outward visible signs of certain inward spiritual things, but also the means whereby we receive the very things themselves which are signified :*

“ IV. *That Christian Baptism conveys, and is, Spiritual Regeneration :*

“ V. *That the Consecrated Bread and Wine in the Eucharist convey, and are, the Body and Blood of Christ :*

“ VI. *That not only the general spirit and purpose, but also the particular passages and details of Holy Scripture are written by the inspiration of God.*

“ These truths she denies ; and yet, as she says, holds the Faith of the Anglican Church ; and so makes the Anglican Church to appear heretical in the eyes of all orthodox Christians and Churches, which may know or hear of her opinions, and of their being held by her as a proselyte as the belief of the Anglican Church, and as the qualifications in virtue of which she enjoys our Communion.

“ I assert, on the contrary, that her opinions on these six points are heresies no less contrary to the Faith of the Anglican than of the Russian Church ; and that the Bishop who gave her the Communion never intended to give it to any person holding such opinions ; nor to admit that any person holding such could either reasonably or truly profess to believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith as they are held either by the English or by the Scottish Church.

“ It remains for me to make good, if I can, what I assert. I frankly admit that up to this present time I have totally failed in attempting to do so.

“ With respect to her renouncing the Russian Church, it is clearly quite inconsistent with acceptance of those conditions on which alone Bishop Luscombe offered to give her the Communion, and which he supposes that she sincerely accepted, when she obtained it. But of this I will say nothing now, as it seems to be to no purpose.

“ I quite agree with you in thinking that, *if* the Russian Church *required* me to believe in ‘ Transubstantiation,’ *that is, in the Roman sense of the word*, I could not Communicate in that Church ; because I could not profess to believe what I do not believe. Nor could I blame Mde. A., *if she had been unjustly excommunicated* by the Russian Church merely *for denying that doctrine* ; though it never could have been justifiable to take the initiative, and to *renounce* the Church, *without* being excommunicated, of her own free will and pleasure. But the fact is, that she might have learned from the Russian Catechism, if she had been disposed to do so, that the Russian Church, though it admits the word ‘ Transubstantiation’ (in common with every other word in the language expressing *change*), as our English Divines also use and admit the same word, yet has thought proper to put in an express caution and proviso against this word being taken to define the *mode* of the change : whereas any one may see from Bellarmine, &c., that the Roman Transubstantiation is a definition of the *mode* of the change, namely, by the natural ‘ substance’ ceasing to exist, and leaving only the ‘ accidents.’ And Jeremy Taylor, and others of our own English Divines, will tell you that the mere word ‘ Transubstantiation,’ if used, as it may be used, in the same sense in which other words signifying *change* have ever been used in the Church, and not to define the *mode* of the change, is nowise condemned by our Article. But Mde. A. has now by her a long letter which I wrote last year to her eldest daughter in great part on this very subject, and which had some effect in changing the daughter’s opinions, though Mde. A. herself was so minded that her husband could not induce her so much as to take the trouble of reading it. Of course, I should have nothing

to complain of if she merely found difficulties, or entertained views which I thought mistaken of the sense of the XXXIX Articles or other Formularies of our Church. All I asked of her was a reasonable and amicable disposition to make herself acquainted with the real nature of the controversy between us, and of the truth, respecting which *she* ought to be as much interested as I can be. I had no wish to bore her with the subject when she was not in the humour for it. I would have waited any number of years with patience, or taken any personal trouble, if she would only have conceded so far to her husband's wishes, and to my own not unreasonable request. But she is, it seems, resolved that it *shall be* a public, and not a private controversy, and that instead of seeking truth *with* her, hearing, and being heard in turn, answering and being answered, with no other judge than her own reason and conscience, I must undertake the painful task of asserting truth *against* her, and of proving publicly, if I can, that she has *no* right now, with the opinions she holds, to the Communion of our Church; in which, nevertheless, it would be the greatest of all pleasures to me to see her able rightly and legitimately to Communicate.

“ If you have a mind to do me any further kindness in this matter, I would ask of you to read this letter to Mde. A., and will then give you no further trouble : only repeating my thanks for your former letters, &c. &c.” “ N. N.”

To this letter, after an interval of more than a month, I received from Mr O. the following Answer, dated from Paris, May the 18th, 1842 :—

“ MY DEAR SIR,—Although your last letter required no answer, yet I wish to inform you how I have furthered your wishes respecting it. You requested me to read it to Mde. A. Now, although on the most friendly terms with her on all other subjects of communication, yet on the religious questions at issue I had excited her suspicions; as she considers my opinions to be dissonant from her own, and from what she considers the majority of the English Church. I had therefore no means to make her acquainted with its contents, except by sending it to her through Mrs O., and accompanying it with a request from her to read it carefully.

As a proof that she has done so, *she has requested my permission to keep it. Of course I considered this was exactly what you wished, and immediately complied with her request.*

“ I confess, that the more I become acquainted with Mde. A.’s character and feelings (which a worldly intimacy, under ordinary circumstances, had not before enabled me to be), the more I am impressed with the conviction that, however mistaken some of her opinions may appear to me individually, they are yet founded on reflection and principle, not held lightly or superficially; and that they are not to be shaken. They seem to me to be the opinions of half our Divines, and less Calvinistic than what I have heard here from the lips of Mr L. and many other English Preachers: and I repeat to you my persuasion, that any further attempt to influence her, or to throw difficulties on her present path, will not recal her to the Greek or to the High Catholic doctrine, but drive her to Calvinism. I have, I trust, done in this matter all that you could wish me to do: at least, I can assure you that I have ever been actuated by a sincere desire to forward the ends of religion, so far as I felt justified in doing so. Believe me, &c. &c.” “ N. O.”

And so, to all appearance, the matter dropped, so far as related to the chance of any further communication with Mde. A., either directly, or through Mr and Mrs O.

SECTION XX.

LETTER TO MR A.: LEGAL OPINION: CLOSE OF THE CONTROVERSY.

IN the mean time, on *Friday, April 22*, I had written from Oxford a letter to Mr A. as follows:—

“ MY DEAR MR A.—Since I wrote to you last I have received a letter from Bishop Luscombe, our Chaplain at Paris, from which the following paragraph is an extract:—

‘ You will hear with pleasure, &c.?’—[as above, in Section XVI.]

“ Thus, then, she has obtained the Communion from a *Bishop*, and not merely from a Priest (who could have no authority of himself, to give it); and she has obtained it by giving him to understand that she is possessed of the three following qualifications, that is to say;—

‘ I. *That she should believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, &c.?’*

‘ II. *That she should have been Baptized in this Faith with water in the Name, &c.?’*

‘ III. *That she should be free from all just Excommunication, &c.?’* [Sect. IX.]

“ About the same time I also ascertained by other letters from Paris,

that she has not in reality changed any of her former opinions, but considers herself justified in assuring the Bishop that she believes the Faith of the Anglican Church, and is free from all just excommunication by the laws of the Russian Church, while she holds such opinions as are expressed in the following seven heads :—

“ I. While she says plainly, ‘ *that the Anglican Church and religion are double: that there is one Anglicanism, or view of Anglicanism, which is Protestant, Scriptural, and Spiritual; and another contrary to it, which is Catholic, Apostolical, Traditional, Papistical;*’ (that is, agreeing with the Popish and the Greek Church), ‘ *un-scriptural,*’ and ‘ *formal:*’ that, for herself, she professes only the Protestant Anglicanism; and accepts all the Creeds and other Forms of the Anglican Church not according to the letter which killeth, but only according to the spirit of the Protestant progress, by which the inconsistent remnants of Catholicism, left abundantly in the Anglican Church, may be harmonized with the spirit and freedom of the Gospel.”

“ II. While she denies ‘ *that there is one Visible, Catholic, Apostolic Church, &c.*’

“ III. While she denies ‘ *that every man who would be saved, &c.*’

“ IV. While she denies ‘ *that the Sacraments, &c.*’

“ V. While she denies ‘ *that Christian Baptism, &c.*’

“ VI. While she denies ‘ *that the Consecrated Bread and Wine, &c.*’

“ VII. While she denies ‘ *that not only the general spirit, &c.*’ [For which six Articles see above, under Section XIX., in the Letter to Mr O.]

“ Such are the opinions, as I know from her own lips, which she considers to be consistent with the profession of ‘ *believing the Faith of the Anglican Church, and being free from all just excommunication by the laws of the Russian;*’ though she further, for herself, renounces the Russian Church altogether, even while obtaining the Communion of a Scottish or Anglican Bishop by giving him the assurance, that she is free from all just excommunication by its laws.

“ Your business then now, and mine, *if the matter is to be pursued further*, will be to obtain some authoritative answer and decision, from Bishop Luscombe in the first instance, and then afterwards, if possible, from some higher Authority, as to

“ I. *Whether the Laws and Canons of the Scottish and English Churches tolerate such opinions as those given above under seven heads, as either consistent with a real belief of the Faith of those Churches, or compatible with their Communion?*

“ II. *Whether any person, being really a member of the English or Scottish Churches, might not be prosecuted and excommunicated for maintaining any of those opinions, in the Ecclesiastical Courts? Also*

“ III. *With respect to Bishop Luscombe personally, whether he ever intended to give the Communion to any one who professing to believe the Creed of the Anglican Church believed it in such a sense, as to identify it with the above opinions? and professing to be free from all just excommunication by the laws of the Russian Church, not only renounced the Russian Church in her own mind, but also held the above and other opinions, for every one of which she would incur its most just excommunication?*

“ I should propose to you to address these questions, in the first instance, to Bishop Luscombe, and that in the most formal way possible; for example, if it could be done through the Russian Ambassador and the English Ambassador there, (whose Chaplain also the Bishop is). Of course you, as being a Russian, would not express any opinion upon the real nature and character of the Anglican Church; but would only declare

your desire, since your wife fortifies herself in her heretical opinions by the alleged countenance and Communion of the Anglican Church, to ascertain from the proper sources whether she has indeed that support or not. Naturally *I* have also *other* reasons for wishing to see the character of my own Church vindicated.

“ Besides addressing the questions stated above to Bishop Luscombe, you might also take a legal opinion upon the same from some Ecclesiastical lawyer of eminence practising in the Court of Arches, or other Ecclesiastical Courts in England. And then, as a final step, you might address the same questions to the Convocation of the Church of England (though you would get no answer from them, the Crown, or rather the Minister, not allowing them to act) ; and to the Synod of the Bishops in Scotland; from which last body you might perhaps succeed in obtaining a canonical answer and decision.

“ Should you be disposed to adopt this course, you would of course take care not to use any such expressions as might place you in the light of an accuser of your wife to an authority which is not recognized by your Church. If the English and Scottish Churches do in fact hold or countenance her opinions, you have nothing to complain of in them : Your Church regards them already (with only too much appearance of reason I confess) as mere Protestant Sects ; and if they have perverted your wife, or any other members of your Church, to embrace Protestantism, it is only acting according to their nature, *if that be their nature*. You would, therefore, I say, have nothing to complain of. But since there may seem to be just a chance that they *do not* hold nor approve the opinions of your wife, and she nevertheless rests her opinions in some degree upon their support or countenance, you may very well ask them, or any other Societies calling themselves Christian, to tell you by their legitimate Authorities whether they do, or do not own and support your wife, with her present opinions, as a proselyte to their religion ? If you can get them to say they do, I for one will lose no time in looking out for some other religion, wherever it may be to be found ; but you will thank them for answering your question, and will have nothing to complain of : only you will continue to regret that your wife has embraced error instead of truth. But if you were to receive for answer that they are quite opposed to the seven opinions above mentioned, now held by your wife in their name ; and that by their laws any of their own members professing such opinions is liable to excommunication, while no stranger professing such opinions could ever be lawfully admitted to their Communion till he had forsaken and renounced them, and that, further, their Churches do not allow the admission of any as proselytes or converts from the Eastern Catholic Church at all ; if, I say, you were to obtain any such answer as this, you might reasonably hope that the testimony of that very Church, for which she now professes to have forsaken the Russian, and to have separated herself from the spirits and tombs of her ancestors, against her present opinions, might contribute, in some degree, sooner or later, to bring her to a more reasonable frame of mind. And for this end you might very properly ask such a question concerning their doctrine of the rulers of any foreign Communion ; and they, whether they agreed or differed from the opinions held by your wife in their name, ought in either case to be equally willing and forward to reply ; that is, to confess their agreement with what she holds now as their Faith and

Doctrine, if they acknowledge it as such, or to disclaim those errors (if they view them as errors) which are now held mistakenly, and to the great prejudice of their reputation, in their name; and so also to help, if possible, to turn the parties professing them towards the truth. I remain, yours, &c. &c.”

“N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

On the same day that I sent the above letter to Mr A., I wrote the following to a barrister who had given much attention to the Ecclesiastical branch of his profession :—

“MY DEAR N.,—I wish much to have some conversation with you about that affair which was mentioned when we met last, and which, I fear, I have brought into a worse position than ever for the credit of our Church in Russia. I think I told you that Bishop Luscombe had offered the Communion to Mde. A. on certain conditions. They were three :”

[*For these Three Conditions see under Section IX.*]

“Soon after I left Paris, Mde. A. sent the Bishop a note, ambiguously worded, with some expressions of civility towards himself personally, which he took for an acceptance of his conditions, and an assurance that she was possessed of the qualifications he had specified. He wrote her an answer expressing his satisfaction; and has since given her the Communion: and now he is now altogether unwilling, without being absolutely obliged, to take any further step in the matter. The lady, in the mean time, openly professes to have changed none of her opinions; and maintains that she has a perfectly good right to assure the Bishop that she believes the Faith of the English Church; inasmuch as she sees many, if not most, of the English themselves Communicating freely, while they hold views of their Church, and of her doctrines, very similar to her own. What her own are will appear from the following seven heads :—

[*For these heads see above the Letter to Mr A., and Section XIX.*]

“The above opinions she makes no sort of secret of holding *as the Faith of the Anglican Church*; and her relatives and acquaintances in Russia know what her opinions are on these points, and that, with such opinions, she not only before obtained the Communion in different English Chapels on the Continent, as a proselyte from the Russian Church, from Chaplains who agreed with her in their principles, but also has recently obtained it from a Bishop of Scottish Consecration, who represents also the English Church as Chaplain to our Embassy at Paris, without any scandal being excited, or any protest being made, or any disclaimer put in from any quarter in which it became known.

“When we further consider how the letter of Mr A. to the Archbishop of Canterbury was left unanswered; and how the Bishop of London, in answer to a joint reference from Mr A. and the Chaplain at Geneva, evinced agreement with Mde. A. in the position, that the whole question was a matter of private conscience for herself alone to determine, on which neither Priest nor Bishop could be called upon to give an opinion, or to interfere; it is evident that her husband and others in Russia, who knew the circumstances of the case, have at present much stronger reasons for thinking that the view taken by Mde. A. is really that of the Anglican Church, than the contrary view which I have been partly instrumental in persuading her daughter to adopt, and which regards the Anglican

Church as Catholic and Apostolic, rather than as 'Biblical,' as agreeing in doctrine on the seven points above-mentioned with the Russian, and as capable of intercommunicating with it.

"Now, what I want to ask is this : Could any legal opinion on the seven points at issue be obtained, or any actual trial, which would be likely to serve the purpose of vindicating the character of our Church ? You suggested the idea, when I saw you in London, that a legal opinion might be had, and might perhaps be worth taking.

"At all events, there *must*, one would think, be *some* way, in which the relatives of Mde. A. could rightly proceed in order to ascertain, I. *Whether the English and Scottish Churches really own her opinions on the seven points given above as consonant with their Faith and Doctrine, or compatible with the right of enjoying their Communion ?* And further, II. *Whether they do or do not countenance Bishop Luscombe in refusing to give their Communion on the principle of proselytism to members of the Eastern Catholic Church ?*

"Might not these questions be addressed, *by way of Petition, to the Convocations of the two Provinces of the Church of England, (though those bodies of course could give no answer) ?* And at the same time, through Bishop Luscombe, or otherwise, *to the Synod of the Scottish Church, which certainly could answer if it pleased ?*

"And if this last plan be fit to be suggested to Mr A., then *In what form would it be best to make the application ? And through what channel ?*

"This is the substance of what I want you, if you can, to turn over in your mind ; and then you will be prepared to advise me whenever we next meet. I remain, &c. &c."

"N. N."

Not long afterwards, seeing at Oxford the friend to whom the above letter had been addressed, I learned from him that he thought "*nothing could be done to any purpose.*" The same was probably the feeling of Mr A. himself ; for my letter of *April 22d* remained long unacknowledged ; and when at length he wrote again, he did not in any way advert to the prosecution of the Ecclesiastical question.

And so finally, *to all appearance*, the matter dropped, so far as both myself and Mr A. were concerned, without any prospect of its being re-opened.

SECTION XXI.

STATE OF THE CASE, AND REPRESENTATION MADE OF IT BY
MDE. A., WHEN IT HAD THUS TO ALL APPEARANCE FINALLY
DROPPED.

To conclude the whole of the preceding Introduction, and in order to give a clear idea of the position in which things stood at that time, there shall here be transcribed some part of a letter, which was dated as if addressed to me by

Mr A. from St Petersburg on Thursday, May 17, but which did not reach me till June 8 :—

“ I do not think you would find my wife still at Paris in June ; and even if she were there, it would be of no use, I fear, for you to go to see her. Did you receive a letter which I sent you by her ? I fear she may have read it, and after having seen its contents, may not have chosen to deliver it to you.” [I had not in fact received it.] “ However that may be, the present state of things is this :—In your conferences with my wife, you have had no success either in pleasing her, or in persuading her. She represents that in her discussions with you she had always the best of it, and you always the worst : that you knew not what to say against her arguments ; but were ready to cry : and that even on one occasion you were taken unwell. . . . All this has only increased her discontent with me. She regards me as her persecutor, and you as my accomplice. . . . She says that ‘ *you have written to her from England a letter which is perfectly frightful*’ [‘ *une lettre affreuse* ;’ see above, under Section XVII.] ; and that ‘ *even a mutual acquaintance*’ of you both [namely Mr O.] ‘ *could not refrain from expressing his indignation at it.*’ The best answer to this charge will be to send me a copy of the letter itself. Then she says that you ‘ *have done all you possibly could to hinder the Bishop and Chaplain at Paris from giving her the Communion ; but that he has given it her nevertheless ; and that so she has now at any rate been rightly and validly admitted a member of the Anglican Protestant Church.*’ She adds, that ‘ *there are two religious parties at present in conflict together in England ; the Protestant party, and the Catholic-party : that, as for you, you belong to the Catholic party, and run some risk of being turned out of the Anglican Church.*’ In one word, she views her success in obtaining the Communion at the Anglican Chapel as ‘ *the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism.*’ ”

AN APPEAL

TO THE

SCOTTISH BISHOPS AND CLERGY,

AND GENERALLY TO THE

CHURCH OF THEIR COMMUNION.

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SECTION I.

MDE. A. ASKS BISHOP LUSCOMBE FOR A WRITTEN CERTIFICATE
OF COMMUNION, WITH WHICH TO RETURN TO ST PETERSBURGH.
LETTER FROM BISHOP LUSCOMBE TO MDE. A.



OW I had been at the first brought into communication with Mde. A. and her daughters ; and how the eldest daughter had come to renounce her errors, (though, in renouncing them, she was made by the Russian Church to impute them still to our Communion) ; and how a private controversy with Mde. A. herself had issued in her obtaining the formal Communion of a Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church, without any change on her part, or any acknowledgment of her having wronged our Church before, has all been related at length in the Introduction. From this point commences the history of the origin of that Appeal, with which I now come before the Scottish Church.

For the lady, not long after she had boasted, as abovementioned, "*that she was now, at any rate, validly admitted a member of the Anglican Protestant Church ; and that this was a triumph for Protestantism over Catholicism,*" being about to

return to Russia, there “*to bear her testimony to the truth,*” and “*to justify herself, if it must needs be so,*” and wishing, as it seems, to make her triumph as complete as possible, was no longer content to reckon upon the probable facility of Anglican Clergy in giving passive Communion wherever she might go, and might be pleased to take it; but sent to request Bishop Luscombe to call upon her; and when she saw him, informed him of her intention of returning to St Petersburg, and desired of him *a written certificate of Communion*, by virtue of which she might be received and acknowledged by British Clergy elsewhere. “This,” he said, “he would very willingly give her;” but in saying so, it chanced that he made some allusion to his former letter to her; upon which, she desired “that he would say nothing in his certificate about intercommunion.” The Bishop then at length perceived that she had been all along evading his conditions; and told her, that after what she had said, he could not give her the certificate she asked for, until better satisfied of her belief; that she should shortly receive a communication from him; and in the meantime he recommended her to read an abridgment, in English, of Archbishop Platon’s “*Summary of Divinity,*” which he would send her, together with some Sermons of his own, published a few years before in French, with a translation of the XXXIX Articles at the end. Shortly after this interview the Bishop sent her, with the books, the following letter, which was dated first from Paris, April 23d, (and sent April 25th) 1842:—

“MADAM,—When I had the honour to converse with you, you expressed a desire that I should give you a certificate that I had admitted you to the Holy Communion in my Church. I should have given it most willingly, had you not added, that you hoped I would not state your being admitted upon the principle of intercommunion. Permit me to state, that in a note addressed to Mr Palmer, on January 22d last, which I understood was put into your hands, I wrote as follows:—‘I cannot allow that a member of the orthodox Russian Church, or of the orthodox Greek Churches *can* be received into the Church of England as a *convert*; because those Churches certainly form a part of the Catholic Church. I would admit a member of those Churches to

the Holy Communion, not on the principle of conversion, but of intercommunion ; supposing that he has been rightly baptized and confirmed, and is qualified to receive the Holy Communion in his own Church. I lament, indeed, that those Churches allow some things which the Church of England cannot approve, yet I do not accuse them of heresies subversive of the Catholic faith ; consequently, I think that there is no reason why the Church of England should reject their Communion.'

" In a note which I had the honour to address to you, I mentioned the qualifications, on your part, which would justify me in admitting you to the Holy Communion, one of which was, that you should believe the Articles of the Christian Faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed, and in the same sense in which they are held by the English Church ; and I added, that your presenting yourself at the Communion would be an assurance to me of your so believing them. If any persons have expressed doubts of your sincerity, it did not become me to do so, and I therefore declined any further discussion of the subject ; but as these doubts may reach you, I beg the favour of your allowing me to remind you that I relied on your holding to one visible Catholic Church ; on your regarding the Sacraments as conferring the graces which they represent ; Baptism as being Regeneration ; and the Eucharist as the Body and Blood of Christ, taken by the faithful ; and on your believing the Inspiration of the Holy Scripture.

" Knowing you to be a member of the orthodox Russian Church, and believing that the above doctrines are held by that Church, I was willing to receive you upon the principle of intercommunion, as I would willingly be received by it. I have carefully perused the account given of that Church by an Archbishop of Moscow, Platon, who asserts that some abuses which had crept into it were not authorized by it ; that *its* doctrine of Transubstantiation is opposed to that of the Church of Rome ; and that it means a spiritual, not a bodily change of the consecrated elements ; that '*the Eucharist or Communion is a Mystery in which, under the sign of bread the Body of Christ itself, and under the sign of wine the Blood of Christ itself are communicated to believers for the remission of sins, and unto life eternal.*'

“ I entreat you, Madam, not to separate yourself from the doctrine of this Church, though I would advise you to reject all that is corrupt in practice, such as an undue reverence to pictures, which the Archbishop Platon allows ‘*may be turned into the most abominable sin of idolatry.*’ As to any other ceremony which is inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel, and indeed not authorized by the Church, though practised by the ignorant and superstitious, I entreat you not to regard it as subversive of the Christian Faith, or as giving you grounds for separating yourself from the Church in which you were baptized and brought up. Private judgment cannot be allowed to go so far. No individual is allowed to separate from a Church which is really Catholic and Apostolic, notwithstanding that many of its members may have fallen into superstitious practices. Those practices must be avoided, but separation is schismatical and sinful.

“ If, after you return to Russia, you shall desire to attend the divine service of the Church of England, and to be received at the Holy Communion by the English Clergy, I see no objection to your doing so ; but do not err, and give uneasiness to your family and friends who shall not prefer the English Service, by your declaration that you have separated yourself from the orthodox Russian Church, and become a *convert* to the English Church.

“ I most respectfully submit all this to your consideration ; and I pray God to give you the help of His Holy Spirit to guide you into all truth, to preserve you a sound and faithful member of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and finally to conduct you, through the merits of our Saviour, after a life spent here in holiness and happiness, to life and happiness in his presence for evermore. &c. &c.

“ M. H. LUSCOMBE, Bishop and Chaplain.”

This letter the lady did not think it necessary to answer ; nor was it till some months afterwards that the Bishop received back the volume containing Archbishop Platon’s Exposition of the Russian Faith, from a French physician, to whose care she had delivered it *in London*. It will appear in the sequel, that upon receiving Bishop Luscombe’s letter, and finding that he still insisted upon his former terms, she had resolved to set aside, if possible, his judgment

by obtaining the countenance of some higher authority in the Anglican Communion; and for that purpose, preferring oral to written communications, with the advice and assistance of her friend the Duchess of B., she had made a sudden and short visit to London, before she returned to St Petersburg.

SECTION II.

OBTAIN A WRITTEN CERTIFICATE OF COMMUNION FROM THE BISHOP OF OXFORD: AND SOON AFTERWARDS AM INVITED BY MR A. TO MEET HIS WIFE AT ST PETERSBURGH.

IN the meantime, being in ignorance myself of what was passing at Paris, and seeing no prospect of being able to pursue the controversy with Mde. A. further, I had begun to think of continuing my original plan of study, during the coming vacation, by visiting Sweden, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the Episcopal Lutheranism of that country. This I had intended to do the summer before, in 1841, on my way home from Russia; but had been induced by Mr A. to give up the intention for that time, in order to be ready to keep a promise of meeting him on his arrival at Geneva, if he found reason to desire it. At the same time, I was anxious to learn whether the lady was really going to return to Russia, as had been reported to me, and whether my suspicions were well-founded as to the *manner* of her daughter's reconciliation: and I wrote to Mr A. to enquire whether I should be likely to find his wife still at Paris, if I went there in the month of June; and whether he saw any prospect of her being willing to confer with me reasonably, if I did so.

While these different thoughts and plans were before my mind, I had also been led by what had taken place at Paris to perceive that it was impossible to resist with success any misrepresentation or invasion of our Communion by strangers, so long as our own members, (and myself too among the rest,) were, equally with our opponents, neglecting even that shadow of discipline which is required by the rubric, and taking, wherever we went, a merely *passive* Communion. At Paris, for instance, I Communicated, perhaps, like the lady; or even assisted the Bishop; and it might be, that I was capable rightly of so doing. But it might have been, for want of any real or searching examination or caution in admitting me, quite the reverse. I might have been unbaptized, or unconfirmed, unordained, or suspended, an open maintainer of any number of heresies, or living in habits of excommunicable sin. And this being so, what right, strictly speaking—what ecclesiastical right could I pretend to, to denounce any other person as invading the Bishop Luscombe's Communion? I resolved, therefore, that for the future, at any rate, I would reform my own conduct in this respect, whenever I went from one place or diocese to another. And besides, it seemed that there could be no better or surer way devised for testing the nature of the Swedish Episcopal Church, as I desired to test it, than that of behaving towards it in the first instance as if it were orthodox, and homogeneous with the Apostolic Church, and

seeking its Communion (hypothetically at least) according to the strictest canonical forms.

Accordingly, with a view chiefly to the projected voyage to Sweden, I addressed, on the 24th of May 1842, to the priest of that parish in the Diocese of Oxford, to which I had belonged from my baptism, the following letter :—

“ . . . By the universally received discipline of the Church in former times—never hitherto that I know of formally set aside or repealed—it was necessary for all laymen, as well as clerks going out of their own into any other diocese, to take with them from their Bishops *Letters*, which were variously designated, as ‘*Formatæ*’ (the general term), ‘*Pacificæ*,’ ‘*Ecclesiasticæ*,’ ‘*Canonice*,’ &c. If any one presented himself as coming from another diocese without such letters, he was to be refused Communion, and to be held of doubtful or suspect character ; and if any Bishop gave the Communion to persons coming without such letters, he was in some cases, and by some canons, to be excommunicated himself. For this statement it will be sufficient to refer to *Bingham*, vol. i. p. 100 ; ii. p. 4 and p. 188 ; v. p. 29 and p. 471 ; vi. p. 365. *London* ed. 1840. The whole may be embodied in the following quotations from the places referred to :—‘*Clericus vel laicus non Communicet in alienâ plebe sine litteris Episcopi sui. Nisi hoc observatum fuerit, Communicatio fiet passiva.*’ *Conc. Carth.* 1. c. vii. ‘*Ὅτι ἔδει ἱερατικὸν ἢ κληρικὸν ἄνευ κανονικῶν γραμμάτων ἐδύειν*’ *Conc. Laodic.* c. xli. And of the Authority, to which they might apply out of their own dioceses for Communion ; ‘*Μὴδὲνα ἄνευ ἱερηνικῶν δόχασθαι τῶν ἑξῶν.*’ *Conc. Antioch.* c. vii. and *Canon xxxiii. Apost.* (which I have elsewhere printed.) ‘*Presbytero sive Diacono sine Antistitis sui Epistolis ambulanti Communionem nullus impendat.*’ *Conc. Agath.* c. lii. If I am right in supposing that the principles and rules of discipline expressed in such canons as the above still constitute part of the unrepealed law of our own, and of all other true Churches, no one could be doing wrong, whether priest, deacon, or only layman, in seeking to carry with him canonical proof of his being in Communion with his Bishop, whenever he had occasion to travel into other dioceses. I am by baptism, confirmation, and occasional residence, and further by permission to do the office of a deacon in your Church of M. connected with that parish, and with the Diocesan Church and Bishop of Oxford. I received the Holy Communion there at your hands according to the injunctions of the Church, last Easter, and also since then on Whitsunday ; and I am not conscious of being liable to any excommunication by any canons of the Church. I am now thinking of going, for a time, into various other dioceses on lawful business ; and I am desirous of making application to the Bishop of Oxford either personally, or by his Vicar-General, or through you, if you will undertake to present my request to his lordship, or finally, in whatever way may be most proper, in order to seek from him such letters as I suppose the strict law and theory of the Church requires, in order to enable me to claim the Communion in other dioceses. But as the Bishop himself, within his own diocese, cannot know that I really belong to his Communion except by some certificate from my parish priest, or at least may reasonably require such certificate before he himself certifies that I am fit to be received to the Communion in other dioceses, I request of you, if you please to give it me, in the first instance, a certificate to this effect, that I having been baptized in, and confirmed from, and otherwise belonging to your

parish, received the Holy Communion, as the Church prescribes, from your hands at Easter or Whitsuntide last, being free at the time (so far as your knowledge and my own goes), from any bond of excommunication by the canons of the Church : which certificate being obtained, application can then, I suppose, be properly made to the Bishop. &c. &c.”

In consequence of this application, I received shortly afterwards a certificate, of which the following is a translation :—

I, N. N., Rector, with the cure of souls of the parish of M., in the Diocese of Oxford, certify that N. N. who was baptized in this parish, and afterwards confirmed from hence by the Bishop, and is now a deacon in Holy Orders, communicated in my parish church at the Feasts of Easter and Pentecost last preceding, as the canons require ; and that he is free, so far as I know, and so far as he witnesses of his own conscience, from all bond of excommunication or other canonical hindrance to his rightly communicating either in this diocese of the Lord Bishop of Oxford, or in any other dioceses of other Bishops. Given on this seventh day of June, in the year of our Lord 1842. (Signed) N. N.

[And countersigned on Wednesday, June 8th, by]

RICHARD, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

On the same day on which this certificate was given me by the Bishop of Oxford at Cuddesden, I received a letter from Mr A. containing the following passages :—

“ Since my wife wrote last” [boasting of her triumph, as related above, Intr. P. iii.] “ *things seem to have completely changed.* It seems (though she does not tell me clearly what has passed), that the Anglican Bishop and Chaplain at Paris *now no longer admits her to the Communion* : and she says that if the Anglican Church rejects her, she will go and communicate in some other which will receive her. So that now I fear I may see her join some heresy, as Calvinism, or some other heretical sect, where her position will be worse than ever. She intends to return to Russia this summer. Alas, . . . she may, perhaps, even cause public scandal ; and then the civil and ecclesiastical authorities would interfere. I think, then, that if in the course of the summer you would come out again to St Petersburg, we might together try to work upon the heart and understanding of my wife, and prove to her, that in renouncing the religion of the Eastern Church, she renounces true Christianity, and can only go on from one error to another, as she is doing at present, without being able to settle herself in any thing, and without knowing one day what she may believe on the morrow . . . I write you this letter by the English ambassador, who is going home to marry his daughter. I have given him a copy of the letter which I wrote more than a year ago to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and which his Grace has never yet vouchsafed to answer. Lord S. has promised me to speak with the Primate on the subject, and to request him to let me have an answer ; or at all events to procure me one from the Bishop of London,

of whom he seems to think highly." And in conclusion, after other matters, he again returned to the expression of his hope that I would come out to St Petersburg in the month of August.

On the receipt of this letter, I determined to proceed to Paris without delay, and to ascertain *what* had taken place between the lady and Bishop Luscombe: and I saw, that *if he had really refused her the Communion, and she persisted in setting him at defiance, he might now consider himself to be interested in my going to meet her at St Petersburg; and I might find in the certificate I had just obtained the means of entering into a real and canonical connection with him, and acting through such connection with more effect in the controversy, which was indeed now, ecclesiastically speaking, his own and not mine.*

SECTION III.

GO FIRST TO PARIS, AND LEARN WHAT HAS PASSED FROM BISHOP LUSCOMBE; WHO IS NOW HIMSELF DISPOSED TO DISOWN MDE. A., AND TO SEND ME AS HIS CLERK TO ST PETERSBURGH.

HAVING left England on Friday, June 17th, I reached Paris early on the morning of Sunday 19th, and spent the evening of the same day at Bishop Luscombe's house. I read to him extracts from the letters which I had received from Mr A., and told him that I was disposed to go out again to St Petersburg, as he suggested, to meet the lady, not so much for the hope of influencing her, as for the purpose of doing what I could to counteract the scandal and prejudice she would be sure to cause against us, and if possible to prevent her obtaining the Communion in the English chapel there; that, however, I felt it would be hopeless for me to attempt to gainsay her pretensions, *so long as she was recognized by him, and in his Communion; and that I should not have thought of moving further in the business, had not one passage in her husband's last letter to me given me reason to suppose, that since the Bishop had declined to interfere further with her, something new had taken place, and that things were no longer on their former footing.* Upon this the Bishop related all that had taken place since I wrote to him last [Intr. P. iii.]; how he had been forced to see that my suspicions were well founded; and had refused her the certificate of Communion which she had demanded. He added, that he had written to her a letter, and given her a copy of his Sermons, with the XXXIX Articles, besides lending her a book with Archbishop Platon's Exposition of the Russian Faith, none of which she had so much as acknowledged; and he supposed she had by that time left Paris for Russia. She had spoken, he said, of me, when he saw her, in terms of no little displeasure, declaring that I was killing her, and that she would never see nor speak to me again. At the same time he commended me for my disposition to do all I could to justify my own representation of our religion in Russia against her's; and said that he would willingly give me any assistance in his power; for he had always desired and looked forward to the improvement of our relations with the Eastern Church; that *the lady now setting him, as it seemed, at defiance, it was his own duty to disavow her; and I had a right to all the support his office as Bishop might enable him*

to give. Finding him in these dispositions, I proposed to him *that I should become his clerk*, and go from him as such to St Petersburg, telling him that I would readily give up all other employments or connections, (as any other studies, my connection as deacon with a certain parish in Oxfordshire, or the place of Fellow and Tutor in Magdalene College), and attach myself only to his service, so long, at least, as there remained any thing to be done in the present controversy. He *accepted this proposal* ; though he said he saw no reason for my giving up any connection with Oxford ; and it was agreed that I should write him a letter in Latin, embodying the whole case, and stating distinctly how I proposed he should employ me towards vindicating himself and his Communion against the acts or misrepresentations of the lady in Russia.

SECTION IV.

SEEK THE COMMUNION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS, AND AM
REFUSED ON ACCOUNT OF OUR BEING SEPARATED FROM ROME.

On the day following after the above interview, I went to the Chancery of the Archbishop of Paris, and offered, through his Grace's Grand-Vicaire, to present to him my letters of orders, and a certificate of communion from the Diocese of Oxford, saying, that I supposed they could not be received, nor the bearer admitted to the Communion, for this reason, that their Diocesan Church of Paris recognizes no Churches but those which are recognized by the See of Rome : that, however, I had certain reasons for wishing, in the present instance, to hear this from their ecclesiastical authorities, rather than take the separation as a matter of course. The Grand-Vicaire reported this application to the Archbishop, and afterwards replied, that of course I could not have expected any thing else than to be refused, and that for the reason I had myself alleged ; for in truth, whether I were orthodox or heterodox on all other points, mattered nothing ; it was unnecessary to examine that : the broad and *primâ facie* ground for rejection was that of separation from the Head : that the Archbishop had admitted what I said the other day to be true, that there had never been any formal or synodical examination or judgment of the Anglican Church by the Gallican, or act of excommunication against her ; but he said that the Anglican Church had separated herself *in fact*, so that it was unnecessary to seek any further judgment or act of withdrawal from those who had first withdrawn themselves : that they well knew the Catholic dispositions of the University of Oxford, and our desire of unity ; but in truth it was self-evident that there must be a Head ; and that Henry VIII was not that Head which God had appointed, nor Queen Victoria. He said a good deal of *mission* as distinct from ordination, and from the ordainers ; and of its being necessarily derived from the Pope, as from its source ; to which it was replied, that if this doctrine had been known and held as clearly in primitive times as it is now by them, it would have settled at once innumerable questions, and saved much trouble to the Church. The Grand-Vicaire maintained the Divine right of the Bishops, but also a Divine right of the Pope, as successor of St Peter, to govern them, and to give all mission. He did not contend for personal infallibility in doctrine, but for necessity

of connexion with the source of mission and centre of unity. He did not allow that they asserted absolute nullity or death of a particular Church in consequence of external schism, but only in a manner, and in a certain degree and respect, allowing the possibility of much remaining life in many respects. "And so," he said, "it is perhaps true that you have preserved true Orders." "However," it was replied, "the question is not about the possibility of such life, as all sects may have more or less, in spite of their errors, in their members, or in some of them; but of Catholic and ecclesiastical life, perfect in itself, as to its existence, both outwardly and inwardly, in spite of superficial and external suspension of intercommunion. This you deny, and we assert. We confess that all discord and contention, or separation, as all sin, impairs health; but we do not suppose that every rupture of external communion involves necessarily a mortal sin on either side, or to either Church, of those between which it takes place." He said, "Unless the Pope were the source of mission, if the power to ordain implied power to send, there might be six Archbishops of Canterbury equally ordained at once." "Yes; as easily, perhaps, as three Popes of Rome." "But I should not allow that all the three were Popes." "Nor I, that all the six were really Archbishops of Canterbury, but one only: and as soon as a man recognizes one, he, from his point of view, rejects and condemns the rest. But we think, that in such a schism there need not be absolute nullity, or mortal sin cutting off from the Church, on any side." He said, he knew we wished for unity, and would say his prayers that it might come to pass. He expressed some curiosity to learn how any such step as I had taken in coming to him could have been necessary to my conscience; and I explained, that the prejudices of our people commonly reject the idea of Communion with them, and claim a right for our Church, Religion, and Clergy, to establish themselves anywhere within their dioceses, without any sort of recognition of their jurisdiction; that I had come to learn that, in fact, this spirit was not warranted by any act of our Church; and, in consequence, I not only did not wish to be in any way a party to it, but wished, by my acts and professions, to bear as public a witness as possible against it on all legitimate occasions: And now I had certain particular reasons for not wishing to seem to recognize our own Chaplain and Congregation as having any other legitimate existence here (as separate), than that which they might derive from the accident of belonging, or having belonged originally, to Churches with which the Archbishop of Paris refuses, without other reason than that of their being disowned by Rome, to hold any intercourse,—a refusal which makes it impossible for them to obtain his Communion without renouncing the Church from whence they come, and so clears them of all personal responsibility, which might otherwise rest upon their separation.

SECTION V.

ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22D, WROTE THE FOLLOWING

LETTER TO MDE. A. :—

"MADAM,—I more than half expect that you will refuse to see me, as Mr O. informed me that you were much offended by what I wrote to you

from Oxford. However, this is precisely the reason that I will not now leave Paris without making one attempt to see you again, and, at any rate, giving you an opportunity of shewing that you are offended, even if I do not, as I still hope I may, succeed in obtaining your forgiveness for an offence which I never intended to commit, if I have committed it. With respect to the religious question between us, and to what you unhappily considered as a personal persecution of yourself, I have no longer the same reason as before for seeking any conference with you. Nor indeed had that idea any thing to do with my present visit to Paris. I certainly wish for you, as I wish for other people, that we may all come to be perfectly united in one faith, one hope, one charity, and one communion : but I have no longer that particular reason for thinking the character of the Anglican Church to be seriously implicated by your conduct or opinions, which I had before ; and which made me feel rather tormented and persecuted myself, by your unwillingness to attend seriously to the subject, than guilty of persecuting or tormenting you, against whom I could have no possible reason for bearing malice. I confess that I had not any notion myself what turn the affair was likely to take, or in what it was to end. From the time that I first resolved to go to Russia for purposes of ecclesiastical study, and to offer myself, when there, to the Communion of the Russian Church, I observed that a number of accidents happened, which were altogether foreign to my own expectation or calculation, often contrary to both, and to my personal wishes : and I now see more and more clearly that they all had a certain connexion together, and were all tending in one direction. And though I do not yet see precisely in what they may end, enough is plain to make me feel content and thankful, even for those things which were most disagreeable or perplexing at the time when they occurred. In one word, I see that it has pleased God to make us both subservient to a purpose which neither of us understood at the time, and in a way which I foresaw as little as you did yourself. Your part in the matter, so far as I can see, is now over ; and your personal acts or opinions do not seem likely for the future to affect its denouement ; but are now only important as relates to your own happiness, and that of your family and friends : and so far, I cannot have any pretence for attempting to interfere with them against your own will. But the question on which your acts and opinions *had* a bearing in time past, and which had to me an overwhelming interest, is now removed from our personal controversy : it rests from henceforward with that Church and Communion itself, of which you and I, professing in its name at once two principles and two religions, the one contrary to the other, claimed equally to be representatives and members ; I seeking, in virtue of my adherence to the catholicity of the Anglican Church, to Communicate in the Catholic Church of Russia ; you renouncing the Russian Church as Catholic, and claiming to Communicate, as a convert, with the Protestantism of the Anglican Church. It only remains for me to say, that this being the case, I hope you will not think there is any occasion for you to entertain an angry feeling towards me, or to suspect me of any ill-feeling or intentional want of courtesy towards you. If I have in any way hurt, or wronged, or offended you personally, I now most sincerely and humbly ask you to forgive me. And I beg at the same time to assure you, on my own part, that though the interest I felt in the character of my Church may have made me act or write with

a pertinacity or bluntness which may have seemed to you unjustifiable or offensive, I can yet see and allow for those causes of misapprehension, which have led you, both in the first instance to renounce (improperly in my opinion) the Russian Church for Protestantism, and then to view the Anglican Church as really and essentially Protestant, and to suspect and reject all my evidences to the contrary. And whatever may be the issue of that great question, which is now being tried, (and in the trial of which our controversy is only a very minute part) the question, I mean, of the real nature of the Anglican Church and the true character of her relations to other Churches and sects, I beg to assure you that I neither have, nor shall have, for you personally any other feeling than one of regard and respect ; and that if I have occasion hereafter to allude either publicly or privately to any of your past acts or opinions, as connected with the Anglican Church, I will take scrupulous care to avoid all appearance of imputing blame to you (beyond that mere mistake of opinion, which I must impute, so long as I hold my own present belief) ; and I will do my best to be as tender of your credit, as I should be of that of any one of my own nearest friends or relations. And so believe me, Dear Madam, to be your very obedient and faithful servant. &c. &c."

The above letter I took to Mde. A.'s residence on Wednesday June 22d, intending to leave it and to call again the next day, Monday being one of her receiving days. But I was informed at the house that 'she had left Paris that same morning,' as I supposed, for St Petersburg. The letter was sent afterwards, under cover to her husband, as will appear below. On the same day I saw the Chaplain to the Russian Embassy, who told me that he had heard Mde. A. had been talking of her return to Russia, in society, and had been asking people, "*What will they do with me at St Petersburg ?*"

SECTION VI.

ON THURSDAY, JUNE 23D, WROTE TO BISHOP LUSCOMBE THE LETTER WHICH IT HAD BEEN AGREED I SHOULD WRITE TO HIM, [AND WHICH HE AFTERWARDS APPENDED TO HIS OWN LETTERS COMMENDATORY, TO BE TAKEN TO ST PETERSBURGH] AS FOLLOWS :—

"To the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop Matthew, Bishop of the Scots, English, and others of British origin resident in France, &c.

"MY LORD BISHOP,—Your Lordship knows already, if I mistake not, under what circumstances it befell me in Russia to have my personal profession of the Catholic religion, as the religion of the British Church, called in question through the contrary profession of a lady, who represented herself to be a convert from the Eastern Catholic Church to the Angli-

can Church. For my part, I professed, as a member of the British Church, a faith essentially one and the same with the faith of the Easterns ; and maintained that I could conform to all that the Russian Church requires of her members, without rejecting any doctrine, or violating any law of the British Church. She, on the contrary, professed, in the name of the British Church, a faith essentially opposed to that of the Easterns ; and maintained that there were certain things required by the Russian Church of her members, to which she could not conform without sin ; and to avoid the necessity of conforming to which, she had passed over as a convert to the British Church.

“ And to enter more particularly into details ;—

“ I. I professed, as a member of the British Church, to believe, as an Article of that Christian faith into which I had been baptized, this following doctrine ;—That there is *One, Visible, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church* diffused throughout all the world ; which is the Body and Spouse of Christ, the pillar and ground of the faith ; against which the gates of hell shall never prevail : that in this Church there have been, ever since the Apostles’ times, three Orders, of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who have committed to them the ministry of the Word and Sacraments ; and that none are to be taken for true Clergy but such as have been ordained and ‘ co-opted ’ by the same : that through this Apostolic Clergy, and primarily through the Bishops, the Church teaches and decrees, having full authority for the determining of all controversies of faith : that the British Church, in common with the whole Apostolic Church, owns the pre-eminence and jurisdiction of the Patriarchal Sees ; and the representation of the whole Church by General Councils : Also, that whosoever is lawfully cut off from the unity of the above One, Visible, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen man and a publican, till he be reconciled and received back again by a judge having lawful authority thereto. This is the faith which I professed in Russia. Further, I professed, as a member of the British Church, to acknowledge the Russian Church for true and Catholic, inasmuch as her mother Church in the faith, the Patriarchal

Church of Constantinople, was in communion with us eight or nine centuries ago, and has never to this day formally excommunicated or anathematized us by name, nor we her. For which reason also, with the approbation of my Superior, Dr Routh, and with the knowledge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, I offered myself, as a member of the British Church, to the Communion of the Russian.

“At that same time, the lady of whom I have spoken above, was denying publicly, in the name of the British Church, that the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of the Creed is any *visible* society at all. She denied also that the Bishops have from God a true authority to teach; and professed to believe only an invisible Church, or New Jerusalem, formed from the Scriptures by private conscience, and common to all so-called Evangelical Confessions; and maintained that in their mutual friendship or tolerance for one another consisted the true ‘unity of the Gospel.’

“II. I professed, as a member of the British or Anglican Church, to believe that all Holy Scripture (comprehending under that name all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, as they are received by the Church) is given by inspiration of God; and that every thing contained in it, even down to the minutest details, even to every ‘jot and tittle,’ is to be regarded as divine.

“She, on the contrary, as a member of the British Church, denied that all the lesser details of Holy Scripture are inspired by God; and admitted only an inspiration of its general spirit and purpose.

“III. I professed, as a member of the British Church, to believe thoroughly the first two verses of the Athanasian Creed; namely, that ‘*whosoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith;*’ and that ‘*except every man do keep this faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.*’

“She, on the contrary, as a member of the British Church, denied that there is any such necessity; and affirmed, that the sentences cited above from the Athanasian Creed, and other like ‘Catholic’ or ‘Popish’ passages inconsistently left, as she admitted, in great numbers in the Anglican

‘ Protestant’ or ‘ Reformed’ Church and Prayer-Book, are to be accepted by its true members only in the spirit of that ‘ Protestant progress’ which has been made in these later times, since what is called the ‘ Reformation ;’ and in such sense as may consist with the ‘ liberty of the Gospel.’

“ IV. I professed, as a member of the British Church, to allow and use the word ‘ mystery’ or ‘ sacrament’ of all Mysteries, to which the Russian Church or the antient Fathers have been used to apply it : and, more particularly, with respect to the two great Mysteries or Sacraments of the Gospel or New Testament, that is to say, Baptism and the Eucharist, I professed to believe, that in them the outward visible signs are not signs only, but also means of Christ’s own appointment, whereby we receive the very things themselves, and pledges that we do indeed receive them.

“ She, on the contrary, as a member of the British Church, denied that the outward signs in the Sacraments are also the means, by which we receive the very things themselves which are signified ; and explained that passage in the Catechism of the Church of England, in which this doctrine is treated of, not ‘ according to the letter, which killeth, but in the spirit of the Protestant progress.’

“ V. I professed, as a member of the British Church, to believe that Christian Baptism, which has ‘ the promise of the Holy Ghost,’ is in kind distinct from the baptism of the Forerunner, who, while he preached repentance, taught men to look for the Baptism of One mightier than himself, to come after ; and that in Christian baptism, by the outward washing with water, in the name of the blessed Trinity, we really receive the spiritual grace signified : for our souls are then washed in the blood of Christ, and sanctified : we die unto sin, and are planted together with Christ in the likeness of his death ; and we rise again with Him by a new birth unto justification. In one word, I professed to believe that Christian Baptism, both to infants, and to adult catechumens rightly receiving it, *is* regeneration : and that this truth may be rightly spoken of in three ways, according as respect is had to one or other of the two orders of grace or nature separately, or to both of them together : for, *firstly*,

if we think of the order of grace only, we say, that the child that has been baptized has been really changed : he was brought to the font a child of Adam and of wrath : he is now no longer what he was : the old man has been put off, has been abolished : he is now a new creature ; truly born again, truly created anew in Christ : he was a natural creature, he is now a spiritual : he was an earthly, he is now a heavenly : he was mortal, he is now immortal : Or, *secondly*, if we look off from the order of grace to the order of nature, we may say with St Cyril of Jerusalem, ‘ Thou didst *not really* die, *nor really* rise again ; but yet by that figure thou hast really been made partaker of the death and resurrection of Christ :’ *Thirdly* and *lastly*, if we speak with respect to both orders of nature and grace jointly, we may say, that in the baptized person there are now two natures, two lives, one after the likeness of the old Adam, which he received by being born from his parents ; the other after the likeness of the second Adam, which he has from his new birth by the Holy Ghost.

“ She, on the contrary, as a member of the British Church, denied that Christian Baptism differs in kind from the Baptism of the Forerunner ; contending that there are three distinct and separate baptisms, of water, of the spirit, and of fire : and she altogether denied that the baptism of water, conferred in the name of the blessed Trinity, is also truly the means of Christ’s own appointment for conferring on us the baptism of the Holy Ghost, or of fire.

“ VI. I professed, as a member of the British Church, to believe that the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was ordained for a perpetual commemoration or memory of the sacrifice of the death of Christ ; in which memory, by the unbloody oblation of the pure offering foretold by the prophets, a sacrifice more excellent and perfect by far than the bloody symbols of the old law, we represent, and plead, or offer, to God the one great and only proper sacrifice, which was once for all offered on the Cross.

“ She, as a member of the British Church, denied the sacrifice of the Eucharist altogether ; and confounded the language and doctrine of the Russian Church, which is entirely conformable to that of St Chrysostom and of all the

Fathers, and her Oblation, which is before the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and identical with that of the Scottish and American Liturgies among ourselves, with the modern Oblation of the Roman Mass, which is followed by no Invocation at all, and which looks like a material and physical iteration of the offering made upon the Cross.

“ VII. I professed, as a member of the British Church, to believe that the consecrated bread and wine of the Eucharist are not only signs, but also the means by which we receive the very things themselves which are signified, that is to say, the very true Body and the very true Blood of Christ. And as in Baptism, the Sacrament of the new *birth*, we may speak in three ways, according as the two different orders of grace or nature are separately referred to, or both orders are joined together, so also may we in the Eucharist, the Sacrament of the spiritual *food*: for, *first*, if we speak with respect to the order of grace only, we shall say with St Cyril, and with the ordinary language of the Church, ‘ It *was* natural food, to feed the natural life of the natural creature; now it is no longer natural food: it is changed, transmuted, transfigured, transubstantiated, into spiritual and heavenly food, to feed the new life of new creatures, which have been born again: Before consecration it was bread; now it is bread no longer, but the very body of Christ: and though our senses seem to tell us that it is bread, yet in these Mysteries sense is not to be followed, but faith:’ Or, *secondly*, that is, if we speak with respect to the order of nature only, we may say with St Chrysostom, with Theodoret, with St Ambrose, Pope Gelasius, and other Fathers, that ‘ the bread *does not* depart from its proper nature:’ Or, *thirdly* and *lastly*, if we speak of the two orders of nature and grace conjointly, we may say with St Justin Martyr, with St Irenæus, and others, that ‘ in this food there are *two things*, one heavenly, and another earthly.’ These three ways of speaking are all orthodox, being all received by the holy Fathers; nor is there any one of the three which can rightly or with truth be rejected. And yet it is true, that in religion the Church looks not to the order of nature which is according to sense, but to the order of grace which is according to faith. And for this reason,

while it would be heresy to deny the first way of speaking, (according to the order of grace,) which is necessary to express our faith, it would be rather a gross and carnal error of opinion than heresy, to refuse the second or the third of the three modes of expression, they having not to do with faith but with nature.

“ The lady, in the meantime, as a member of the British Church, denied that the consecrated bread and wine in the Eucharist, besides being signs, are also the means whereby the faithful verily and indeed take and receive the things signified, that is, the very true Body and the very true Blood of Christ. In other words, she denied (to use the words of the Scottish Liturgy) that the gifts and creatures of bread and wine, which have been offered to God by the priest, ‘*become*,’ by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the Body and Blood of Christ. ”

“ Besides the seven above-mentioned points of Christian faith, on which the lady and myself gave directly contrary testimony the one to the other, concerning the doctrine of the British Church and its agreement or disagreement with the Russian, there were also other points, on which she professed, in the name of the British Church, an irreconcilable hostility against the Russian. The chief of these were Confession to a priest, Invocation of Saints, and the outward reverencing of Pictures and Relics.

“ I. On the first of these subjects, namely that of Confession to a priest, I professed to have learned from the British Church a doctrine which could certainly never lead any Russian to renounce his Church ; namely, 1. That the faithful, who have been baptized and confirmed, have a right to the spiritual food of the Eucharist from their Bishop and his Priests ; and that the Sacraments cannot rightly be denied to such persons, so long as they continue in the grace of their baptism, and in that state of salvation : 2. That the Church has canons excommunicating absolutely and unconditionally all persons who, after baptism, fall into certain specified sins, whether against the faith, or against the moral law of God, or against her own discipline : 3. That if we have either preserved or recovered that right to the Communion of our own Bishop which we obtained by

our baptism, we have in like manner a right to the Communion of all other Bishops and Churches, whenever we may go into their dioceses on our lawful occasions ; while, on the other hand, if any man has lost his right to the Communion in his original diocese, he has lost it with respect to all other Bishops and Churches, and is to be counted by them also as excommunicate, so soon as he comes within their jurisdiction : 4. That if any man break the laws of the Church so as to incur excommunication, then, as soon as his offence becomes formally known to the Church, he is of necessity formally excommunicated ; after which, he must satisfy the Church by penance, and obtain her Absolution from a competent judge, before he can regain his right to her Communion : 5. That if any one have broken the laws of the Church so as to incur excommunication, and his offence be secret, and come not to the formal knowledge of the Church, still he will be none the less liable to accusation and excommunication, as long as his sin remains with him ; and if he should ever be discovered and accused (as sometimes happens even after many years), he will be excommunicated in fact : and this being the case, it is natural for a man's own conscience to lead him to accuse himself, and to ask for penance and absolution from the Church, rather than attempt to cheat the Church, as it were, and trust to the chance of his remaining undetected, though he knows all the time that nothing is wanting but the accident of detection and accusation to cast him out from the company of the faithful : 6. The British Church accordingly, which wishes her children to Communicate frequently, though she does not like the appearance of presuming them all, or most of them, to have every time they Communicate excommunicable sins upon their consciences, and therefore does not oblige them to Confession as a necessary preliminary each time, (which would seem to imply such a suspicion), still distinctly testifies, whenever notice is given of the celebration of the Mysteries, that she supposes it probable that the consciences of some at least may require the benefit of ecclesiastical Absolution : 7. And if in other Churches it be the custom that each individual should be examined separately previously to Communicating, and asked whether he have fallen into any such sins as unfit him (without penance and absolution preceding)

for receiving the Holy Communion, the British Church is so far from denying to other Churches the right to impose such a discipline, according to their own judgment and authority, that she herself also actually uses the very same right in certain cases. For she enjoins on her priests to examine the consciences of all persons who are dangerously sick, and to ask them whether they are burdened 'by any weighty matter,' for which they need the Absolution of the Church; that is, whether they have fallen into any such sins as subject them by the canons to excommunication.

" I professed, therefore, for myself, when I was in Russia, to find on this subject no difference of doctrine whatever between the British and the Russian Churches, but only a difference of discipline; while the discipline of the Russian Church, though different from that of the British, was such as every good Christian ought to be perfectly ready to conform himself to. For the people in that country Communicating only at rare intervals, once perhaps in the year, and the primitive discipline having been for ages relaxed, and all but done away, there is only too great reason to fear that very many may have excommunicable sins upon their consciences, and so may have lost their right to Communicate. For this reason the Russian Church not only requires all who wish to Communicate to give notice of their intention, as with us, at least some time the day before, that the Priest may use his discretion, but also directs the Priest to examine them each severally, and to ask them whether they have not been guilty of any of those greater sins which incur excommunication? If they have, they need penance and Absolution: if their consciences do not accuse them, it is certainly no hardship to have to say, that they are conscious of nothing which they are under any obligation to confess. For the Church does not require confession of all sins indiscriminately; but only of those weightier or mortal sins which subject a man to excommunication by the canons. If others also are confessed, that is to be ascribed to the natural feeling of the penitent himself, and to a wounded conscience spontaneously seeking the salve of the Church, not to any authoritative decree or law.

" II. The second question was that of the Invocation of

Saints, on which I professed myself the following sentiments :—That while with the British and with the Russian, and with all true Churches, I say Anathema to all who give God's honour, or any partiele of God's honour, to any creature whatsoever ; and while I freely acknowledge that there is no absolute necessity obliging any individual person to ask in words any other particular person, or class of persons, to pray for him ; still I firmly believe that it is a good and pious feeling, which prompts Christians, who believe in the Communion of Saints, to ask one another for the charity of their prayers *in Christ*. And though, strictly and properly, Christ is the only Mediator and Intercessor between God and man ; still, in another and a secondary sense, and *in Christ*, we are all mediators and intercessors one for another. And so we ought to desire one another's prayers ; and that the more, the more any one appears to approach nearer by holiness or office unto God, even upon earth : and most of all should we desire the prayers of those who are nearest of all to Him ; who are now, according to the Apostle's words, in a certain sense *with Christ* ; and are deservedly by us called Saints and Blessed. Believing this, and knowing that the Russian Church makes no law obliging any man personally to ask the prayers of any other person or Saint whatever, but merely requires his assent to this truth, that it is a good and pious thought to unite our prayers spiritually with the prayers of the Saints who are with Christ, as well as of those who are still with us here on earth, and that upon this doctrine and principle alone she rests all the addresses which occur in her own hymns and offices, or which she allows to her children ; and lastly, that she anathematizes, no less than the British Church, whatsoever is not done *in Christ*, I cannot see how the Russian can differ on this subject from the British Church, otherwise than in practical judgment or caution, in a matter of outward rite and custom : nor do I see any necessity for me to take those addresses which occur in the Hymns, and Troparia of the festivals and Commemorations of the Saints, in any other sense than that of the Church, even though I may suppose (whether rightly or wrongly) that many people do in fact abuse them to superstition, contrary to their true sense, and to the declared intention of the Church to which they belong.

“ III. With respect to the third point, I professed in Russia the same opinion which I still hold ; that is,— While with the British and with the Russian, and with all true Churches, I abhor all undue honouring of creatures, *apart from* and not *in* God and Christ, I can never be persuaded that to kiss the feet of our Saviour, as is customary in the Russian Church, though it be done in a picture and not in reality, is any nearer to wickedness in itself, than to kiss in the very same way the Cross, (which American Independents find praiseworthy among the Nestorians) or the Bible, or the ‘ Testament,’ as is commonly practised among ourselves : nor again, that to kiss the relics, or tomb, or picture, of a Saint who has long ago departed this life, can be more a sin than to kiss the face, or coffin, or picture, of a friend or relative recently deceased, as is customary at all funerals in Russia. Nor can I see how bowing, and incensing, and inclining the head before the picture of a holy bishop, to shew our reverence and affection, can be a sin, if it be admitted that the same acts are blameless, when done to honour the body of a friend or relation recently departed : or that all these things should be wicked at funerals, or in the Church, though they are by all means to be complied with in the public or domestic usages of civil life. For, in fact, whatever honours are paid to the Saints and to their pictures, to the bodies of the recently deceased and their memorials, and to many other inanimate things in the Church, the very same are paid also to the living, and to the representations of the living when absent ; and that not only in the Church, but also outside of the Church, in the world, upon many occasions. But in truth, if these things are, either in themselves, or as defended by the Russian Church, superstitious or idolatrous, then I am myself, I confess, superstitious and idolatrous too : and if any one is obliged, as a member of the British Church, to condemn these things in themselves, or as defended by the Russian Church, then am I no true member of the British Church.

“ On these three points of Confession, Invocation, and Pictures, the lady did not express any very clear and distinct differences between the opinions which she held in the name of the British Church and those which I maintained myself,

except that at first she may have used the common arguments, that ‘*there is but one Mediator;*’ and that ‘*the Second Commandment forbids to worship Pictures.*’ But when it had been objected in answer, that she was bound as a member of the Russian no less than as a member of the British Church, to say Anathema to all who should introduce any *other* mediator, beside the One Mediator, Jesus Christ, or should worship any creature, or the representation of any creature, with *that* worship which she intended to charge against the Russian Church, she desisted, or seemed at least to desist from urging these accusations, which evidently have no force except against that practical idolatry, of which ‘*Protestant and Reformed*’ Englishmen, no less than ‘*superstitious*’ Russians, are apt to be guilty; and which in all Churches and sects alike, (even though any should go beyond the Quakers themselves in dread of formalism), the corrupt nature of man will ever blend with all the forms of external rites and ceremonies, and with the whole practice of religion. Still, however, since she persisted in asserting that there was an essential and irreconcilable hostility between the Churches upon these subjects, and that for these, among other reasons, she had herself passed over as a proselyte from one to the other, I have thought it best not to omit mentioning them.

“ To speak now more generally, and without saying any more of the seven above-mentioned points of Faith, or the three questions of Discipline and Rite, in which I contended that there was substantial peace and agreement; she that there was an irreconcilable war between the Churches (while we both claimed to speak as members of the British Church, and in her name), the following were the chief things that seemed to make in my favour:—

“ I. That eight or nine centuries ago the British Churches and the Eastern Patriarchates were really in Communion; and that their Intercommunion was neither always nor necessarily interrupted by the quarrels of the Patriarchs of Old and New Rome concerning the interpolation of the Creed or other points, nor by our rejection of the canon of the second Nicene Council for the honouring of images: (for that canon was rejected both by our Bishops and by the

Bishops of France and Germany.) Nor were we British Christians ever either formally excommunicated by the Easterns, when the Patriarchs quarrelled; or reconciled, when they were reconciled. Nay, it is true that even the Archbishops of Old and New Rome themselves repeatedly Communicated together, while the causes of dissention remained as before. Whence it appears, that if any one who fell asleep in the East at the end of the ninth century should now wake up in Britain, and demand the Communion as his right, no anathema nor canon of the British Church could be alleged to have deprived him of that right in the interval. And in like manner on the other side, if any British Christian should awake after nine or ten centuries, and claim the Communion in the Eastern dioceses, he could not be prevented from the recovery of his right by any formal law or canon of the Eastern Church. Still less, if he were to seek the Communion in the Russian Church, which even Communicated with the see of Rome itself after the time of Cerularius; as is abundantly evident from the reception of the Festival of the Translation of St Nicholas of Myra.

“ II. Secondly, this also was in my favour, that all British theologians of repute, who have written during the last three centuries, not only acknowledge the Eastern orthodox Church for a large part, and in a manner for one-half of the Catholic Church, but also testify of themselves, and of their own Church, that it is neither their own will, nor any real necessity, which prevents their being in Communion with the Easterns.

“ III. A third thing was, that I had with me Letters Commendatory, sealed with the seal of the Head of my College, in which he desired of all orthodox Bishops, and especially of the Most Holy Russian Synod, and even adjured them in the name of Christ, that they would examine me concerning the orthodoxy of my faith with charity and a reasonable discretion; and if they found me to believe all that is necessary to the integrity of the Faith, then that they would also admit me to the Sacraments.

“ IV. A fourth consideration was, that the Archbishop

of Canterbury, when he had read the above mentioned Letters of my Superior, and had been informed that I would on no account make any use of them, nor seek the Communion from Russian Bishops, if he would let me know (as I requested he would) that he disapproved ever so little of my seeking it, declined saying so much as a word to express any disapprobation of my intention.

“ V. A fifth fact was, that two priests, Chaplains of the English Church, who have been now more than twenty years the one at St Petersburg, the other at Cronstadt, approved of a letter which I wrote on the subject of my desire to be admitted to Communion to the Metropolitan of Moscow ; and professed themselves ready to Communicate in the Russian Church upon the same principles ; and disclaimed all idea of proselyting its members, so as to draw them over to the British Church.

“ VI. A sixth was, that the Ambassador of the Queen of England when asked by the lady’s husband what he thought was the true nature of the religion of the British Church, replied that it was quite true that, though in its outward form and appearance it rather resembled Puritanism, it was inwardly and essentially such as I had represented it to be.

“ VII. Lastly, it was well known that there were still preserved in the archives of the Russian Synod letters written in the time of Peter I. by certain British Bishops, both Scottish and English, in which those Bishops made profession of the Orthodox, Catholic, and Apostolical Religion ; denied that they had any community, either of name or principles, with the two sects of the Lutherans and the Calvinists, (that is, the Protestants and the Reformed) ; acknowledged that Holy Scripture is to be interpreted according to Apostolic Tradition ; used the word Mystery or Sacrament not of two only, but of all the Mysteries of the Russian Church ; confessed that the Eucharistic Oblation profits the dead as well as the living ; that is, that it is available for the whole body of the Church in Christ : and in the Liturgy, which they sent together with their letters, they had appointed prayers and commemorations for the

departed, the mixing of water in the Cup, the reservation of the Eucharist for the sick, and other like things, according to the mind of the Russian and of the Primitive Church. They also fully and freely acknowledged the Intercession of the Saints; and declared that the use of Images and Pictures in the Churches was not only permitted, but also was very useful and edifying for the people; and they blamed the madness of the Iconoclasts. And though they were unwilling to admit addresses to the Saints, or outward reverencing of Pictures, into their own Rite; and even inveighed, as must be confessed, somewhat too bitterly and extravagantly against such customs; still they declared (which was the great point) that they were willing and ready to make 'a solid union and Communion' with the Orientals, although they should persist in their own opinion on these subjects, and continue to use the Rite which they had received from their fathers without any change or concession whatever.

"In the meantime there were also on the other side some appearances of probability to justify the views of the lady:—

"I. That the common opinion in Russia, as well as in other countries, concerning the Anglican Church and Religion is, that it is altogether the same thing with that of the other sects of the Protestants and the Reformed, (that is, of the Lutherans and Calvinists), or at least exceedingly like them in appearance, and altogether contrary in its nature to that of all the old and Apostolical Churches.

"II. Secondly, that she and her daughter (and the latter after a week's special preparation) had been received to the Communion by two priests, the one an English Chaplain, the other the Dean of a cathedral church in Ireland, as converts or proselytes. This took place at Geneva: '*All the town*' (to use their own words) '*knew of it*;' and made it a matter of common conversation. But that either the ladies differed very flagrantly in their religious opinions from the Anglican religion; or that the two priests, or rather 'ministers' or 'pastors,' had exceeded the bounds of their duty and power; or had acted contrary to the principles and laws of the Anglican Church; or lastly, that there was any such agreement between the Anglican and the Russian

Churches, as to be inconsistent with proselytism from one Church to the other, no one seemed at all to question ; nor was any discussion at all raised on such points.

“ III. Thirdly, that when the lady’s husband had written a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking him whether the Russian Church is excommunicated by the English as heretical and idolatrous, or acknowledged as an orthodox sister in the faith ; and whether, so far as the English Church is concerned, there be war or peace between the Churches, no answer from the Archbishop was ever received.

“ IV. Fourthly, that the Chaplain of the English residents at Geneva, when the lady’s husband had called upon him, and expostulated with him on what he had done, answered, by both denying himself that the Body and Blood of the Lord are present in the Eucharist, and justifying the ladies for renouncing and quitting the Russian Church, ‘ because in so doing they were following their consciences.’

“ V. Fifthly, that the Bishop of London, to whom the Chaplain at Geneva had referred as having been licensed by him, on application being made to him through me by the lady’s husband, justified the Chaplain in what he had done ; and declared, that whether the ladies had been received to Communion as proselytes, or whether, on the contrary, the faith of the English Church was so far one with that of the Russian, that they might be received on the principle of Intercommunion, but could not be received as proselytes,—that this question, I say, was for the private consciences of the parties who had Communicated, to determine for themselves ; that the priest was not obliged so much as to have an opinion upon it ; nor, if reference were made to him as Bishop, did he think himself obliged to give any opinion either ; nor would he give any opinion.

“ VI. Sixthly, that afterwards the lady found no difficulty in Communicating in the chapel of a Scottish Bishop, (also Chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris), just as if she had been really and validly admitted to be a member of the British Church.

“ Such was the state of the affair, when I first came to Paris, at the request of the lady’s husband, and made known to your Lordship what sort of opinions were being represented by her as the doctrine of the British Church, and what a position of hostility to the Russian it was being made to assume through the instrumentality, in part at least, of your Communion. I addressed to your Lordship upon this subject a letter, which together with your Lordship’s reply (with your knowledge and approval) I placed in the lady’s hands. In that reply your Lordship clearly stated that you could not admit members of the Russian Church to Communion on any other principle than that of intercommunion, as between friendly Churches. A short time afterwards I also delivered to the lady from your Lordship another letter addressed to herself, in which, though you did not think proper to show any suspicion of her heterodoxy, (having never up to that time seen or spoken to her), you still stated distinctly three qualifications, which you said you were bound to require of her, before you could rightly admit her to the Communion, if she gave you notice that she desired to be admitted to it. These qualifications were, *first*, That she should believe all the Articles of the Christian faith as they are contained in the Apostles’ Creed; and should further honestly wish to believe them in the sense of the British Church: *secondly*, That she should have been validly Baptized in this faith, and Confirmed: *thirdly*, That she should be free from all bond of just excommunication in respect of the Russian Church, from whose dioceses she came to you. Finally, your Lordship notified to her that if she desired to Communicate upon these terms she might do so; and that your Lordship would be ready to take her appearance before the altar as an assurance that she had the above-mentioned qualifications, and so could rightly be admitted. Some short time after this, when I had myself meanwhile returned into England, the lady wrote your Lordship a note, which you took to be written for the purpose of informing you that she desired to receive the Holy Communion from you, and could rightly receive it according to the prescribed conditions. Nor did she herself ever deny that she had intended her note to be so understood: rather she professed that she had so intended; inasmuch as she

repeatedly maintained that she did in fact both believe the Creed, and believe it in the sense of the British Church; for that the sense of the Church is to be known from the belief of its members; and that the most part, or nearly all of the English agreed pretty much with her in their religious opinions.

“ Since the above took place, I have ascertained beyond a doubt that she has in no respect abandoned her former opinions, but continues to hold and profess openly the very same opinions as before, as the religion of the British Church. Indeed, not long ago I received a letter from her husband, informing me that his wife is now about to return into Russia, and that she writes concerning her position as a member of the British Church to the following effect;—
‘ That you came to Paris, and did all you could to prevent the Chaplain from giving her the Communion; but that he has given it her in spite of you; and that so she has now, at any rate,’ (since the Chaplain in question is a Bishop) *‘ been rightly and validly received into the Anglican Protestant Church, and is unquestionably a member of it.’* She adds (so he continues, transcribing from her letter) *‘ that there are at the present time two contrary religious parties or factions in England, the one of the ‘ Catholics,’ the other of the Protestants; that as for you, you are of the Catholic party; but that you run a good chance, if you do not take care, of being turned out of the Church. In brief, she regards her success in obtaining the Communion in the Anglican Chapel in Paris as the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism.’* Hereupon he proposes to me to go myself also to St Petersburg in the month of August, and to meet his wife there; which I for my part intend, if it please God, to do: and now, in the meantime, I am desirous of making such preparations as I reasonably may or can, and of obtaining such assistances as may be best adapted to enable me to maintain my ground when there; that this controversy may at length be brought to a good end. And so I hope your Lordship will not think the liberty I now take improper, in asking of you the two following things:—

“ I. First, that you would give me some Certificate under your hand, which may be sufficient to satisfy all who see

it, how far you ever intended to admit, as a pass to your Communion, such opinions as the lady in question holds and professes in your name, and in the name of your Church, as the true sense of the Apostles' Creed; and, at the same time, whether you have so far receded from the resolution you formerly declared, as to be willing now to give your Communion knowingly to persons who profess to renounce the Russian Church, in order to come from it as proselytes to the British.

“ II. Secondly, since I am now here myself, and have with me canonical proof that I have been Baptized and Confirmed in the Church of England, (being more particularly connected with the diocese of Oxford); and that I am free from all canonical impediments to prevent my being rightly admitted to Communicate either in the diocese from whence I come, or in other Churches; and since I also profess to believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith as they are contained in the Apostles' Creed, and desire besides to believe them in that true sense in which they have ever been believed and handed down from the beginning both by the British and by the Russian, and by all other Catholic and Apostolic Churches; and since I have above, in this letter, expressed at length upon seven essential points that sense of the Creed and Faith which I have publicly maintained in foreign Churches, and particularly in Russia, as the truth, while others put upon the same Creed a contrary and heretical sense, and gave a testimony to the nature and religion of the British Church contrary to mine,—I ask of your Lordship, and pray you in Christ's name, if you acknowledge me for an orthodox Christian, to give me some public Certificate, which may make it clear to all men, that you acknowledge that sense in which I profess to hold the Creed and Faith of the British Church, and reject that contrary sense in which it is now professed by some in Russia in your name, and in the name of your Church; and that in virtue of this my profession of the faith of the Creed, so explained as I have explained it, you have both received me yourself to your own Communion, and are willing to commend me to be received in like manner by other orthodox Bishops when I go from hence. If it please your Lordship to grant me this

my request, I shall thus have Letters Commendatory from you, which I may exhibit to any other orthodox Bishops into whose dioceses I may come, whether they be Scottish, or Russian, or English; and by offering which, I shall at once satisfy those conditions which the oecumenical canons expressly require in order to Communion, and at the same time shall have the best of all possible testimonies as to the sense in which all, who wish to Communicate with you, must profess and hold the Creed of the British Church. I remain your Lordship's most dutiful and obedient servant in Christ,

“ N. N. (Deacon.) ”

“ Paris, June 23d, being the eve of the Feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist, A.D. 1842.”

SECTION VII.

ANSWER OF BISHOP LUSCOMBE. PRESENT TO BISHOP LUSCOMBE
LETTERS OF ORDERS, AND CERTIFICATE FROM THE DIOCESE
OF OXFORD, AND AM RECEIVED BY HIM TO BE HIS CLERK.

To the above Letter the Bishop returned the same day the following answer, which was dated Paris, the 23d of June 1842 :—

“ MY DEAR SIR,—You wish me to certify whether I can allow that any such sense may be attached to the Creed of our Church as you say has been attached to it by Mde. A. You also ask if I have receded from my former determination, not to receive any member of the Russian or any other orthodox Church to the Communion as a *convert*, or on any other principle than that of intercommunion.

“ As the best reply to both these questions, I send you a copy of a letter which I addressed to Mde. A. in the month of May last, and which you have requested to see. [See above at p. 4 for the letter, which however in the copy inclosed to me was dated April 23-25.]

“ With respect to your other request for formal Letters Commendatory; and that I would acknowledge as true and orthodox that sense of the English Creed which you have expressed in your Letter to me; and that I would admit you to Communion in virtue of your so holding it; I assure you that I will give you such Letters, on your exhibiting to me formal proof (as I have no doubt you can) that you are free from all canonical censure, and in Communion with the Bishop of the diocese from whence you last came. I remain &c. &c., M. H. LUSCOMBE, Bishop, &c.”

*A Postscript, which the Bishop, in giving me his Answer, told me I might
tear off or suppress, if I pleased.*

“ Ps.—I cannot but think that your profession, ‘as a member of the Church of England, to allow and use the word Sacrament, or Mystery, of all Sacraments, to which the Russian Church or the antient Fathers have

been used to apply it,' may be misunderstood. You make a distinction indeed, and speak of 'the two great Sacraments;' but Article XXV of our Church is more clear and decisive; 'There are *two* Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Those five, commonly called Sacraments, . . . are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed by the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained by God.' I know that some of the Fathers and our Homilies give the name of Sacraments to them all; but we should rather keep to the definition given in the Article of our Church.—M. H. L."

Reply to the above Letter and Postscript.

"MY LORD,—I thank your Lordship very humbly for the kindness and condescension with which you have acceded to my request, as well in communicating to me a copy of your letter to Mde. A., as in promising me those Letters Commendatory which I desire for myself.

"With reference to the postscript to your letter, I am myself quite sensible that my profession respecting the use of the word 'sacrament,' if made without full explanations in England, and perhaps even if made with ever so full explanations, would have been liable to be misunderstood: but I would beg leave to remind your Lordship that it was made in Russia to the authorities and members of a Church which has at least as good a right to enforce the reception of the primitive phraseology, as popular opinion in England can have for rejecting it. And besides, as to the matter of fact, I conceive your Lordship does not mean to deny that I asserted only the truth. That the language of Article XXV is quite consistent with a rejection of the more extended use of the word 'sacrament,' and especially of its application to the Five, so 'commonly called,' I readily admit: but that no such rejection is actually and in terms contained in the Article, is evident, I think, from the mere grammatical construction. Even if it were otherwise, we should still be in the dilemma of having either to set aside the authority of the Prayer-Book, (in the Marriage Service,) and of the Homily, which treats expressly of this subject of Sacraments, (both of which are expressly approved by the Articles themselves,) or else to reject the Article. But, in truth, no such difficulty exists. The Article says, 'There are two ordained of Christ in the Gospel.' The other five . . . 'are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Gospel, for that they have not *like* nature of Sacraments, *inasmuch* as they have no visible sign ordained of God.' The Catechism says, 'Two only, *as generally necessary*;' and not with this limitation only, but with a second, '*as generally necessary to salvation*.' On the other hand, in the Order for Matrimony, the Church herself in prayer to God says of Marriage, that He 'has consecrated it to such an excellent Mystery' or Sacrament. And the Homilies, as your Lordship observes, in several places call the others by the name. Indeed, Article XXV is by no means the only one where an erroneous sense, which else might easily have been inferred, is obviated and fenced off by that reference to, or approbation of, the Homilies which they contain. Such is also Article XI, which might be misunderstood to bring in a 'Justification by faith only' independent of the Sacraments,

if it were not for the express reference by which that Article sends us to the Homily on Salvation, not to correct, but to develop and explain its true meaning: And there we read, that to be ‘Baptized, or *Justified*’ by *faith only*, (as we are truly said to be in our Baptism), is one and the same thing.

“If your Lordship will allow me, I will avail myself of your permission so far, as to leave out the postscript in any use I may have to make of your letter in Russia, where there is no danger of my profession concerning the use of the word Sacrament being misunderstood; but I will retain it for any use I may have to make of the same in England, in order to obviate, (at least so far as your Lordship is concerned) any such misunderstanding as you anticipate.

“I beg to inclose to your Lordship those Certificates, upon the receipt of which you promise to give me Letters Commendatory.”

Copy of the Letters of Orders.

‘By the tenor of these presents, we, Richard, by Divine permission Bishop of Oxford, do make it known unto all men, that on Sunday the 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1836, we, the Bishop before-mentioned, solemnly administering holy Orders under the protection of the Almighty, in our Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford, did admit our beloved in Christ, N. N., M. A. of Magdalene College, Oxford, of whose virtuous and pious life, conversation, and competent learning and knowledge in the Holy Scriptures we were well assured, into the holy Order of Deacons, according to the manner and form prescribed and used by the Church of England, and him the said N. N. did then and there rightly and canonically ordain Deacon, he having first in our presence freely and voluntarily subscribed to the XXXIX Articles of Religion and to the Three Articles contained in the Thirty-Sixth Canon, and he likewise having taken the oaths of Supremacy. In testimony whereof, we have caused our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed, the day and year above written, and the eighth year of our consecration. ‘R. ⊕ OXFORD.’

Copy of Certificate of Communion in the Diocese of Oxford.

‘I, N. N., Rector, with cure of souls, &c.’ [as above, Section II. p. 9; and countersigned] ‘R. OXFORD.’

“While I inclose these Certificates, I think it may be as well to remind your Lordship of what I have once already mentioned, namely, that previously to making my application to your Lordship, I had offered myself to the Communion of the Archbishop of Paris, and requested from his Grand-Vicaire, a certificate to that effect; and so I remain, &c. &c.”

This letter I took myself to the Bishop ; and delivered it into his hands, with the Letters of Orders and the Certificate of Communion which it contained.

After having read it, he repeated to me his offer to tear off or drop the postscript of his own letter, saying “ that he attached no importance to it ; that he well knew there are both explanations and changes in such verbal questions, which we may make, and ought to make on proper occasion ; and that he had thought only of what our own people were at present used to.” At the same time, he desired me to draw up in Latin a form of such Letters Commendatory as I wished him to give me, saying, that then he could revise and alter it to suit his own mind. The Letters themselves, in that form in which they were eventually given me by Bishop Luscombe, under his hand and seal, are subjoined in the next Section.

SECTION VIII.

LETTERS COMMENDATORY GIVEN BY BISHOP LUSCOMBE.

“ To all Orthodox and Catholic Bishops to whom these Letters may come, greeting in the Lord :

“ WE, Matthew, Bishop of the Scots, English, and others of British origin resident in France, commend to you the Deacon N. N., who came hither to us with canonical certificates, professing our orthodox faith according to the true sense of the Apostolic Creed, and who, in virtue of that same profession has been received by us to our Communion. We now ask all other Bishops of orthodox Churches, who confess the Apostolic Creed in the same sense with ourselves, that they will also, each in his own diocese, admit him to Communion in like manner.

“ And for ourselves, indeed, it might perhaps have seemed a sufficient security in giving our Communion to any one, to have assured ourselves previously that he came from an orthodox Church ; had been Baptized and Confirmed ; was free from all canonical impediments ; and professed simply the faith contained in the Apostolic Creed. But it has reached our ears that some persons, after having come hither from orthodox Churches, and obtained the Communion from us, without any further enquiry, upon the bare profes-

sion of the Apostles' Creed, have afterwards shewn themselves to be maintainers of heterodoxy. For, while they professed to hold the faith of the British Church, and held it indeed so far as the words and letter of the Creed may go, they still put upon it a sense and interpretation altogether contrary to the Catholic religion. And this they not only maintained themselves, but also publicly imputed to us and to the British Churches, to the scandal of our own people and of foreigners. This calumnious misrepresentation they seemed to rest chiefly upon the two following arguments; *first*, That they found the English commonly to hold the same, or very similar opinions; and then, *secondly*, That they themselves, though they made no secret of the sense in which they held the Creed, and though they even professed to have quitted other Churches, and to have taken refuge as proselytes in ours, as offering greater license for such opinions, had nevertheless succeeded in obtaining our Communion; as if we felt that we had no right nor power to refuse them.

“Wherefore, that all doubt on this point may be taken away, and that it may be more plainly known in what sense we are willing to receive the profession of the Creed as a sufficient qualification and pass to Communion, and what interpretation of it, on the contrary, we reject as heretical, we have thought proper to append to these Letters Commendatory another Letter addressed to us by the Deacon to whom they are given; in which last the cause of his desiring to obtain from us these Letters is set forth, together with those two contrary interpretations of the Creed, which are now both at once and equally imputed to us and to the British Churches by different parties, who have obtained our Communion.

“And as for the one of these two interpretations, which we judge to be heretical, if there are any Bishops or Clergy anywhere (which we are unwilling to suppose) capable of favouring or maintaining it, to such we by no means commend any going from us, nor are we willing to communicate with them ourselves: But for all such as desire to maintain the same sense of the Creed which we maintain, that sense which the Catholic Fathers and antient Bishops have handed down, and which not only the Scottish or the

English, but the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church of God has ever professed from the beginning,—with all such Bishops, in whatever quarter of the world they may be, we are desirous of uniting ourselves in the bond of charity; and to all such we commend our Deacon, the bearer of these Letters, that he may be received by them to Communion in the same manner as he has been received by us, according to the like faith and charity, which is common to us all. Farewell in the Lord.” [Signed]

“† MATTHEW, Bishop of the Scots, English, &c. resident in France.” [with the Seal of the Bishop appended, and the date,] “Paris, the Feast of St Peter the Apostle, A. D. 1842.”

[*Here follows the Letter appended by the Bishop to his own Letters Commendatory.*]

“My Lord Bishop,—Your Lordship knows already, &c.” [as above, Section VI. p. 14 to p. 33.]

SECTION IX.

EXPLANATIONS CONCERNING THE FORM OF THE ABOVE LETTERS.

THE Letters Commendatory of Bishop Luscombe were addressed generally ‘to all orthodox Bishops,’ and not directly to the Russian Synod, for two reasons; first, that they might be capable of being used against the acts and pretensions of the lady *within the Anglican Communion itself*, no less than in the Russian Church, if she should change her intention of returning to St Petersburg, or persevere in her former conduct; and secondly, because it was anticipated that in the event of their being presented to the Russian Synod, they would be objected against and set aside *as coming only from a single Bishop, and needing, under present circumstances and appearances, the support of his colleagues, or of a Synod*. Indeed, it seemed reasonable to expect, that Bishop Luscombe, if he were doing right in disowning such proselytes as the lady, should be able to shew clearly that he had the support and concurrence of his colleagues of the Anglican Communion, before he attempted to vindicate his and their religion in the eyes of the Eastern Church. For this reason it was agreed, that before going to Russia, I should proceed, in the first instance, into Scotland; and make known the case to the Scottish Bishops; seeking from them individually, as diocesan Bishops, to be received and passed on in virtue of Bishop Luscombe’s Letters, and in virtue of their own recognition of that faith which he desired to defend, and of their disavowal of those heresies which he desired to disavow. Even if the Heads of the English Established Church had been uncommitted, either by the Jerusalem Bishopric, or by previous communications relating to this same controversy with the lady, while the matter was at an earlier stage, and she herself at Geneva, it would still have been to the Scottish Bishops that

Bishop Luscombe must naturally have looked, in the first instance, for support. If he had applied elsewhere, whether in England or in America, in the first instance, it would have been a fair technical objection, that his reference lay rather to the Bishops of that Church which had consecrated and sent him, and of which he was the Missionary Bishop. At the same time, as it was uncertain as yet what might be the dispositions and conduct of the lady at St Petersburg, and what use, if any, it might be necessary to make there of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, it did not seem necessary to him to make any direct or formal application to the Episcopal Synod in Scotland. The general inscription of his Letters "To all orthodox Bishops," and his general recommendation of myself, without naming either the Scottish or the Russian Churches, gave both me and him, through me, free scope to pursue our object in the strictest canonical form in either country, or in both, according to circumstances; without risking, on the one hand, the disadvantage of a Synodical refusal of co-operation from his own Scottish brethren, in the first instance; or committing himself, even as an individual Bishop, on the other hand, to more than a presumptive recognition of the orthodoxy of the Russian Church.

The Bishop related to me at length the circumstances of his own consecration, regretting much *that Bishop Jolly was not still living*, but assuring himself that I should meet with the most favourable dispositions in one at least of the present Bishops, the sole survivor of the three who were his own Consecrators, of whom he spoke often, and with the most affectionate regard and esteem. He had no doubt too, he said, that I should find the rest quite ready to do the part of orthodox and Christian Bishops, though he had not the same personal knowledge of them. He gave me, at parting, on Wednesday night, June 29th, a note of introduction to the present Primus, Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, who was ordained Deacon and Priest many years ago by my father's uncle, Bishop Horsley, after the repeal of the penal Statutes. Lastly, the Bishop desired me to let him know the result of my voyage to Scotland; and afterwards, when I should be at St Petersburg, to be very careful of the feelings and interests of the lady and her family; and to do nothing publicly against her, if she would consent to make him such acknowledgments for the past, or give him such assurances as to her conduct for the future, as he might reasonably expect of her, and such as a care for the credit and integrity of our religion made it his duty to require.

This may be the proper place to observe, that after having once been received by Bishop Luscombe as his Clerk, and having become his spiritual son, I never, from that time to his decease, undertook any clerical duty, or did any other formal act, by which it could be argued that I had either returned to my original connexion with the diocese of Oxford, or had contracted a fresh connexion with any other diocese or bishop. Although generally absent, with Bishop Luscombe's knowledge and consent, for his service and that of the Church, I returned to him from time to time; confessed myself to him; received the Communion at his hands; and assisted him as his deacon, by bringing to him the oblations in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

The day, June 29, on which Bishop Luscombe gave me his Letters, and on which he was expressing his regret that Bishop Jolly was not still living, was in fact the anniversary of Bishop Jolly's decease in 1838; as June 24 had been that of his consecration to the Episcopate in 1796.

SECTION X.

LETTER (WITH INCLOSURES) TO MR A.

BEFORE leaving Paris I wrote the following letter to Mr A., which I sent afterwards from London, inclosing in it a copy of that letter to his wife, which he had desired to see, [*“la lettre affreuse :”* See above Intr. Part IV.] and also that other letter, which I had carried myself to her lodgings on the same day that she left Paris. [See above, Section v. p. 12 to p. 14.] The present letter was dated June 29, 1842.

“MY DEAR MR A.—I begin this letter from Paris, though I shall probably take it with me and send it from London, to give you some account of what I have been doing here. I wrote to you just before I left Oxford, and just after I had received a long letter from you. When I came here, I sent your wife two small pamphlets with my card, that she might know I was here ; but did not ask to see her, as I supposed she would only think it an annoyance.

“Upon my seeing the Bishop, our Chaplain, he told me that Mde. A. had applied to him for a certificate of her having been admitted to the Holy Communion, which he would have given her, as supposing that she had really accepted his conditions, or, at least, as having no necessary reason for shewing that he suspected her orthodoxy, if she had not particularly requested at the same time that he would not state in the certificate, that he had admitted her to Communion as a member of the Russian Church, and on the principle of Intercommunion. Upon this he declined giving her the certificate which she desired to have ; and wrote a letter to her, a copy of which he gave me. I had read to him the account you gave me in your letter of the construction put by your wife upon his admission of her to the Communion ; and he requested me, as the best answer to that, and in vindication of himself, to transmit a copy of his letter to you. I now accordingly send you a copy of the Bishop’s Letter, together with this. He at the same time advised your wife to make herself more thoroughly acquainted with the real doctrine of the Russian Church, before she talked of leaving it ; and lent her a volume containing some extracts from the Metropolitan Platon’s ‘Summary of Christian Divinity,’ which he intended her to read and return to him again, [*“Mde. A. sent it afterwards to the Bishop by a French physician.”* Note by herself in 1848.] He also sent her a volume of Sermons, preached by himself in Paris, and translated into French ; in which Sermons there are some expressions which I cannot defend, and which, I dare say, your wife will try to make the most of. She will however learn, if she ever becomes disposed to attend reasonably to the subject, that our English Clergy, even when they are orthodox in intention, often use language which requires explanation, and which will easily bear two senses. In the present instance, I have in my own possession abundant proof that the Bishop, who is our Chaplain at Paris, does not intend to teach or allow any of those opinions contrary to the Faith of the Russian or Eastern Church, which she may think she can find in his published Sermons.

“When I had learned these particulars, and received from the Bishop

a copy of his letter to Mde. A., together with the promise of another document to be given to myself personally (of which I will say no more now), it seemed to me that the acts and opinions of your wife, as an individual, (she being also on the point of returning to Russia), could no longer, in any way, appear to implicate¹ the Anglican Church, or the Bishop, who is our Chaplain at Paris. I do not say that the character of the Anglican Church for orthodoxy has been as yet satisfactorily made out to *your* apprehension : on the contrary, I admit that you may well have much to say against it, till many seeming difficulties and contradictions are cleared up : but I did not think that your wife could any longer say that 'she was now a member of the Anglican Church, duly and validly admitted upon Protestant principles by a Bishop, while renouncing the Russian Church,' without being very easily and sufficiently refuted. Indeed she seems herself to have felt as much, when she alluded in her letter to you (though without explaining what had taken place) to her own failure in the attempt to procure such a certificate as she desired, a certificate which, no doubt, she meant to use at St Petersburg, in order to shew that she had really become a member of the Anglican Church. So far then as the character of the Anglican Church had been implicated by her previous acts and opinions, I considered that I had no longer any reasonable ground for pretending to interfere with her. I therefore resolved to call once upon her, merely as an ordinary acquaintance, before I left Paris, and try, if I could, to remove the offence which my former letter from Oxford had given her. As however I had learned both from Mr O. and from the Chaplain, as well as from yourself, that she was really very angry with me, and so thought it probable she might refuse to see me, I wrote her a letter which I meant to let her have the day before I intended calling upon her : but on enquiring, I found that she had left Paris that very same day. I therefore send the same letter for her now, together with this ; and suppose that she will have no objection to your reading it. If I can get back to Oxford in time for the next courier, you shall have the '*Lettre affreuse*,' which offended her, at the same time.

"Now, with respect to the chance of effecting any change in her opinions, I will tell you first what the Russian Chaplain at Paris said to me. He said, 'I should not wonder if she came round again to the Russian Church, when she finds herself at St Petersburg, if they leave her to herself, and do not teaze her, nor do any thing unnecessarily to irritate her.' You tell me yourself that she regards you as her persecutor, and me as your accomplice. As for me, I told her all along that *my chief* reason for being so zealous to 'persecute' her was not so much to help you, as to vindicate the Anglican Church against the heterodoxy which she professed in its name. I think that I have now nothing more to do on that ground : and the letter which I meant to have sent her in Paris, and which I now send through you, will shew that I did not wish to give her any unnecessary offence. Now, then, my advice to you, if you think my advice worth having, is this, Treat her with the utmost kindness and forbearance ; seek no discussion with her on religious subjects ; but rather leave her to herself and to her own opinions : occupy yourself and your daughters in the meantime seriously with the study and prac-

¹ At the time I wrote this, I was in total ignorance of her journey to London.

tice of religion : if your wife ever causes any conversation on the subject, or offers to join in any in which you may be engaged, never oppose her more than is absolutely necessary ; and even when you oppose her, try to do it, if you can, without seeming to oppose : always begin by admitting all the truth which there may be in what she says ; and then, as gently as possible, add or take away what may be necessary. As for me, if you can find any thing to blame, and I dare say you may, in my letter to her which she calls ‘affreuse,’ do not on any account apologize for me, or defend me ; but rather sympathize with her as far as ever you can, and join in blaming me ; and point out to her that our *conspiracy* to ‘persecute’ her was in fact quite accidental ; and that I had my own object in view, quite distinct from your’s ; namely, to defend, if I could, my view or theory about the English Church, (a view which very likely you may agree with her in thinking somewhat difficult to be defended after all) ; and so, that if my zeal in this behalf carried me into any excess, you were no party to that, and ought not to be blamed by her as if you had instigated me to it. Then, as for the cause itself which excited my zeal to ‘persecute’ her, although she cannot now, I think, make good her claim to be considered as a member of the Anglican Church, admitted to its Communion as a convert from the Russian Orthodox or Catholic Religion to Protestantism, still there is a good deal to be said for her view of the question : and perhaps, if you were rather to join her to a certain extent in her view of the Anglican Church, and were to give their full weight to all her objections and arguments, to prove an essential difference between it and the Russian Church, throwing it upon me to explain the difficulties which may be objected by her to my pretensions, and which may well seem to yourself to have some weight, she might gradually come to regard her husband less as a persecutor, and might become seriously interested in the subject, and so pass from enquiring what is the real character and doctrine of the Anglican Church, to enquire what is *true* and pious and holy *in itself*. I said in my last letter that I will come to St Petersburg in August, if you still desire it ; and so I will, D. V. In the meantime I will try to procure some aid towards proving clearly the real doctrine of the Church of which I am a member ; and I shall be anxious to learn the precise terms in which the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London may answer your letter.

“ I never sent you the Bishop of London’s answer to the application I made to him in your behalf last year ; though I sent you a copy of my letter to him to Vienna. You must not be surprised if you now get an unsatisfactory answer : but if this should be the case, I think it will be worth your while to confer with me before making any second application or reply. You will easily understand me when I say, that if the Anglican Church really holds that doctrine and religion which I pretend she does, it cannot be easy for her Bishops to assert the *direct contrary* to the truth *in set terms* ; nor to avoid confessing the truth, if the question be only put to them in such a way as to preclude the use of those equivocal expressions, by which chiefly, after our sins, the lamentable divisions of Christendom are maintained. I do not pretend to conceal from you my apprehensions, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London will probably be as Protestant *in words* as ever they can. *The Church* is in itself Catholic : but the political spirit which rules her outwardly at present is decidedly Protestant ; though of course that Protestantism is very

much mitigated, and neutralized, and limited, by the existence of the true Church and the true Faith underneath it ; and so is confined to the accidents and surface rather than the substance of religion ; to secondary points rather than primary ; and to words rather than things : Still the practical spirit is Protestant in sympathy and language and act, so far as the nature of the Church allows it to be so. I will give you one example to shew what I mean, when I say, that an unsatisfactory answer (should you receive one) may be after all only apparently Protestant ; and that it will be of great importance that you should confer with one who knows exactly how much depends upon mere phraseology in the English Church. Suppose the Bishop of London were to say, ‘ There is an essential difference (in Faith) between the English and the Russian Churches : for the first of the two rejects the ‘ *worship* ’ of ‘ images ’ as idolatry : the second, on the contrary, anathematizes as heretics all who will not ‘ *worship* ’ them. Here the word ‘ *worship* ’ is in fact equivocal. If this equivocal use of the word were carefully guarded against, and you were to put the question thus :—‘ I anathematize, and the Russian Church anathematizes *that* ‘ *worship* ’ of images, which the English Church ‘ rejects as idolatry,’ namely, the giving to them of any portion of God’s honour ; but, I ask, Does the English Church teach that *no honour* is due to the pictures of our Lord or His Saints ? or that to kiss the picture of a Saint, *in order to express such reverence or affection as is due to a Saint*, is idolatry, while to kiss the picture of one’s father, or mother, or sovereign, *in order to express such reverence or affection as is due to one’s father, or mother, or sovereign*, is *not* idolatry ? ’ If, I say, the question were put in this second way, the equivocal use of the word ‘ *worship* ’ could no longer serve to make the Protestantism of private opinion or prejudice pass off for the doctrine of the Church. You will say ‘ It is a humiliating thing to confess that your Church is in such a state : ’ So it is indeed ; but there is no use in denying what cannot be concealed : our business, and the business of charity on either side, is to discriminate, if possible, between the evil which lies upon the surface, and the good which exists nevertheless within ; between what an English Bishop can say and do as Bishop, and what he *may seem to wish to say or do* as an individual, from sharing the prejudices of the age and country in which he lives ; between the true doctrine of the Russian Church, and the gross notions of a child or peasant, who may call every little print it sees in turning over the pages of a book ‘ *Bojinka !* ’ But I must conclude this letter.” . . .

SECTION XI.

GO FROM BISHOP LUSCOMBE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO SCOTLAND ; AND SEE THREE OF THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS AT ABERDEEN.

ON the morning of Friday, July 8, I reached Dundee, in Scotland, by a steamer from London ; and went on the following night to Aberdeen, where there was to be early in the approaching week a meeting of the Clergy on account of a charitable trust ; and two other Bishops besides the Primus were expected to be present. My relative Mr Horsley, then Dean of Brechin, whom I had seen at Dundee, had written a note

in consequence to the Primus, after particularly questioning me as to whether I had taken *any written certificate* from my original diocese in England, when I became Bishop Luscombe's Clerk. I presented Bishop Luscombe's private note of introduction to the Primus ; and on Tuesday, July 12, read aloud in English to him, and to the Bishops of Brechin and Edinburgh, Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory, and my own Letter, as appended to them ; and explained the reasons for which I came seeking the support of their recognition and Communion in virtue of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, before proceeding with the same Letters to Russia. On Thursday, July 14, I had a second interview with the same three Bishops ; and made my formal application to the Primus first, as to a Diocesan Bishop, presenting to him Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory in the original Latin document, as authenticated under the Bishop's hand and seal, and at the same time a short note, also in Latin, from myself. The following is a translation :—

“ To the Right Reverend Lord and Father in Christ, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Primus of the Bishops of Scotland :—

“ MY LORD BISHOP,—I come to your Fatherhood with Letters Commendatory from the Right Reverend Father in Christ Matthew, a Bishop consecrated by the Bishops of Scotland ; and I most humbly ask, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be received by your Fatherhood and commended to other orthodox Bishops, in like manner as I am now commended to you by the Right Reverend Bishop Matthew. I remain your Fatherhood's most humble and obedient servant in Christ,

ABERDEEN, July 9th, 1842.

“ N. N. (Deacon).”

[A Form of such acceptance and of such support to Bishop Luscombe's Letters, as was sought for by me in Scotland :—

“ We, N. by the Grace of God, Bishop of the Church of N. commend to all orthodox Bishops the Deacon N. N. in like manner as he has been commended to us by the Letters of our Right Reverend Brother Matthew, a missionary Bishop of our Scottish Church. Given at N. this 14th day of July, A.D. 1842.

[Signed] “ N. BISHOP, &c.”]

This should have been appended below Bishop Luscombe's own seal and signature, and followed by the same form repeated over again for every Bishop, who was willing so to add his support.

After I had thus made my application, and presented the written documents and note above-mentioned to the Primus, I obtained permission from the other two Bishops to make the same application to them also, as if I had been actually within their dioceses, and seeking there to be received by them to Communion. What passed further in conversation the Bishops desired me to consider private ; but the answer of all three to my application was this, “ that it was passed over in silence.” *Bishop Luscombe, I was told, might be doing very right ; but it would be time enough to seek for further support to his declarations, when their sufficiency should have been actually called in question in Russia ; and that then it would be rather matter for a Synod ; whereas they who were now present were not met in Synod, but answered me only as individual and Diocesan Bishops.*

Having thus seen three of the Scottish Bishops, who, having the Primus among them, were together a majority of the whole Episcopal

College, I thought it needless or improper to proceed further in Scotland, or to wait upon the three other Bishops of the dioceses of St Andrews, Ross, and Glasgow, who were not present with their colleagues at the meeting at Aberdeen. I therefore returned on Thursday, July 14, into England; intending to print some copies of Bishop Luscombe's Letters to take with me, and so to proceed without loss of time to Russia.

SECTION XII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE LATE DEAN HORSLEY.

IN the meantime, on the 22d of July, (being then engaged in printing copies of Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory to take to Russia,) I received a letter from my late relative Mr Horsley, the Dean of Brechin, of which the following is a portion: (it was dated from Dundee, July the 18th, 1842) :—

“ On Friday morning there came to me here the Bishop of Edinburgh. He remained with me several hours. I found he had come round by Dundee for the express purpose of talking with me on what had passed at Aberdeen. He seemed particularly desirous to impress my mind with the conviction, that the reluctance of the Scotch Bishops to take any decisive steps in the matter, on which you had consulted them, did not arise from any improper fear of, or deference to the English Hierarchy, but from want of sufficient time to deliberate on the momentous points submitted to their consideration. This deliberation he and his Right Rev. colleagues think the more necessary, not so much on account of what may be the sentiments and feelings at Lambeth and Fulham, but on account of how interference on the part of their spiritual rulers, in regard to an express declaration of intercommunion with the Greek Church, may be received by *our own laity*; the public mind with them having scarcely attained as yet so decided a tendency towards Catholicity, as to render it probable that they would bear the declaration without being thrown into a ferment, and perhaps starting off into a wilder excess of Protestantism. This, too, is the more likely from the evil communications with which the Church in this quarter of the island is beset, and the horribly low Genevan atmosphere by which she is oppressed, and in which she can scarcely do more than vegetate. The time does not seem yet come when she may put herself forth prominently with advantage to the cause of Catholicity, and when her example may have a beneficial effect upon her established sister. I am very sanguine in my expectations that such a time will come, and that it is not very distant; for I cannot bring myself to think that the providence of God has conducted the Scotch Church through troubles and persecutions not much inferior to those of primitive times, and preserved her her succession, for no higher purpose than to say Amen to the deeds and acts of a Parliamentary religious establishment, and thus to render her a servant of servants: but I believe her to be intended for much more extended and general good Although I believe that, on due deliberation, I should be satisfied of the propriety of declaring intercommunion with the Greek Church, yet in one point I agree with the three Prelates with whom you had the interview; that it is a subject that demands serious deliberation and close

investigation, and *that by a Synod assembled expressly for the purpose ; a Synod of both Chambers ;* because the measure is one that, in my opinion, requires the fullest legislative sanction of the Church. You will say to this, probably, that is no *new* measure ; that there existed of old intercommunion between the two bodies, of the [canonical] interruption of which no evidence exists. Well : be it so : still, so many centuries have rolled away, and so many changes in one of the bodies at least, and perhaps in the usages and practices of both, have taken place in the lapse of time, that even a declaration of the *continuance* of intercommunion should be the authoritative act of the Churches : and that authority on our part can in no other way be conferred but by a *general Synod*. At such a Synod the statements of doctrine under seven Heads, as drawn up by you and identified with the doctrine inculcated in the Creeds, would come under consideration : and I hesitate not to say, that before I could give an unqualified assent to all the details of your statement, I should require to be better informed therewith, than I can at present be supposed to be from merely having heard the document read once. Now this plea, the plea, I mean, of not having had sufficient time to make up their minds on the subject you brought before them, is the one the Bishops most strongly press for declining to do any thing at all therein. . . .

“ If this reaches you before your departure, could you get your seven Heads copied out, and send me them ? ” . . .

Reply to the above, sent July the 27th.

. . . . “ I quite enter into all the views and feelings which you express in relation to my business : and *if* the Bishops, as you lead me to trust may be the case, desire only time and full information, and will be ready to act when they have had it, I can desire nothing better ; and feel confident that it must lead to a good result. It did not seem to me that it was my business to be the first to suggest, that what I had professed, as a matter of course, as our religion, and what the Bishop, from whom I came, identified with the true sense of the Creed, was any thing else than obvious truth ; nor that the propositions, which he and I rejected as heresy, were any thing else than obvious error : nor, again, that those opinions on certain secondary points, which he had approved, were in danger of being disallowed as impeding my admission to their Communion by the Scotch Bishops : but still, if there be any thing either in Bishop Luscombe’s Letters, or in my statements appended to them, which seems questionable or new, or if there be any thing in the circumstances of the Scotch Church, or in its relations to other Churches, which makes circumspection and deliberation advisable, I am the last person to be impatient. The whole matter has come to me, and upon me, of itself ; without my anticipating or seeking it ; and it is, properly speaking, none of mine : my only desire is to do what seems right for me to do in it myself according to my own views, and at the same time to do justice as far as possible to the views of others. Whether M^de. A.’s claims and representations with regard to the British Communion and Religion are to be ultimately approved, or mine ; whether mine or hers are to be ultimately rejected ; or both are to be equally tolerated ; or it shall appear that there is no authority in our Communion capable or willing to decide such questions when moved ; these are questions now for the Church herself and her authorities to settle : my business is only to bring the matter before them by

means of Bishop Luscombe's Letters ; and to afford them any information which they may seek, or which it may be in my power to offer.

" I will now proceed, if you will allow me, to make some observations on the contents of your letter, chiefly for the sake of pointing out some distinctions, which should, I think, be carefully kept in view, but which the evident public bearing of the matter in question has a strong tendency to make one overlook.

" First, I would observe, that though I on my private responsibility supposed our religion to be essentially one with that of the Russian Church, and sought its Communion, and though it appears from allusions in my Letter to Bishop Luscombe, that he agrees with me in this opinion, yet this is a point which is in no wise directly involved in the acceptance or rejection of Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory by any other Bishop : nor, on the other hand, though Mde. A. supposed the contrary, and Bishop Luscombe appears from my Letter to him to have disagreed with her, would the acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory at all pledge the Bishop accepting them to deny the truth of the lady's opinion in itself ; but only it would pledge him to deny certain specified propositions, which, as I assert, she makes the ground for that opinion.

" Nor, secondly, in point of fact, would the public synodical acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters be at all equivalent to a declaration of intercommunion, or continuance of intercommunion, even so far as the wishes of our own Church are concerned, with the Eastern Catholic Church : for it does not follow that my opinion about its doctrines is correct ; nor that all the points on which doubts or difficulties might be raised are treated of in my Letter to Bishop Luscombe. The contrary is the case.

" What really would follow from the acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters in reference to the public question of peace or war between the two Churches is merely this : The faith alleged by me under seven Heads (whether truly or falsely) to be common to the two Churches, would have been owned by a synod of one of these Churches ; while the contrary heresies on the same seven Heads, professed by Mde. A. in the name of the British or Anglican Church as contrary to the Russian, would have been disowned and condemned by a synod of British Bishops : And further, with respect to certain other secondary points, it would appear, that my opinions, which I assert (whether rightly or wrongly) to harmonise at once with the doctrine of the Russian and of the British Churches, are in nowise incompatible with the Communion of the Scottish Bishops. This, I fully admit, would be a very great step, and a preparation for the restoration of intercommunion : it would remove many most serious prejudices existing against our Churches at present ; and would give a broad common ground, on which to treat at any future time : but it would not at present so much as open the question.

" What would follow from the acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters with respect to the question of doctrine, in itself the only question really brought by those Letters before any other Bishop to whom they may be presented (whether he be English, French, American, Scotch, Roman, or Russian) would be this, that the Bishop accepting them would thereby have acknowledged the statements on seven points of Faith to be orthodox ; and would have rejected the contrary statements on the same points as heretical ; while he would also have shewn that he regarded the opinions

expressed on three other points of discipline and usage, and generally the other opinions expressed in my Letter to Bishop Luscombe, as, to say the least, constituting no impediment to his giving me his Communion.

"It seemed to Bishop Luscombe, when I was leaving him, that he had good reason to specify in those Letters which he gave me to all orthodox Bishops, what sense or interpretation of the Creed, on seven points, he had recognized in me as orthodox, and as entitling me to his Communion, and what contrary sense or interpretation he could not recognize as compatible with his Communion. Accordingly, he recommended me by his Letters to all Bishops of the same religion with himself, (whether Scotch, English, or Russian,) *i. e.* to all, who (presuming them otherwise to agree) should own the same faith which he owns, and reject the same heresies which he rejects. To such, therefore, as I suppose to be of the same religion, whether in Scotland, or England, or Russia, I present his Letters. If they are indeed such, and receive me, I ask them to pass me on, when I leave them, by countersigning the same Letters which I brought, or giving me other similar Letters from themselves, to other dioceses. If they are not such, I neither seek, nor would accept of Communion from them, (unless, indeed, they were to convince me, or Bishop Luscombe from whom I come, of any involuntary error in the expression of our Faith.) If they are not prepared at once to acknowledge publicly the religion of the Bishop whose Letters I bear, I will wait readily till such time as they have sufficiently examined those statements of doctrine with which he has connected his Communion, and the occasion which he may be able to allege for returning to the canonical practice of giving Letters Communicatory, instead of leaving me to take or accept 'passive Communion,' as is now the common practice among us, in such Churches as I come to.

"This I conceive to be the full and entire sense of my application to any diocesan Bishop; as when I applied lately to the Primus of the Scottish Church at Aberdeen, and after him, (as I accidentally met them there,) to the Bishops of Brechin and Edinburgh, they permitting me to make the application to them as if they had been in their own dioceses. I should not have thought myself justified in presenting Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory in the first instance to a Synod of the Bishops of a whole Church, because, as an individual, I have an ordinary and canonical right to address the diocesan Bishop, wherever I may be, in order to obtain from him the Communion: and the canons and theory of the whole Church require me, if I act in strict form, to bring Letters Communicatory from the Bishop from whom I come; and require him to receive or reject them; and even to examine the bearer personally as to the orthodoxy of his faith: but I have no such right, as an individual, to claim audience of a Synod in the first instance; or to seek the Communion from more Bishops than one at once: And this view of the matter came to me the more naturally, because I did not conceive any public question to be actually or immediately involved in the act of any particular diocesan Bishop giving or refusing me the Communion; nor any new or undecided question of doctrine to be raised by Bishop Luscombe's Letters. Now, however, that the Primus and two other Bishops have declined either to acknowledge or reject me, at least without further consideration, in their capacity of individual Bishops; and have further expressed their opinion that public questions are involved, either directly, or at least indirectly,

in my application, which was so rather matter for a Synod, I have nothing to do but to acquiesce in their judgment, and have now a very sufficient reason for making the application for Communion in virtue of Bishop Luscombe's Letters to the Episcopal Synod, for which there will be another additional and public reason, if, as I expect will be the case, Bishop Luscombe's Letters should be objected to in Russia as needing farther confirmation, before they can be believed to bear a true testimony to the Faith of our Communion.

"I had told Mr C. before I left Aberdeen, that I would send ninety copies of the Letters given me by Bishop Luscombe to Mr F. the bookseller at Aberdeen, to be sent (merely for their information) to the six Bishops and all the Clergy of the Scottish Church. I am now having them printed (in the Latin); and shall not leave for Russia till they are ready to send. I mean also to print the Theological Propositions separately in English, and will send the same number of them, together with the Latin, to Aberdeen to Mr F.

"[As regards] the suggestion you throw out, . . . I have made it my rule in this business, from the beginning, to *follow* circumstances, and not to try to anticipate them; so I will not speculate now on *possibilities*. I will only say, that I do not think the Spiritual Authorities in Russia *can* 'authorize me to make any communication in their name' to the Bishops of our Communion at home. Rather, if I should present Bishop Luscombe's Letters to their Synod, [*i. e.* their Patriarch] as seeking the Communion, they would answer thus:—'If you come merely as an individual, and apply for Communion because you think your Church and the Bishop from whom you come to *be, de jure*, in Communion with us, your business lies in the ordinary course with the diocesan Bishop, and not with the Synod.' If I go to the diocesan Bishop, he will say, 'Your Bishop's Letters are perhaps orthodox, so far as they go, and your own assertion that the Churches are still *de jure* in Communion with one another, may or may not be historically true; but I, as a diocesan Bishop, must act upon those relations which exist *de facto*, till I see very strong reasons for thinking that they ought to be changed; and then I should have to report the case to the Synod. Now our usage is to treat you as Lutherans or Calvinists, or Luther-Calvinists, who have been formally anathematized by our Church, and as differing from us in several essential points of faith. It is true that the Letters you bring from your Bishop at Paris go some way towards giving me a different view of your Church; but the Letters of one bishop, (and those, by the way, not distinctly addressed to us), do not carry with them, under present circumstances, a sufficient presumption that they represent the real doctrine and religion of your Church: You should have brought Letters directly addressed to the Bishops of the Eastern Catholic Church, and distinctly expressing a faith agreeable to ours not on some points only, as now, but on all the points commonly taken for obstacles to intercommunion, if you desired to break through the common practice: and these Letters again, which you should have brought, should have been signed not by one bishop only, but by many bishops, or some of the chief, if you wished fully to convince us that they contained a true representation of the doctrine of your Church. As it is, they seem rather to address themselves to such so-called 'Orthodox and Catholic' bishops as are of the writer's Communion already, and to be intended to vindicate

the faith of the writer to his brethren, and to us too, if you please, against aspersions cast upon it, on seven distinct points, by certain persons, who have surreptitiously obtained his Communion : And even on those seven points, if the Letters are intended to clear the character of your Church (and not only of that individual Bishop) in our eyes, who are not *de facto* of his Communion, I should rather suspect that they do *not* fairly represent your religion : for, if they did, you would not have come here at once to Russia, to Bishops not *de facto* of your Communion, from a Chaplain-Bishop at Paris ; but would first have got his Letters attested and countersigned, or borne out by other similar Letters from some Synod ; or at least from some of the chief Bishops of your Communion ; to whom his Letters are addressed in the first instance, if to any body ; and who would naturally be equally interested with him to clear your Communion in the eyes of foreign Churches, and of the world, from the imputation of tolerating, upon principle, the most pernicious heresies, *if* that imputation were really false.' But in truth I never intended to make Bishop Luscombe's Letters the basis of any attempt to gain actual admittance to the Communion of the Russian Church : I intended only to use them as means for vindicating the Catholic character of the British Churches to a certain extent, upon certain definite points, on which it had come into controversy between Mde. A. and myself, and on which there seemed to be very great danger of her succeeding in gaining credit to her representations, which agreed only too well with the already established popular opinion concerning us.

" Further, I would observe, that all which you and the three Scotch Bishops have said, and said justly, if the matter is to be viewed as a public question, of the necessity of bringing it before an Episcopal *Synod*, is said equally in Russia, both as regards their part of the business and ours : and indeed no testimony of individual Bishops or Archbishops, without some Synodal Act, would appear to them of sufficient authority on our side to be made the basis of any future negotiations ; nor would they *negotiate* or *confer* with any particular Bishop or Archbishop. This is not a mere surmise of my own, but what I had from the Metropolitan of Moscow in writing, in answer to an application to Communicate in his diocese. For he answered me in the same way as the Scotch Bishops, except that they are more apparently one in religion and Communion with a bishop of their own consecration, than the Metropolitan of Moscow is with Dr Routh, or with the Archbishop of Canterbury, (from whom I brought no better a recommendation than my own verbal assurance that he was cognizant of my application) : For instead of confining himself to the claim of Communion as that of an individual, in virtue of coming from a Church never formally excommunicated by the Eastern Catholic Church, he immediately fell to considering the public question of Conferences for the restoration of Intercommunion, as between Churches acknowledged to be divided, and to excommunicate one another. With reference to any such conference, or agreement upon terms, for the restoration of intercommunion, (with which I, as an individual, could have nothing at all to do), he wrote thus ;—'*Hoc certè non est eparchialis juris admittere, sed Synodalis juris decidere.*'

" I have already said, and I repeat, that I have never, from first to last, done, or contemplated doing, anything with a view to any public object, but only in discharge of what seemed to be a mere personal and

individual duty : and whatever public consequences might by possibility flow from the acceptance or rejection of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, those consequences were not contemplated either in my seeking or in his giving his Letters ; nor are they now contemplated by me in presenting them to the Scottish or other Bishops. The immediate object, which is our only object, is to make good Bishop Luscombe's acts and declarations against an individual aggressor : what ulterior and public consequences may be involved, either in the success or in the failure of the attempt, is quite another thing. However, to look off for a moment from personal motives and duty to the public question of intercommunism between the Churches, I may remark, that the Scottish Church is the only Church in our Islands which *could* treat with the Russian or any other Synodically ; unless the civil Government were to permit Synods and Convocations to meet and do business again in England or Ireland : so that, if there were any disposition in Russia to seek for any Synodical act, whether declaratory of the real nature of our religion, or with a view to conferences or communications, the Scottish Synod is the only body to which such application *could*, under present circumstances, be made : so that even if Bishop Luscombe had been consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not by a Scottish Primus ; and even if his Letters had been countersigned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London as his consecrators, still, if any people had started in Russia the objection that this testimony was insufficient ; that thousands of English people, and Priests too, Bishops, and Archbishops, differed from the Archbishop of Canterbury as to the nature of their religion ; that the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Durham and of Norwich, &c., &c., maintained publicly the principle of pure Protestantism ; that the Bishop of Chester denied baptismal regeneration, if it were so ; and the Bishop of Winchester the Real Presence in the Eucharist ; still even in this case, for a Synodical decision, the question must have been carried into Scotland. But this is all wide of my purpose ; and I only throw it out for those who think of the matter with reference to the public question.

"Lastly, there is one more observation which I shall venture to make, respecting that prudential regard for the present state of the laity in Scotland, which, it seems, might possibly lead the Bishops there to act in such a manner as virtually to refuse me the Sacraments, if I went to live in Scotland ; unless I would acquiesce in their ignoring those canonical Letters, in virtue of which I seek the Sacraments ; and would be content to take to myself '*passive Communion*' in the usual uncanonical manner. For my own part, I confess I think that any danger to be apprehended on the part of the laity from the acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters would be much less, than either you or the Scotch Bishops seem to apprehend. In the *first* place, even if your Church declared to-morrow publicly, that she was ready to Communicate with the Russian Church, such as it is, I do not see how that should shock any but the most fanatical '*Evangelicals*,' as they are improperly called ; and of those I believe you have few or none in Scotland : but the lukewarm, worldly, liberal, or latitudinarian Protestants would not be shocked ; and still less '*Protestant-Catholic*' church-people, whom one almost always finds quite ready to admit, as a matter of course, the idea of intercommunion, provided that they are not themselves to be bound to take any share in the '*idolatrous*,' or '*superstitious*,' or '*objectionable*' practices. But as a matter of fact

the acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters would be no declaration at all of intercommunion, as I have said before : it would be merely equivalent to picking out some passages from our Formularies, which all are already bound to believe, and declaring publicly (what everybody ought to know already) that the Bishops would not knowingly or willingly give their Communion to any man, whom they knew either to deny the doctrines in question, or to maintain the contrary errors. If, indeed, your Synod passed a canon that every Communicant should for the future be called upon to subscribe formally all those propositions one by one, and so imposed a new test, it *might* excite opposition from some of the worst-disposed or most Protestant Members of your Communion ; but to state publicly, in reference to a particular case, what every one must have already more or less known in his heart, without requiring any change in the present usages with respect to Communion, would not, I should think, necessarily excite much discussion ; or even attract much notice. The theological importance of the act might possibly be as considerable as the Bishops seemed to think it would be ; but still, an act which really asserted nothing *new*, and involved no *practical change*, would scarcely take much hold on the imagination of the laity. The smallest conceivable change in their usages, or rather neglect of usages, as for instance, to bid or encourage them to make the sign of the Cross when they pray, on entering and leaving the church, &c., or to demolish pews, or to make the priest turn his back upon them, or to wear a cope, or to place lights on the Altar ; any of these minutissimæ minutæ would, I should apprehend, be a much more formidable step to contemplate. I do not therefore myself think that the thing would make much noise ; far less, that any, even of the 'lowest' church-people, would *separate* from the Church because their Bishops had declared publicly that they were bound to believe certain doctrines, which they knew very well to have been all along the doctrines of their Church, and to be found in their own Prayer-Books, and Liturgy, and Catechism, and in the writings, not of some only, (as in England), but of all their Bishops and Divines"

About the same time I sent a printed copy of Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory in Latin, with my own Letter as appended by him, and the following Analysis of them drawn up and printed in English :

ANALYSIS.

A.—*Propositions identified by Bishop Luscombe with the Faith and Religion of the British Churches ; so that he is not willing to Communicate knowingly with any person who distinctly denies them, or countenances the denial of them by others :*

"1. THAT there is One, Visible, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church throughout the world ; which is the Body and Spouse of Christ, the Pillar and Ground of the Faith ; against which the gates of hell shall never prevail : That in this Church there have ever been since the Apostles' times these Three Orders, of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ; which have committed to them the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments ; and that none are to be taken for lawful Clergy but such as have been 'Co-opted' and Ordained by the same : That through this Apostolic Clergy, and primarily through the Bishops, the Church 'teaches' and 'decrees,' having authority in all controversies of Faith : That the British Churches, in common with the whole body of the Apostolical

Church, own the pre-eminence of the Patriarchal Sees, and the representation of the Church at large by General Councils : and that whosoever is rightly cut off from the Unity of the aforesaid Visible Catholic Church by the sentence of excommunication, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the Faithful for a heathen man and a publican, till such time as he be reconciled and received by a judge having authority thereto.

“ II. That all Holy Scripture (comprehending under that name all the Books both of the Old and New Testament which are received by the Church) has been given by Inspiration of God ; and that every thing which is contained therein, small and great alike, even to every ‘ jot and tittle,’ is to be taken for Divine.

“ III. That whosoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith; and that unless every man do keep this Faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

“ IV. That in the two great Sacraments of the Gospel or New Testament, that is to say, in Baptism and the Eucharist, the outward visible signs are not only signs, but also means or instruments whereby we receive the things signified, and are certified at the same time that we do indeed receive them.

“ V. That Christian Baptism, which has The Promise of the Holy Ghost, differs from the Baptism of the Forerunner ; and that in it by the outward washing of the body with water in the Name of the Holy Trinity we really receive the spiritual grace signified ; our souls are washed in the Blood of Christ, and sanctified ; we die unto sin, and are planted together with Christ in the likeness of His death, and we rise again with Him by a new birth unto justification ; in one word, that Christian Baptism to infants, and to adults who rightly receive it, *is* Regeneration.

“ VI. That the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was ordained for a perpetual Memory or Commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ : in which Memory, by the unbloody oblation of the pure offering foretold in the Prophets, in all respects as true a Sacrifice as the bloody symbols of the old Law, we represent and offer or plead to God the One Great and only proper Sacrifice once for all offered on the Cross.

“ VII. That the Consecrated Bread and Wine of the Eucharist are not only signs, but also means whereby we receive the very things themselves which are signified, that is to say, the very true Body and the very true Blood of Christ : in other words, that the Bread and Cup of the Eucharist ‘ become’ by Consecration the Body and Blood of Christ.

B.—Propositions regarded by Bishop Luscombe as Heretical, contrary to the true sense of the Creed, and to the Faith and Religion of the British Church ; so that he would not willingly Communicate with any who either distinctly maintain them themselves, or countenance their maintenance by others :

“ I. That the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church is not a Visible Society : that the Bishops have not any Divine commission or authority to teach all men : that the only true Church or New Jerusalem is invisible : that it is formed from Holy Scripture by the assistance of the Spirit in the hearts of those who read : that the true Church is common to all so-called Evangelical Sects or Societies, and that their mutual agreement, or toleration, constitutes the only true Unity of the Gospel.

"II. That not every letter and minute particular in Holy Scripture is to be taken for Divine or Inspired; but only the general purpose and spirit of the whole.

"III. That there is no such necessity, as is asserted in the first two verses of the Athanasian Creed, for holding the Catholic faith: that it is not true to say, that whosoever does not keep this Faith in all its integrity shall perish everlastingly.

"IV. That in the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper the outward and visible signs are signs only, and not means or instruments conveying to us the things signified.

"V. That Christian Baptism is the same in effect as that administered by St John the Baptist: that there are three distinct and separate Baptisms, of Water, of the Spirit, and of Fire; and that the Water Baptism administered by the Church in the Name of the Holy Trinity is not truly said to be the means or instrument by Christ's own appointment for conferring the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.

"VI. That there is no sacrifice nor oblation in the Eucharist besides a sacrifice of Prayers and Thanksgivings, and an oblation of our own selves.

"VII. That the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist are merely signs, and not truly means whereby the Faithful receive the very things themselves that are signified, that is, the Body and Blood of Christ; in other words, that it is not true to say that the Bread and the Cup '*become*' by consecration the Body and Blood of Christ.

C.—*Opinions either plainly approved by Bishop Luseombe in his Letters Commendatory, or at any rate shewn to be freely tolerated by him in those whom he admits to the Communion himself, and recommends to others;*

"I. That the Eastern Catholic Church is a part of the true Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church; and that it has never ceased to be *de jure* in Communion with the British Churches, nor they with it.

"II. That the members of the Eastern Catholic Church are neither Heretics nor Idolaters, nor can rightly or canonically be received as converts to the Communion by British Bishops.

"III. That it is the duty of members of the British Church, when in the Dioceses of the Eastern Catholic Church, to seek the Communion of its Bishops; that they may without sin conform themselves to all which that Church *requires* of her members, and that they ought to be ready so to conform themselves.

"IV. That there is no difference of Doctrine between the Eastern Catholic Church and the British Churches on the subject of Confession to a Priest and Absolution, but only a difference of Discipline.

"V. That on the subject of the Invocation of Saints, the only difference between the Churches is one of practical judgment, and caution, as to whether it is more edifying than dangerous, or the contrary, to encourage people to speak spiritually and in Christ to His Saints, our fathers and brethren, who are no longer present with us in the body; and that the difference which exists on this point need trouble no man's conscience, inasmuch as no man is required by the Eastern Church to speak personally to any Saint whatever.

"VI. That on the subject of outward reverence and affection shewn before Pictures in the Eastern Church, there is no ground for the charge of Idolatry, though there may be a difference of practical judgment be-

tween the Churches similar to that, which has been already spoken of under the last head.

D.—*What is involved in the presentation or acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters :*

"I. The act of presenting Bishop Luscombe's Letters to any other Bishop is equivalent to saying, that 'the bearer supposes the Bishop whom he addresses to be of the same faith and religion with himself and with the Bishop from whom he comes, confessing what he confesses, and rejecting what he rejects ; and that if it be so, he seeks the Communion.'

"II. On the other hand, the act of accepting Bishop Luscombe's Letters is equivalent to an acknowledgment on the part of the Bishop receiving, that the bearer of the Letters and the Bishop from whom he comes are of the same faith and religion with himself, confessing what he confesses, and rejecting what he rejects.

"III. With respect to the particular propositions identified with the Faith or with heresy in Bishop Luscombe's Letter, the acceptance of those Letters and the admission of the bearer to Communion is equivalent to the acknowledgment or rejection of the same propositions in the same manner as they have been acknowledged or rejected by Bishop Luscombe.

"IV. With respect to any other opinions, which appear by the Letters annexed to Bishop Luscombe's to have been approved by that Bishop, or tolerated at least as no wise incompatible with his admitting the bearer to Communion, and recommending him to others, thus much at least would follow from the acceptance of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, that the Bishop accepting them saw nothing in those opinions but what was fully and freely tolerated in persons enjoying the Communion of the British Churches."

On Friday, August 12, I received another letter from Dean Horsley, dated from Dundee, August 9, 1842:—

... "On my return home from the Visitation late on Saturday night, I found the '*Litteræ Commendatorie*' and the '*Analysis*' thereof, with your note, awaiting me on my study table. I have not till now had time to acknowledge the receipt of the same, as well as of . . . your letter of the 25th inst. In the principles of religious belief expressed in that document [the Letters Commendatory], I concur *corde et animo*; and so I think must every one who has any real knowledge of the constitution of the Church, and the ends and purposes intended by its Divine Founder to be effected by its institution. But though I entertain in my own mind not the slightest doubt that *many think thus*, all indeed of those whom I should call the sound and orthodox portion of the clergy of the British Churches, yet I harbour very serious doubts whether many will have the courage to say so. Now, if since the three first centuries there ever were a branch of the Catholic whole, that had nothing to lose, but much to gain, by an open and unflinching testimony to the truth, it is the humble branch on this side the Tweed. But though as yet free to do so, I fear she is rapidly forging fetters for herself, which will take away all her liberty, by binding her so fast to her Established Sister, that she will on no occasion make a forward movement, without first consulting the authorities at Lambeth and Fulham. I have for some time past entertained apprehensions on this

head, but in the course of the last week I have had my suspicions converted almost into certainty in several long conversations which I have held with my Diocesan. From what fell from him, I am satisfied that, notwithstanding all the Bishop of Edinburgh said to me as to the suddenness, or want of preparation for the call made on the Scotch Bishops by your visit to Aberdeen, yet they will never act synodically or authoritatively in the matter referred to them, unless they first ascertain that their doing so will be *perfectly agreeable* to the English Hierarchy; and from the present anything-arian character of that Hierarchy, it is not very probable that a willing assent would be given by the Anglican to the Scotch Bishops' publicly sanctioning and approving what has been done by Bishop Luscombe, and declaring intercommunion between their own and the Eastern Church.

"Be this, however, as it may, having proceeded the length you have done in this business, I am of opinion that it would be every way proper and right to carry it through, and to submit a proposal to the Scottish Bishops to entertain the question synodically. They can, if they think fit, refuse; but that is their affair, not yours. But the proposal should be for the matter to be deliberated on by a *Synod of the Church*, not merely by an Episcopal Synod: because, where the decision may be said to involve a declaration of a separation or an intercommunion with Branches, the opinion of the Presbyters as well as of the Bishops ought to be taken. I find that the only *fixed* annual Episcopal Synod is held in Edinburgh in the month of September. For that of next month you cannot possibly be ready, it being always held on the first week of the month: but before the one of 1843 you will have ample time to have every thing completely prepared: and your application for having the matter synodically determined on should be with the Primus at least three months before the meeting of the Synod, that he may have time to apprise his Colleagues of the matter likely to come before them. Wishing you a prosperous voyage and a safe return, and a result satisfactory to yourself and productive of benefit to the Church, I remain ever, &c. &c.

"H. HORSLEY."

SECTION XIII.

PRINT 'EXAMINATION OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE PRUSSIAN STATE GAZETTE' RESPECTING THE SO-CALLED ANGLICAN BISHOPRIC AT JERUSALEM.

ON Friday, August 5, the printing of Bishop Luscombe's 'Litteræ Commendatoriæ' was finished, and I gave a copy of them to Dr Routh, to whom I had previously made known the circumstances under which they were given. He asked "whether Bishop Luscombe claimed to be Bishop of Paris? and whether there was not another Archbishop there with a better title?" I told him in answer, that I had not presented my canonical certificates to Bishop Luscombe, till I had first offered them to the Archbishop of Paris, and had been refused by him. He smiled, as if surprised at this, and said he "thought I had done very right; but that many among us would be scandalized at such an act; and," he added, smiling, "I doubt what your friends in Russia would say to it." He said, it must

be some time before the controversy was decided ; as, even after any decision in Scotland, it would still have to be prosecuted elsewhere ; that however, it was opening an important question, in which I had his good wishes ; and he desired me to send his respects to the Bishop at Paris, when I wrote to him.

After this I was detained some time longer at Oxford, in consequence of an announcement published in the Russian State Gazette, and copied into the English papers, concerning ‘ the relations of the German Evangelical Congregation in Palestine,’ to the Anglican Bishop shortly before sent out to Jerusalem. This announcement communicated a Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King of Prussia, defining for the new Bishop, as in the name of our whole Communion, the terms, on which he was to ‘ offer’ to German ‘ Evangelicals’ his ‘ *Pastoral superintendence*’ ; and as these terms were such as to justify Mde. A. in her controversy with Bishop Luscombe and myself, and to supply her or any others in Russia with an unanswerable *primâ facie* objection against the truth and authority of Bishop Luscombe’s Declarations, I thought it necessary to compose and print an ‘ *Examination,*’ or Analysis, both of the Prussian Document and of the Archbishop’s Letters ; shewing that the compact entered into by him with the King of Prussia and Mr Bunsen, was irreconcilable with the fundamental laws of our Church ; and could not be permanently acted upon without changing the basis and nature of our religion, a thing beyond the power and authority of a single Prelate, even though invited by a foreign King, and assisted by an Act of Parliament. This pamphlet or volume, (for it is of the length of nearly two hundred pages,) I left to the charge of my friends, who caused it to be published some months after I had left England. In the meantime, having received on Monday, August 29th, twenty-four copies, which were first printed off, and which I hoped might enable me to parry, however insufficiently, those objections drawn from the Jerusalem Bishopric, with which I expected to be met in Russia, I left Oxford ; and sailed from London, on Thursday September 1st, in the Jupiter steamer, to go by way of Copenhagen to St Petersburg. Previously to embarking, I had, at the suggestion of Dr Routh, provided myself with a letter of introduction to Lord S., who had succeeded Lord C. as Ambassador to the Court of Russia. (See Introd. Part. II. Section XIII.)

SECTION XIV.

INTERVIEW WITH MR A. AND HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTERS AT ST PETERSBURGH : TRANSCRIBE FOR THEM A COPY IN ENGLISH OF BISHOP LUSCOMBE’S LETTERS COMMENDATORY.

ON my arrival at St Petersburg, Friday September 9th, I lost no time in proceeding to the residence of Mr A., who was at home, and alone. He kept me with him till his wife and daughters should return, saying, that all his anxiety as to any disagreeable effects resulting from his wife’s conduct and opinions, was now over : that she had been perfectly well received at Court, and her eldest daughter appointed one of the maids of honour. When at length Mde. A. came in, she received me so graciously and good-humouredly, that I was myself astonished, remembering what I had heard last of her dispositions towards me both from Mr O. and from

Bishop Luscombe ; and her husband expressed his pleasure, saying, " Now I hope you will be good friends." I replied, " It is impossible we should be otherwise, so long as Mde. A. does not pretend any right to the Communion of Bishop Luscombe, from whom I come ; and I trust and suppose that she no longer does pretend to any such right." At these words the lady turned abruptly away, and without saying more, left the room ; nor did she re-appear, till I was gone. The conversation, however, still continued for some time with Mr A. and his daughters ; to whom I said, that after what had passed between herself and Bishop Luscombe, previously to her leaving Paris, when he refused her the certificate of Communion, I had hoped Mde. A. would have ceased to persist in her claims, even without forcing him to any further declaration of his sentiments. In reply the eldest daughter told me, that the day I called at her mother's residence at Paris, she had started indeed, as I was told, not however for Russia, but for London, to seek the countenance of some higher authority to set against that of Bishop Luscombe : that she had come back "*quite triumpphant*, saying that ' she knew all along that *I was a maintainer of paradoxes*, and that the Anglican Church was *Protestante*, but now she had ascertained it to be *Archi-Protestante*.' " Mr A. said she had been assisted by some English lady, the Duchess of N. [Mde. A. said in 1848, by Lord Canterbury, and Lord A. ; chiefly the former :] " and had seen *all the people at London*, especially Mr Bunsen, who was a great oracle of Anglicanism ; " (and by the daughter's account, she had had some communication with the Bishop of London ; and had succeeded in obtaining a letter or letters to Mr L. the English Chaplain here, directing him to give her the Communion) ; " so that," continued Mr A., " things seem settled *in a worse state for you than ever*." I learned, both in this conversation and afterwards from other sources, that Mde. A. not only frequented the Chapel of the British Factory on Sundays, but *had also already Communicated there*. The eldest daughter asked, with an expression of surprise, how it was possible that I should still be myself a member of the Anglican Church ? and urged strongly, that it was of no use for me to try to oppose her mother in her proceedings here ; for that she had " obtained all requisite authorizations from the Archbishop : that he was the first Prelate of our Communion ; and Mr L. the Chaplain, was bound to obey him : that it was evident the question was settled : that there was nothing left for me but to open my eyes to the real nature of the Anglican Church, and to submit : that the best thing I could do would be to quit it, and turn either *Catholic* or *Caphotic*, (Roman, or Russian) ; and they hoped I would do so." On the other hand, I attempted to explain to them that the acts and opinions of the Archbishop, or of the Bishop of London, might be contrary to the true law or spirit of the Church : that their power is not absolute : and that the nearer any thing they do goes to affect the character and position of the Church, and involve it in heresy, the more is every one of its members bound to protest against and resist them. Mr A. said, " No resistance can be effectual, *unless it is to end in their correction, and in the condemnation of their acts*." I assented to this ; but observed, that their recent acts tended to produce a controversy, which might so end : and, for my own part, seeing the character and position of the Church to be really compromised, I would never rest, till I had done all I could. He then said, that it was a very serious matter for his wife, and for them all, to cause no open scandal ; nor give occasion for the affair to be noticed

by the civil or ecclesiastical authorities : that at present she acted with the greatest circumspection ; went to the English Chapel only in a hackney coach ; had full authorization from the Archbishop to Communicate ; which authorization the Chaplain was bound to admit : that she was unobserved ; acted privately, without any publicity ; scandalized nobody : and that, in short, there was no reason to interfere with her ; and I had no business nor occasion to do so. I answered, that she Communicated in our Chapel as a heretic, and by an uncanonical order from the Archbishop, if she had any such order ; though, indeed, I did not believe that either the Archbishop or the Bishop of London had done any such thing as *write an order* to the Chaplain : they would feel they had no such authority ; though they might have given her some writing, or expressed their own favourable dispositions towards her, in the way of recommendation, or of advice : that the Chaplain, far from being bound to obey, was bound to disobey any such order or recommendation ; and if he acted otherwise, every individual member of the Church, which was so outraged and scandalized, was bound to make opposition, and protest, and agitate the matter without ceasing, till the offence was removed. They both smiled, and said, "There is no scandal : nobody is scandalized but you : " and the daughter added, that it was "true enough *any one might Communicate, even a heathen*, as she had been used to Communicate in the Anglican Chapels, when she held those ideas ; but *that the English none of them ever give that notice which I said was required by the Rubric*, and of which I asked, whether her mother had given it to the Chaplain, Mr L." (which she had not) : "that so I might think myself bound to prosecute everybody who Communicated at all : and besides, they had seen so many English people, and so many of their Chaplains ; at Coblenz, &c., &c. ; and all were of the same way of thinking : that I was of a new sect of dissenters, the sect of the 'Puseyites,' who were better no doubt than their Church, as desiring to bring in Catholicism, but still a sect only, not the Anglican Church, but opposed to it, and about to be cast out of it." I distinguished between the prevalent neglect of producing the necessary certificates, or giving the requisite notice previously to Communicating, in persons, who *could* have obtained the certificates, and really *had a right* to Communion, (which neglect, however mischievous, yet involves no change of principle in the Church herself), and the assumption of a *right to passive Communion* by *aliens, who have no canonical right to it whatever*. They again urged her Letters from the Authorities of the Anglican Church ; to which I opposed the contrary Letters and Declarations, which I had myself brought from Bishop Lascombe ; so that, at the worst, there could be but the Letters of an English Archbishop in favour of heresy and license, against the Letters of a Scottish Bishop in favour of orthodoxy and discipline ; and the result must be a public controversy ; which could end only in the condemnation of the one, and the approval of the other on the part of the Church at large. They again urged, that Mde. A. "acted without scandal, and privately ; and that there were no grounds for my interfering with her." I answered, that there is no act more properly and essentially public, than that which is done in the face of the congregation, in the Church : that they themselves must see, that if a Tartar, or a Turk, or an Infidel were to choose to take to himself the Communion, and impute to the Church the Masonic toleration of all religions, and of his own sect, because he

found it *possible* so to act, this would be not only sacrilege in itself, but a most crying outrage upon the whole Church, and upon every individual member of it ; an outrage which every one, to whose knowledge it came, would be bound to denounce and resist, unless he meant to acquiesce for himself and for his Church in the imputation cast upon it. They saw and admitted, that *this* would be intolerable. I urged, that it was "the same thing as what Mde. A. now does here, only in a still more extravagant degree. She takes the Communion uncanonically, as a heretic, and upon heretical principles ; so imputing publicly to our Church the profession or toleration of heresy ; and that in the midst of the Russian Churches and Christians, many of whom know of her acts and opinions, and whose custom it was, even before, to wrong the Anglican Church, by considering it to be such as she now represents it." Mr A. again alleged the Archbishop's Letters in proof that the Anglican Church was indeed such as his wife represented it to be ; and insisted further on the *establishment of the Anglican Bishopric at Jerusalem*, as embodying the most public and authoritative assertion of her principles, saying, that "at any rate I could have no quarrel with her : that I ought rather to attack her friend M. Bunsen, and the Archbishop of Canterbury ; that the matter lay with them." This I acknowledged to be quite true ; but said, that I had already attacked the Archbishop of Canterbury and M. Bunsen's acts to the best of my ability ; as he would understand, when I sent him copies of what I had written or published in England, with relation to the Jerusalem Bishopric : that as for the controversy with his wife, that also certainly lay now in a manner between Bishop Luscombe and myself on the one side, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and M. Bunsen on the other : that this controversy certainly involved no necessity for my speaking so much as a word to Mde. A. personally ; but in that case, and the more she persisted in setting Bishop Luscombe at defiance, the more impossible it would be to carry it on to its end without giving it that publicity, at least in Britain, which he so much wished to avoid. Mr A., though he insisted most on the necessity of caution, and the avoidance of publicity in Russia, did not cease to urge the same topics with reference also to any future prosecution of the controversy elsewhere ; the burden of the whole being, that "I was the party beaten : that having so great an authority against me (for he seemed to make nothing of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, which he had not yet seen), I ought to acquiesce : that it was not for a deacon to contend against the Archbishop ; and that, if I wished to be a Catholic, I ought to quit the Anglican Church. For himself, if he were in my position, he should join the Church of Dr Wiseman, the author of a Book of Conferences, which lay on his table." Another argument which he used was drawn from the legal reputation and position of the Anglican Church in relation to the Russian Church and State. "For," said he, "as any act of Communion in the Anglican Church on the part of one of our people is liable to be visited with all the civil penalties of heresy, (and there are convents enough near, to which she might be sent,) it is a matter of the utmost consequence to avoid talking of what my wife does, or bringing it to public notice. While she continues prudent and cautious, as she is at present, it may even be supposed that she has conformed again to the Church ; and as no public excommunication has passed, she might at any time, if she came round, *be reconciled*, and Communicate, without any publicity : she would merely perform her devotions, and confess."

"Yes," I said ; "but what would she confess ? Her reconciliation, if she came round, would, as I told her at Paris, be as great a wrong to the British Church, as is her present apostacy and invasion of its Communion. Having all along identified the Anglican Church with heresy, she would, when she changed her mind, confess as a sin the having adopted such and such heresies, and having Communicated in the Anglican Church in virtue of them ; and she would for the future renounce the Communion of the Anglican Church as heretical." He did not seem to care a straw about this, plainly, because he had made up his mind that such is indeed the case. He said that when she saw M. Bunsen in London, he had told her he knew all about her affair [the Archbishop having, as it would seem, shewn him my Protest], and had assured her, of his certain knowledge, that she would not be suffered to return into Russia, or, if she did return, that she would be imprisoned ; and had so influenced her imagination, that she had written to him to desire that her daughters might come to her at Kœnigsberg, or elsewhere on the frontiers ; and had only ventured to return, on his assuring her that there was no foundation whatever for M. Bunsen's assertion. Indeed the truth was, that the Emperor himself had been informed of her wish to return to St Petersburg, and had said, that she might do so without fear ; that no notice should be taken of her illegal acts, so long as she was quiet, and caused no public scandal. On leaving Mr A., he gave me to understand that, under circumstances, I must not come to his house any more ; but that he would come and see me as often as might be necessary or desirable at my own lodgings.

After returning home, I began immediately to transcribe Bishop Luscombe's Letters, together with my own appended to them, in English, for Mr A. and his wife ; and when the transcription was finished, I sent them to him. I gave him also a copy of the '*Protest*,' and of all that I had published in England with reference to the Jerusalem Bishopric ; as well as of the '*Examination*,' which was at that time as yet unpublished ; together with some other books and papers, which it is unnecessary here to enumerate.

SECTION XV.

INTERVIEW WITH THE ENGLISH CHAPLAIN MR L.

CONSIDERING that my *first* duty and object at St Petersburg was, to maintain Bishop Luscombe's disavowal of Mde. A., and to defend the Sacraments *within our Communion* from her aggression ; and having already ascertained that she had resumed her former habit of taking the Sacraments from the Chaplain to the Factory and Embassy at her own pleasure ; and feeling, that I could have no right even to speak to the Chaplain concerning other persons, before I had first established a true ecclesiastical relation to him for myself, I found it necessary to consider more attentively than I had ever done before both the nature of such Chaplaincies, and my own actual position, as a member of the British Communion, and as Bishop Luscombe's Clerk, in reference to Mr L. the English Priest and Chaplain at St Petersburg.

Having thought this matter over, I took the earliest opportunity which occurred (which was September 10th) to see the Chaplain, Mr L.,

and to tell him, that in becoming one of his congregation, and seeking his recognition, while I might stay at St Petersburg, I wished to observe with the greatest minuteness all those forms, which are usually neglected or dispensed with, but which must necessarily be understood and implied in such cases. And, shortly afterwards, I gave him a printed copy of Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory, which he read over at the time, and immediately noticed, that neither I sought, nor did Bishop Luscombe seek for me in his Letters, the Communion from any but such as would acknowledge his declaration of faith on seven points, (made by the annexation of my Letter) and reject, as inconsistent with his religion, (*i.e.* with his belief and Communion) those seven contrary statements which he had rejected. I promised to bring him the original document, and to make the application to him formally some time before the next celebration of the holy Communion. He asked me immediately afterwards whether "I liked to read for him that morning?" not perceiving that this would be either to waive the whole question, or at least to anticipate his recognition of me upon Bishop Luscombe's terms. He told me, in answer to my enquiries, that he had neither seen Mde. A., nor had received any communication from her, or from any other quarter, respecting her admission to Communion among the English: that it was not likely any Russian Lady should take the Communion from him, or apply for it. He said further, that, whatever information were tendered to him by any member of his congregation concerning such a religious controversy as my own with Mde. A., he should decline taking any notice at all of the matter; unless indeed he were informed, that such a person had actually taken the Communion. In that case, he said, he should be obliged to do what he could to prevent it, from fear of the civil penalties, which might cause the most serious embarrassments to all the English residents; it being a thing legally impossible, for any member of the Russian Church to profess Anglicanism in Russia. He also expressed his opinion, that Mde. A. could not have any real religious or ecclesiastical claim to our Communion, whatever document or sanction she might have obtained from any Prelate of the Established Church of England.

SECTION XVI.

INTERVIEW WITH A RELATIVE OF MDE. A.

ON the evening of the same day, September 11th, I saw a lady, a relative of Mr A. and his wife, who was favourably disposed towards myself, as well as naturally inclined to further their wishes, so far as might be reasonable. I gave this lady an account of the present state of the controversy, and of the alternative which lay before Mde. A., namely, that she must either acknowledge herself to have no claim to the Communion of the Bishop from whom I came, or else must expect me to prosecute the question in whatever way I might find necessary, or possible, till it were brought to a public decision. I even said, to shew the serious light in which I regarded it, though it might sound like mere imagination or enthusiasm, that I could wish to petition the Emperor to grant Mde. A. on the one hand, or any Russian subject I might name, a full civil immunity and license to profess Anglicanism, so long as she could succeed

in obtaining *canonically* the Communion of the Anglican Church as a *prose-lyte*, and to take myself as a substitute in their stead to suffer all such civil penalties as were legally due to the party exempted, if they succeeded in maintaining their pretensions; with any other punishment which might be due to my presumption and imposture. The person to whom I spoke replied, that she would see Mde. A. the next day: and, after having done so, she said that I “must not be too vehement, for that really it might kill her; as any excitement was dangerous, and made her ill: that she had sent for a physician in the middle of the night after our interview; and that, as for the matter on which I insisted, she was quite resolved neither to do, nor to say, nor make known any thing.” The same lady, after having heard me read the greater part of Bishop Luscombe’s Letters, remarked, that, after all, she must say she “thought the absence of Confession in the Anglican religion was equivalent to an admission of the principle of passive Communion; and that so no person could be absolutely, or in strict right, prevented from taking the Communion in the Anglican Church on such terms as they pleased. That notice,” she said, “which you appeal to, as required by the Prayer-book, is never given by the English themselves; and unless accompanied by a close and authoritative examination, it would be wholly inefficient as a security against the profanation of the Sacraments, even if it were given.”

SECTION XVII.

[On the degree to which Saint-worship may popularly interfere with the one mediation of Christ: Not being necessary to the narrative, it is for the present omitted.]

SECTION XVIII.

CONFERENCE WITH MR A. RESPECTING THE RECONCILIATION OF HIS ELDEST DAUGHTER, AS IF FROM THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

ON the morning of Tuesday, September 12th, after my return from Cronstadt, Mr A. came to my lodgings, and I read to him some part of the Minutes of my interviews with his wife at Paris. He gave me to understand that the only thing he now desired was privacy, and to let his wife go on as she pleased, and then, whenever she changes her mind, to reconcile her to the Church without scandal. “Yes,” I said, “by making her abjure the Anglican Church under the names of Lutheranism and Calvinism.” And, continuing the same conversation the next day, I told him that I thought he had not shewn so much delicacy or care for the honour of the Anglican Church in the reconciliation of his eldest daughter, as I should have expected from him. He replied, that “she had taken him by surprise, by saying to their Chaplain in Switzerland, in his presence, that she too wished to Communicate, together with her father and younger sister, when they should come to Berne. The Chaplain answered that ‘such a thing could not be done lightly: that she had publicly professed, and still ostensibly professed, heresy.’ She said, that ‘she might have been deceived; but that she had no intention of being a heretic; and that she did not refuse the instructions of the Church.’ Upon this,” he said, “we went altogether to Berne, and the Chaplain gave her some instructions, (though in truth he confessed that he found her already orthodox); and then Reconciled her in the Chapel, according to the usual Ritual, early in the morning, two or three friends being present as witnesses.” I said that

"in this Reconciliation the Anglican Church was compromised : that I well knew the Eastern Church regards the Anglican as being really such as the ladies, and Mr H. and the Bishop of London, and Mr Bunsen would have it to be : but that really they had all together only wronged it : that the Ladies had committed, however ignorantly, an act of sacrilege against it ; and that the others had made themselves parties to the same sacrilege ; without there having been any real act done in the name, or by the authority, of the Church in the whole matter of their admission as proselytes : that under such circumstances, having done what I had done in the name of the Anglican Church, and having contributed materially, by their own account, to bring back his daughter to orthodoxy, by shewing her the true nature of the Anglican Church, as homogeneous with the Russian, I had every right to expect that some regard should be shewn to its honour ; and not that his daughter should publicly abjure it, as if she had been validly admitted a proselyte to heresy by its authority ; and then, on seeing me, ask me herself how I could possibly still be a member of it, and invite me to abjure it also." Mr A. said, that "neither he, nor his daughter, nor the Russian Chaplain, had any notion of her accusing or renouncing the Anglican Church, which was not named in the Form of Reconciliation." I said, "that as she had never been formally excommunicated by the Russian Church, nor had ever really become a member of any other Church or sect, but had only maintained certain erroneous and heretical opinions, and had committed ignorantly certain acts of sacrilege against the Anglican Church, she ought merely to have confessed those faults to the Chaplain, as her Confessor, and so Communicated, after having received absolution." He said "No ; after what she had done, and after having caused public scandal, she could not be reconciled so." I contended that he was mistaken, (as indeed the directions to Confessors in the Office-book show he was) ; and that "a formal and public act of abjuration and reconciliation implies, that the person so abjuring, and so reconciled, quits not only some subjective opinion, but also some outward institution, some visible society or sect of schism or heresy." At length he admitted this. I said, I knew "that the words printed in brackets in the Office, to be used as the case may be, are these three, '*Papists*,' '*Lutherans*,' and '*Calvinists* ;' but that these must be variable ; and that even if Lutheranism or Calvinism, or both those heresies, were named in the Reconciliation of his daughter, still, the Russian Church commonly designating the Anglican by these names, and commonly reconciling Anglicans under these names as proselytes to herself, and the ladies of his family having notoriously and publicly professed themselves members of the Anglican Church, and having communicated, however wrongfully, in it,—the act done afterwards at Berne plainly and necessarily bore the sense of a reconciliation from the Anglican Church, in its public and canonical character, whatever distinctions or reservations he, or his daughter, or the chaplain, might have made in their own minds." He denied this. I asked him to "tell me then, since he admitted the act did suppose that the party reconciled belonged to and renounced some sect, what sect this was ?" He replied, in an off-hand way, "Oh, I don't know : the sect of that Mr Hare, I suppose." I said, "Mr Hare may hold heretical opinions, and may have countenanced your daughter in doing wrong, both by the act of taking the Communion, and by imputing certain doctrines to the Anglican Church. The same

may be true also of Lord E. C., and of the Bishop of London. They may all, for anything that appears to the contrary, be personally heretics : but still Mr Hare in his official capacity represented at Geneva that Church, the Anglican Church or Communion, of which I am myself a member ; and his having been a party to the wrong committed against his own Church could never justify her, who had done the wrong, when convinced of her fault, in anathematizing and abjuring, even in appearance, that same Anglican Church which she had wronged, and by which, through me, she had in fact been led back to her original Mother, the Russian Church. The least that could have been done, if that Form had been used at all, (which I think ought not to have been used), would have been, for the party reconciled to have made some distinct declaration at the time, that by renouncing Lutheranism and Calvinism she by no means meant to accuse the Anglican Church or Communion. Mr A. seemed either quite unable, or quite unwilling, to enter into any of these considerations. He told me that he had left with the Chaplain at Berne the Russian version of the Appendix to that Letter which I had addressed to the Metropolitan of Moscow ; in reading which, he said, the Chaplain had been much interested. [See *Introduct.* Part I. Sect. XIV.] On the other hand, I mentioned to him how I had heard of the English Ambassador at St Petersburg, and others attached to our Embassy there, speaking of the affair, and of myself by name, as “*that man, who turns away people from his own Church.*”

After this he asked me whether I supposed that his daughter, by conforming again to the Russian Church, had not made it improper for her to Communicate in the English. I said I thought “she ought not ; because the practice of the Russian Church is to regard the English as heretical : and though she ought not, I think, to have herself abjured the English Church as heretical, after having actually sought heresy in it, and found instead an orthodoxy which sent her back to the Russian ; still, there is no *necessity* for her to seek Communion where her own Church does not Communicate, so as to take an active part against the public authority ; though, on the other hand, she should be more cautious in making active war upon the English Church. And in fact she *could* not ordinarily Communicate with any Bishop not recognized by her own : for the canons require that she should have Letters Communicatory ; and that the Bishop to whom she goes for Communion, should receive her only upon acceptance of such Letters. She might, indeed, if she really *knew* that there was no canonical separation, and that she was unjustly refused Letters Communicatory to the Bishops of the English Church, apply to the English Bishop, and be so received : but this involves a degree of knowledge and certainty, which cannot ordinarily be looked for in an individual lay person, whether man or woman. And so, I should say, that she ought to pray for the unity of the whole Church, and for the healing of all schisms and divisions ; but in the meantime content herself with the Communion of those Bishops with whom the Russian Church is *de facto* in Communion : and if she has a sense that they are not *de facto* in Communion with the whole body of the Catholic Church, she may well use such a sense, and the pain of division, to make her more constant and fervent in her prayers for the reconciliation of all those Churches and brethren, that are now divided.”

On a subsequent occasion, when we were conversing again on the same

subject, I said to Mr A., that the wrong done to myself, and to the Anglican Church, in the manner of his daughter's Reconciliation seemed to be of itself a cogent reason for pursuing the controversy, in spite of all difficulties, to its end : that he could not expect me to remain silent or careless under the imputation openly cast upon me, of '*turning people away from my own Church.*' He now no longer denied that his daughter's Reconciliation, as a formal and public act, was an abjuration of the Anglican Church : but he said, "Your Church is only known as a heresy to our's : all the circumstances of this particular case fully bore out our views of it :" and he asked, with an air of astonishment, "Do you mean to pretend then, that your opinion is that of the Anglican Church ?" "Of course I do," I answered. "What," he said, "with your Bishops and Archbishops and all your own people against you ! If so, you have very different ideas of submission from what I have. It is evident your Church is Protestant and heretical : the whole world agrees in this opinion : Mr Hare, your Chaplain at Geneva, after denying the Real Presence, and asserting that the Presence is only by the act of our faith, when I objected to him, that you made out the doctrine of the Anglican Church to be very different, asked contemptuously, What authority there was *in your opinion?*" He said he had read more about our Anglican Church since I was here last, (especially Popish books, of which he mentioned Dr Wiseman's), and saw more that it was Protestant : that I could not myself defend our XXXIX Articles. I said, I could ; only I wished to guard against their being misinterpreted, as they now are. I said also, "The Anglican Church must be either Protestant or Catholic. If you think her Protestant, do you or your wife help me to carry out our controversy, which will end in its being made out that you are right : and then I shall be much obliged to you for helping to make me see the duty of quitting a heretical Church." "Oh," said he, "that is your affair ; we have nothing to do with that."

And again, still later, with respect to the past Reconciliation of his daughter, and to his hope of the eventual Reconciliation of his wife as from the Anglican Church, Mr A. dwelt much upon the Concordat recently made with Prussia, and the Jerusalem Bishopric, as settling the controversy against me, unless we could correct and condemn our own Archbishops and Bishops ; who, he said, are rather the proper objects for you to attack, than a woman, who would never have done or asserted what she has, if it were not for the countenance she found within your Anglican Communion.

SECTION XIX.

OFFER THREE ALTERNATIVES TO MDE.A.THROUGH HER HUSBAND;
AND ENGAGE, IN CASE OF HER ACCEPTING ANY ONE OF THEM,
TO DO NOTHING FURTHER IN BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S NAME, AND
TO MAKE NO PUBLIC USE OF HIS LETTERS COMMENDATORY: BUT
NO ONE OF THE THREE PROPOSALS BEING AGREED TO, RESOLVE
TO PRESENT BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S LETTERS TO THE SYNOD.

ON Wednesday, September 9-21, Mr A. came again to my lodgings at my own request ; when I told him, that seeing him

to have such dispositions and views, as he had evinced, I feared we must thenceforth consider one another in some measure as antagonists: that in some respects, however, it might be more satisfactory to have to do with a man acting together with, and in behalf of, his wife, than to find myself in controversy only with a lady, who did not perceive my real motives, and imagined herself to be needlessly persecuted. The first thing which it was requisite for him to understand, was this; that certain acts and professions of his wife at Paris were considered to have been of so public a nature, and so to affect the character of our Church, that it was the duty of Bishop Luscombe, from whom I came, publicly to disown and refute her, unless she were willing to make the Bishop such an acknowledgment for what was past, as he might reasonably expect. For the rest, that I may avoid entering into needless details, and may merely state summarily all that was pressed upon his consideration both on this and on other subsequent occasions, I assured him, that he could not desire my speedy departure from St Petersburg more ardently than I desired it myself; and that I would willingly return by the next steamer, without doing anything in Bishop Luscombe's name, or making any use of his Letters, or pursuing the matter further, if, after consulting with his wife, they could come to an agreement, either

I. That Mde. A. should give up her pretensions to be a Member of the British or Anglican Communion: or, if this was too much to expect, after the countenance she conceived herself to have obtained,

II. That she should acknowledge that, whatever right she might have acquired to the Communion of Mr H., Lord E. C., the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or M. Bunsen, she had no right nor claim to the Communion of Bishop Luscombe, and was sorry for having unintentionally deceived him: or, lastly,

III. That she should at any rate promise me, as Bishop Luscombe's Clerk and Representative, either personally, or through her husband, that she would not again take the Communion in the English Chapel at St Petersburg, without first giving notice to the Chaplain, and exhibiting to him whatever certificate or recommendation she had obtained in England; or at least, without obtaining his permission,

either in virtue of the countenance she had obtained from Anglican authorities or from M. Bunsen, or by any other plea, which might satisfy him.

Finding that neither Mde. A. nor her husband would listen for a moment to any of the above alternatives, I gave the latter to understand, that I should in consequence be obliged to act as well as I could by myself, for the vindication of the Bishop from whom I came, and of his Communion, in respect both of the British residents and of the Russian public at St Petersburg : adding at the same time,

That I should still be quite ready to communicate all I did to her or to him, if they cared to know ; and should wish to do whatever I did in such a manner as might give the least possible annoyance to her or his feelings : that I would invite them to confer with me previously upon every step that I might take. But at the same time, I begged him to understand beforehand, that this course, which was rendered necessary to me by their conduct, might probably lead to results much more disagreeable to them than any which might have ensued, if they could have brought themselves to accede to either of my former proposals. Mr A. said he wished to know *what* I purposed doing, when left to act by myself ? I replied, that so far as concerned the Russians, and the Russian Church, the natural course would be to present Bishop Luscombe's Letters to the Metropolitan of St Petersburg, or to the Synod, and to seek the Communion from them in virtue of a profession of faith purposely drawn up against his wife's profession of heresy. He said, that to present those Letters would be nothing else than to denounce her to the authorities, even though she were not named in them ; and he tried to work upon my feelings of honour, charity, &c. ; speaking of her weak state of health ; and saying, that I ought not to persecute a woman : that I ought rather to enter into controversy with my own Bishops, who had indeed been double-dealers, and favourers of heresy : that as for his wife, she would never have acted as she had, nor felt it right to maintain such a position, if she had not found that within our Communion which fostered and assisted her errors. I acknowledged this to be all quite true ; but said, that I was in fact already in controversy with those Bishops of my own Church, who had so acted : that it seemed to me that the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric (the affair of which he spoke, as being more worthy to occupy my attention), was closely connected with the conduct of our chief Prelates in such cases of proselytism as the present : that we differed in our notions as to the duty of keeping such a matter private : that the very existence of that deep controversy within the Anglican Church to which he had alluded, and the great countenance which such acts and opinions as those of his wife obtained at present from some of our Hierarchy, made one feel it doubly a duty to pursue the matter to its end : that, for the rest, it was every man's duty, who perceived his Communion to be invaded by aliens and heretics, to drive them away ; and not least the office of a deacon. It was at this time (Wednesday, September 9-21) that I gave him a copy of the '*Protest* ;' and also of the '*Letter to Dr Hampden*.' [See above, Intro. P. II. Sec. VI.]

SECTION XX.

A FOURTH OFFER MADE TO MR A. IS ALSO DECLINED.

ON Monday, September 14-26, I again saw Mr A. and told him that, wishing to go as far as I could to consult his feelings, and considering that the wife is in some sense comprehended in the husband, and that he was his wife's legal representative, I had resolved to offer him yet one more alternative : and thereupon I read to him the following sketch of two Letters, the one of which I might address to him, and receive from him the other (or something to the same effect) in reply, if he thought the acceptance of this offer preferable to leaving me to present Bishop Luscombe's Letters to the Synod. He would perceive, I said, that I had put into his mouth no other sentiments, than such as at one time or another he had actually expressed in conversation.

" My dear Mr A.—My object in addressing to you this letter is, to ask you two questions ; one of them relating to the return of your daughter to the Faith of the British and Russian Churches, which I contributed to bring about ; the other relating to the immediate purpose of my present coming from Paris to Russia ?

" With respect to the first point, I wish to inquire, whether, in the return of your daughter to the Communion of the Russian Church, she merely acknowledged in Confession those faults which she had committed against the Anglican no less than against the Russian Church, or was reconciled by that form of abjuration of Lutheranism and Calvinism, by which it is the practice of the Russian Church to reconcile to herself the members of the Anglican ? With respect to the second point, I will state first, that I come here with Letters from a Bishop of the British Church, from whom your wife, when at Paris, received the Communion as an orthodox member of the Russian Church, upon the principle of Intercommunion ; but from whom she afterwards sought a certificate to prove that she had been admitted to be a member of the British Church upon very contrary principles. As she neither took any notice of the Bishop's remonstrances, nor made any acknowledgment of her fault, the Bishop has now thought it proper to take measures to justify himself, and to disavow for himself and his Church, in the most public manner, those principles and practices, which otherwise his acts or his silence might seem to have countenanced or tolerated. This he has done by Letters Commendatory given to me (who first brought the case to his notice), and addressed to all Orthodox and Catholic Bishops ; in which Letters he distinctly states what doctrines, upon certain points, must be held, and what contrary errors on the same points rejected, by all with whom he is willing to Communicate. In these Letters, of which I am the bearer, and which I should naturally, and in due course, present here to the Metropolitan and to the Synod, your wife's name is not mentioned, but allusion is made to her acts and opinions throughout ; especially in another document, which the Bishop has caused to be annexed to his own Letters. I think it right, before I make any public use of the Letters in question, to apply to you as her husband and her legal representative, and to ask, first, whether the cause which induced Bishop Luscombe to seek thus publicly to justify himself and his Church has

ceased to exist ? Because, if M^{de}. A. has in fact acquiesced, and submitted to his decision against her, (as is possible, although she gave him no reason to suppose that it was the case), and so no longer pretends to be a member of our Church, nor to have the right of surreptitiously and sacrilegiously (for so it must appear to us) taking to herself our Sacraments in this city, as she has in past time taken them elsewhere, then, in that case, and if an assurance were given to this effect, there would no longer be any reason for the Bishop to seek to justify himself or his Church here ; nor any occasion (on that ground at least) for my presenting his Letters to the Russian Synod ; the offending party having in fact submitted to his decision made in the name of his Church against her claim to be admissible to our Communion. I remain, &c. &c.”

Sketch of Proposed Answer.

“SIR,—In answer to your first question, I say this : I am myself willing to hope and believe that the inward nature, and doctrine, and law of the Anglican or British Church is indeed such as you have represented it to be : and with respect to the Reconciliation of my daughter to the Russian Church, I assure you that neither I nor she understood that by abjuring Lutheranism and Calvinism, she did any more than abjure those Lutheran and Calvinistic or Protestant heresies, which she had held for some time in the name of the Anglican Church, and in holding which she had been confirmed by various lay persons and clergymen, some of them of very high station and authority, in the Anglican Church itself. I do not deny that the act of reconciliation on the part of the Russian Church is to be viewed as a reconciliation from the Anglican Church : but that is merely because the practice of our Church has hitherto been to consider the British Church as Lutheran-Calvinistic. If it be really otherwise, as I trust it is, then it is evident that orthodoxy cannot reconcile orthodoxy to itself as heresy ; for no one can profess and abjure, return from and to, the same thing, by the same act, at the same time. But before either I or you can complain of the opinion and practice of the Russian Church with respect to your own, there is evidently need of a great change in the external and practical administration of your Church, and of some clear, and public, and authoritative declaration of her true principles and doctrines, as agreeing with our’s, and differing from what they are now commonly supposed and appear to be.

“With respect to those acts and professions of my wife during her residence abroad, which have made the Bishop of your Communion at Paris think it necessary or desirable to take public steps for declaring the principles of his Church, I think I may safely assure you that there is no danger of her either making any profession here of her being a member of the British Church, or attempting to obtain or to take its Sacraments in this city : inasmuch as any such profession or act of Communion is rendered in a manner impossible by the laws of this Empire, and would bring down, both upon her and upon the Chaplain of your Church, the severest penalties. I may safely assure you that no such act shall be done ; and will state further, if that is any satisfaction to you, that I am myself perfectly satisfied that she has no real religious or ecclesiastical claim or title (according to the rules of the British Church) to be considered a member of that Church at all. With respect to her own private opinions, I cannot, of course, answer for them : but I must

say this, that after the countenance and support that she has met with from members and dignitaries of the Anglican Church itself, both for her mode of Communicating with it abroad, and for the religious opinions she has held in its name, I should be rather surprised than otherwise, if she were to view the declaration of a single Bishop, a Chaplain at Paris, against her, as in any way overbalancing the general outward appearance of your Communion, and her own personal experience of the principles and practices prevalent among its members. I would say nearly the same, with respect to any public use which you might make here of those Letters from the Bishop, of which you are the bearer, with a view to the justification of his Church, and the declaration of her true principles, which the Bishop thinks have been compromised, and which, perhaps, have in fact been compromised by the conduct of my wife at Paris. If it be so, I am very sorry for it; and that on more accounts than one: but it seems to me, that though the presentation of the Bishop's Letters to our ecclesiastical authorities here might very easily lead to public scandal, and to a most painful notoriety, if not to still more distressing results to myself and my family, it could not by any possibility answer your object, or that of the Bishop from whom you come. While the Bishops of England are publicly declaring themselves brethren, and of one Church, with all the sects of the Lutherans and the Calvinists, and sending an Anglican Bishop to represent their unity at the birth-place of Christianity, it is quite out of the question to think that any disclaimer of heterodoxy, or of hostility to our Church, or any profession of orthodoxy and agreement, with reference to an individual case, and made by a single Bishop, could have any weight whatever with our Synod and Clergy. They would necessarily and immediately answer you, that though any one Bishop, in his public acts and professions, may be fairly presumed to represent his Church, when there is no appearance to the contrary, the case is very different indeed, when nearly every thing makes against his testimony: and then he must be supported publicly by his brethren, if he desires to carry any weight in the eyes of strangers, and of Churches, which, whether rightly or wrongly, have been used to judge of his Communion from those appearances, the force of which he is seeking to set aside and break through. I remain, &c. &c."

All the above I read to Mr A.; who assented to the truth and reasonableness of the sentiments on both sides; but said "the thing was impossible, as he could not know, or appear to know, any thing about his wife's illegal acts, either past or present: that the past was only winked at, not allowed: that if he answered such a letter as mine, he could only say, first, of his daughter's Reconciliation, that the business was none of his: that he was a soldier, and not a divine: that my question should be addressed to the Chaplain at Berne, or to the Synod. And on the second point, that he could not recognize, or notice, or in any way allude to any illegal acts or professions done or made by his wife when abroad: that if she had done any thing wrong, he was sorry for it: but that for him, and in his eyes, as in the eye of the law of her country, she was, and had ever been, only Orthodox, &c. &c." I answered, that not only ecclesiastically, but even politically, her acts, however winked at, were public: for the public acts of the Church (where the Church is united with the State, as in Russia), are also civilly public: and if the apostacy of his daughter was so public, that the Chaplain at Berne thought it impossible for her to

Communicate without a formal and public Reconciliation (which act was politically cognizable as well as ecclesiastically), the apostacy of the mother no less must have both an ecclesiastical and a civil existence; as he himself had shown, when he spoke of his hopes that she might some day or other change her mind, and be then reconciled by abjuring the Anglican Church under the names of Lutheranism and Calvinism, as her daughter had been already reconciled.

And thus my last proposal having been rejected, it seemed, as I told Mr A., that nothing remained for me but to present Bishop Luscombe's Letters.

Mr A. seeing me resolved to present them, urged, that at any rate I might make such omissions and alterations in them, as to leave only a general statement of the controversy, without pointing so clearly to the particular case, or mentioning the illegal act of Communicating in Anglican Chapels. He also urged, that I should take the advice of some Russian Ecclesiastics, or other competent persons; which, I told him I had already determined to do.

SECTION XXI.

RECEIVE UNEXPECTEDLY A LETTER FROM BISHOP LUSCOMBE.

IN the meantime, on Thursday, September 10-22, I had received from Bishop Luscombe a letter of the date of September 5, acknowledging the receipt of a printed copy of his own Letters Commendatory, and expressing his readiness "to give me any further support I might wish for;" desiring, that "whatever I needed, I would let him know distinctly the particulars, and send him a draft of the form *in the very words that would best satisfy me.*" This offer coming as it did at that precise moment, without any previous request or suggestion of mine, surprised me not a little; and emboldened me, in replying to the Bishop, to say, that under existing circumstances I should take his letter, and the offer it contained, as an authority for making any changes or omissions in the document he had already given me, which, upon conference with Mr A. or other competent advisers, might seem desirable.

SECTION XXII.

CONSULT TWO RUSSIAN ECCLESIASTICS: CONSENT AT MR A.'S REQUEST TO MAKE CERTAIN OMISSIONS AND VERBAL ALTERATIONS IN BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S LETTERS COMMENDATORY.

BUT to return: On Monday, September 14-26, after Mr A. had finally rejected all my proposals, I called at the house of the Arch-Priest B. B. K., junior member of the Synod, and Grand Almoner of the Army and Fleet, (and so also *the immediate Superior of the Russian Chaplain at Berne*), who was besides at the time *Confessor to Mr A. and his family.* Not being able to see the Arch-Priest himself, I left for him a copy of Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory, with a note, requesting him to read them over as a private communication, and favour me with his advice "whether their formal presentation to the Synod would involve any risk of public

scandal, or of danger to individuals, whose acts, errors, and pretensions with relation to the British Church, are therein mentioned and condemned, though the parties themselves are un-named?"

On Monday, October 4 N. S., Mr R. (my earliest Russian acquaintance, made partly through the Arch-Priest in 1840) called on me, with a message from the Arch-Priest, (whose mind was then taken up with domestic afflictions); the message itself showing clearly that Mr A. (as he afterwards confessed was true) had been pre-occupying him with his own view of the case. The message was to this effect, "That he had received from me a Latin pamphlet, having relation to certain family matters of Mr A., whose wife appeared to have professed abroad Calvinistic and Lutheran errors, or simple Protestantism, rather than Anglicanism: that the Synod knew very well what the Anglican Church was; and that document could do nothing whatever to make its character either better or worse, or to vindicate it from any imputations: that after the confidence which Mr A. had placed in me, it would be neither honourable nor Christian to divulge or draw into public notoriety his family-matters and private correspondence: that he had a regard for me, and gave me credit for good intentions; and therefore should be sorry that by showing about that Latin document I should give people a bad opinion of me, and get myself perhaps shut out altogether from St Petersburg, if not from Russia."

Upon receiving this communication, I wrote a second note to the Arch-Priest in Latin, the translation of which is as follows:—

"MOST VENERABLE SIR, AND FATHER,—I am grieved to hear of your great affliction, and cannot but thank you for having thought at all of my ill-timed application under such circumstances. I know, however, that your motive has been the love of God and your neighbour, and therefore you have no need of my thanks. I only grieve that at such a time I should have unwittingly added anything to your trouble. In reference to the matter itself, on which I wish to consult you, since you have had the goodness to send me a message by Mr R., all that I need say is this, that if, after a few days, you would grant me an interview, and give me your advice, and direct my judgment as a man of God, you will find me ready to follow your counsel in whatever you show me to be right. At present the only thing I can do is to send you another copy of the Letters Commendatory, in which I have marked certain omissions to be made, if you, or others who are most nearly concerned, should judge it necessary or convenient, in order to avoid causing any civil scandal or danger. For I have the permission of the Bishop from whom I come, to erase or alter in the original document anything which may seem likely to be prejudicial to individuals in Russia. I also send herewith the draft of a Letter or Petition [Section XXVIII.] which I propose hereafter to present to the M. H. Synod, together with the Letters Commendatory of the Bishop, unless I should be advised of any valid objection to my doing so. You will thus have a fuller knowledge of my case and motives, and we shall understand one another better in conversing upon it, if you give me the interview that I desire. I shall be much obliged to you to return to me, after reading them, both the pamphlets, as having been printed only for my own use; and to consider the whole communication as private. I remain, &c. &c."

This note, together with the documents mentioned in it, was left at the house of the Arch-Priest on Wednesday, October 5 N. S.

In the meantime I had consulted also another Priest, since deceased,

whom I had known during my first stay in Russia, and whom an English lady, Mrs B. [mentioned in the published Work], having met me herself in a Russian Church on Sunday, September 18, had informed of my return to Russia, and had sent very opportunely to call upon me. This Priest had no acquaintance with Mr A. ; and was besides a very devout as well as learned man. After hearing an account of what had taken place at Berne, [though I mentioned neither the place, nor the names of the parties], he said, that, for himself, he thought the XXXIX Articles could scarcely be reconciled with orthodoxy ; but still, as the Anglican Church is not named in their Form of Reconciliation, and as the circumstances of this case seemed to have been very peculiar, he thought the Chaplain should have referred the matter to the superior Authority. After having read Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory, he said, that the business seemed to him to be both weighty and delicate. He thought they might perhaps ask me who the person alluded to was; and that it would certainly be better if the word '*Eastern*,' as more general, were substituted for the word '*Russian*' throughout, and all particular allusions to Russia effaced; (which I said should be done) : and then there would be no danger, even though the case were known among the higher circles.

Digression, and Insertion of what was passing with Mr A.

[On Tuesday, September 15-27, I had left at the house of Mr A. a printed copy of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, with some omissions and alterations which I offered to make, so that nothing should appear, to shew that the person alluded to was a Russian subject, and so that little or no reference should remain to his own conversations or letters. Two days afterwards he returned the pamphlet with a note from himself, in which he regretted that I had offered to omit so little; and pressed me to make much more extensive alterations, which he had marked in the printed copy. This communication I acknowledged, on Friday September 18-30, by a letter, from which the following are extracts :—

"There can be no doubt that in this affair some things, which may fairly be considered as in themselves naturally private, have been intermixed with others which are essentially public. But for myself, when there is something ecclesiastical and public at the base of the whole affair, I have no idea of the existence of any absolute and unconditional duty of silence : On the contrary, even in a controversy wholly private, between two individuals, one of whom thinks himself wronged by the other, the only rule I know of is this ; '*If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone : if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother ; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he neglect to hear them, TELL IT TO THE CHURCH : and if, etc.*' : And so the whole matter, in all its details, however private any parts of it may once have been, or however we may wish to be able to keep them private still, becomes, by the unhappy misconception or unreasonableness of those who refuse to do you justice, or even to listen to you (either first alone, or afterwards with one or two others), necessarily public. Would that it might be otherwise in this case; which nevertheless is not merely of a private nature, but has respect to acts and professions of an ecclesiastical and public character ! However, as I really wish to consult as far as possible your feelings and wishes, especially in a matter which touches you so closely, and by no means to

do any thing *unnecessarily* disagreeable either to you or to your wife, I have looked over the Latin document again, and have gone *as far as I could* to expunge all personal allusions to yourself or to any thing which came to my knowledge exclusively through you. . . . You need not be afraid of my taking any thing you do, or write, or say, amiss. The business is painful and difficult enough in itself ; and the better we understand one another, the more easily we shall get through it. I differ from you entirely as to the view you take of the matter, and of your own duty and of my duty towards the Church, and the truth, respecting it : you differ in like manner from me. I shall do what I think right, without yielding, intentionally at least, a jot to your opinion, which I think mistaken and wrong : but I have no sort of disposition to take amiss any thing which your views or feelings may prompt you to say either to me, or to others, of my proceedings : and I hope that it will be the same on your side. And in the *manner* of doing whatever I do, I assure you I most heartily wish to make that, which must, I know, be disagreeable, to be as little disagreeable as may be possible, consistently with the discharge of what I consider to be my duty. Your opinion, or rather, I should say, since we differ in opinion, your feeling, in all that relates to this matter, weighs with me, I assure you, very much more than that of any one else could do : But still, I too, as well as you, belong to a ‘*Family*’ [the Church], of whose credit and well-being I am tender : and if you have a wife, I have a Mother : and if your wife will not do what is just and reasonable by my Mother, whom she has wronged ; or if she cannot see that she has done any wrong to acknowledge or repair, then I must do my duty, and defend my Mother by all means in my power, however disagreeable it may be to you (as it is painful to myself also), that any farther publicity should attach in consequence to the acts and professions of your wife. The only thing that gives me pain to think of in the contents of the Latin document, in allusion to the conduct of your wife, is at p. 33, line 8, [p. 30, line 33,] where I mention the note which she wrote to the Bishop and Chaplain at Paris, and by which she obtained from him the Communion. I can indeed in my own mind, and do, exculpate her from any deliberate intention of doing what was *dishonest* or disingenuous, especially having that knowledge which I have of her turn of mind and of her religious system : but I have a feeling, that to other people, who have not such knowledge of her, and so are less likely to make allowances, this act of hers will appear in a *light which it gives me pain to contemplate*.¹ About all the rest of her acts and opinions, alluded to or detailed, I have no such feeling at all. The acts were in themselves public, and were done on intelligible grounds, however mistaken ; grounds on which many others act without any consciousness of doing wrong, as well as she : the opinions in like manner were honestly held as religious truth : they are common to thousands, who really think themselves in the right way : and any one may be deceived, especially in this last and most wretched age of the world. And besides this, she really represented Protestantism [and popular Anglicanism too, except upon one point] uncommonly well ; and had fully embraced its idea. I only wish some of our Clergy in England were half as honest, or at least half as consistent and clear, in professing Pro-

¹ Mde. A., on reading the above in 1847, expressed much surprise ; saying, that ‘ Bishop Luscombe’s note had left her to judge for herself, whether she were in the right towards the Russian Church.’ The words in italics were underlined in the MS. by herself.

testantism, and we should soon see an end of the controversy. . . . For the sake of that one passage I do certainly wish that she had either submitted to Bishop Luscombe's decision against her, when he reminded her of his terms, and refused her the certificate, or else had at least expressed some regret for having unintentionally deceived him, and stated some grounds for declining to acquiesce for the future in his decision, made in the name of his Church, against her claim to have a right to its Communion," &c. &c.

The rest of this letter related to particular passages in the Latin document which I agreed either to omit or to alter, or gave reasons for declining to do so ; and I sent back the document to Mr A. marked with those further changes, which I consented to admit.

On the following Sunday, October 2 N. S., he came to me again, and pressed still for some further alterations. He again declared the whole matter to be private, on the ground, that there *could not be* any religious relations or duties, justice or injustice, equity or unfairness, between the British and the Eastern Churches. He spoke warmly of the difference of their notions of submission in Russia. "Here," said he, "I am of the religion of my Bishop, nay, of my Parish Priest ; of the religion of the Synod : and I must say, without meaning to wound your feelings, I think a deacon ought to have some better notion of humility and submission, than to oppose, as you do now, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and perhaps the majority of the Bishops of your Church." For himself, he said, he "must tell me plainly, if he held my principles and opinions, and were a member of the Anglican Church, he should join the Catholic Church of Ireland. And," continued he, "I should do so upon a good principle, and with a good intention : and that is what I think would be your own best course to pursue." I called his attention to what I had said in a letter two days before, respecting the way in which his wife had acted towards Bishop Luscombe : But he did not seem to feel with me, nor to give any heed to it at all, beyond this, that he was very urgent with me to omit all mention of the party alluded to having actually Communicated ; as that, he said, was an illegal act.

On Saturday, October 8 N. S., I once more wrote to him, giving my consent to some further omissions ; and left the note the next day at his house, with the following postscript :—

"I should like to see you, if you are going to pass this way soon, or can conveniently come on purpose. I do not understand exactly what you have been about ; and fear that you have been seeking to do harm rather than good both to your own interest and to mine. Your interest and object (putting myself for the moment in your place, and adopting your point of view), would naturally be, at least I should have thought so, to procure my departure from St Petersburg as speedily as possible. If I cannot be prevented from doing something, you should desire, first, that in what I do there may be nothing which, by any possibility, may lead to unpleasant consequences of a civil nature to your wife or to yourself : and then, secondly, (this object being secured), that whatever application I may have in view, which is really just and reasonable, and not urged by me without a very strong motive, should be made, and answered, and despatched with as little delay and publicity, and with as few unnecessary impediments, as possible. Also, if you wish any one, with whom you differ in opinion, to seek and follow the advice of any

third person, it is exceedingly bad policy to pre-occupy the mind of that third person with your own view of the case. But if I see you soon, we can talk over these matters more fully . . . Only pray do not diplomatize with me, for that will do no sort of good ; unless, indeed, which would be wrong, and which therefore you would not think of, you could manage to procure an order from the High Police to make me leave the country. This, if you could do it without doing wrong, (which you could not), would indeed be something positive : and it would be equally agreeable, so far as personal wishes and convenience are concerned, to both of us."

Finally, on Tuesday, October 11 N. S., I saw Mr A. once more on the same business ; and read to him a letter which I had written to the High Procurator, and also that which I intended to present, together with Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory, to the Synod ; and I promised to detach the half sheet of parchment, on which my own Letter, as appended to the Bishop's, was written in the original document, and to re-write it with those alterations and omissions which had been agreed upon. He acknowledged that he had been talking to the Arch-Priest in his own sense ; which, he said, was very natural. We parted apparently very good friends ; and he even thanked me for the disposition I had shewn to consider his wishes ; and for the extent to which I had at length admitted the alterations and omissions which he had proposed.]

Return from the above Digression.

On Sunday, October 9 N. S., I again heard from the Arch-Priest, the Confessor of Mr A., through Mr R., who told me that he had been pleased with my note to him ; but as regarded advice, all he had to say was, that I could make my application to the Synod if I pleased : no one could prevent me : but the Synod could scarcely take any notice of it : it could not engage in communications with an individual Clerk, nor even with one Bishop : nothing short of a Synodal communication could be attended to. I replied that any individual, and much more a Bishop, has a right to address any other Bishop or Patriarch in a matter of Communion. He said the Arch-Priest thought I should address myself rather to a particular Bishop, as coming myself from a particular Bishop ; and that all the Synod could do would be to refer me to some particular Bishop for an answer. I objected, that the Synod itself, as holding the place of Patriarch, is only a particular Bishop ; and that no other particular Bishop in Russia, at least in the judgment of the Metropolitan of Moscow, has power to receive or answer any such Letters as those I brought, except he be commissioned to do so by the Synod : that of course if the Synod deputed any one, even a layman, to deal with me in its name, it would be all the same as if I were dealt with by the Synod itself. Further, the Arch-Priest had said, that my complaint of Mr A.'s daughter having been made to say Anathema to the Anglican Church, and so also to myself, was evidently groundless, as any one might see by merely looking at the Form in their Office-book, where there was no mention whatever of the Anglican Church. This made me almost angry ; and I answered, as I had before answered Mr A. on the same subject ; adding, that if he, being a Priest and a member of the Synod, would venture to give me his opinion in writing that the act of the Chaplain at Berne was no Reconciliation from the Anglican Church, nor was considered such in the eye of the Russian Church and law, I would be quite content, and would make no allusion to that matter in my own Petition to the Synod. But I felt

sure he would never venture to say officially or publicly any thing of the kind. Mr R. said that he was willing to see me, but on condition that I promised not to publish any thing which might pass at the interview. And in fact I saw him afterwards, on Wednesday, October 7-19, when there was no longer the same need of consultation, as I had already come to an understanding with Mr A., and had satisfied him, to all appearance; so that my presentation of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, though not agreeable to him, was at least admitted to involve no risk whatever of hurtful consequences to his family. Accordingly, the Arch-Priest merely expressed his satisfaction that I had conferred with Mr A., and had made those omissions which were marked, so as to avoid giving the history of the particular case of the lady in the Latin document. In this, he said, I had done well: only he wished further, that I would not present to the Synod my own Letter or Petition containing allusions to the Reconciliation of the daughter, but would content myself with presenting that general statement of doctrine, which, after the omissions made, would remain in the other document; as this would be more agreeable to Mr A. To this I replied, as I had before replied on the same subject to Mr R.; and said further, that no danger could ensue to any one from the Petition, as it referred only to a fact which was now past; on which an official report must have been made at the time; which was perfectly notorious; and which involved the imputation of no civil or ecclesiastical offence in any quarter: that, however, I should be quite willing to introduce any verbal alterations, so as to make the allusions as little distinct as possible. He said, he hoped I would at all events do this; and confer with Mr A. on the subject, (as in fact I did afterwards); and do whatever I finally resolved to do, with his knowledge and consent. I said that, so far as was possible and right, I would do so; but Mr A. himself also, as I thought, ought to desire, or consent to, all that I desired; and that, however this might be, my duty to the Church came first: after which I should wish in all things to please him, and all others.

The rest of our conversation related chiefly to the contents of Bishop Luscombe's Letters, and their general theological or ecclesiastical bearing. Another priest and Mr R. coming in, and joining in it, the Arch-Priest read to them from the Latin document the statement approved by Bishop Luscombe on that Article of the Creed which relates to the Church; and then began to explain, that "a member or members of the Anglican Church had maintained the contrary heresies:" and on my protesting against this, and saying, it was "neither true nor fair to speak so," he smiled, and said, "Well then, some persons calling themselves members of the Anglican Church." We parted very amicably.

SECTION XXIII.

RESIGN THE TUTORSHIP OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

ON Saturday, October 1 N.S., I sent a letter to Dr Routh, the President of Magdalene College at Oxford, acquainting him with the position in which I found myself at St Petersburg, and with the probability of my being detained some months longer, for which reason I requested of him to accept my resignation of the College Tutorship, which I then held. This request he seemed unwilling at the time to admit; and appointed a sub-

stitute, to do the work for me all that Term : nor it was not till after Christmas, that, finding me to be still detained in Russia, and still to press upon him the resignation, he accepted it, and named a successor to the Tutorship. The letter which was now sent to Dr Routh had been written ten days before, and had been read over to Mr A. in the mean time.

SECTION XXIV.

INTERVIEW WITH THE HIGH PROCURATOR.

ON Monday, October 3 N. S., and again on the following Monday, October 10, I had interviews with the High Procurator at the Synodal Palace: and as he had himself spoken to me before I left Russia in 1841 of the controversy with the ladies at Geneva, [See Introd. Part i. Sect. xxv.], I felt no scruple in mentioning to him the act of Reconciliation which had passed at Berne, as a wrong done to myself and to the Anglican Church. In reply he said plainly, that "if I or any one else, even a Turk, it might be, had brought any one from error of belief to orthodoxy, he had done a good deed: but that the Chaplain at Berne could only go through the routine: that if he had added or taken away a word, he would necessarily have been punished." He would not allow that he ought to have consulted his Superiors; because the Church, he said, "considers not individual cases."

With respect to the immediate cause of my coming out again to Russia, and the motive which had led Bishop Luscombe to give Letters declaratory of his faith, to be presented to the spiritual Authorities, I stated only, in general terms, that a controversy had arisen between the Bishop and myself on the one side, and certain members of the Eastern Church, who called themselves Anglicans, on the other. The Procurator immediately asked, *Who* those parties were? and on my replying, that this mattered nothing to the purpose: that they might be Russian subjects; and that I was not come to denounce any body; he seemed to be pleased, and to approve of the answer; remarking, that "for a Russian subject the consequences of apostasy were very serious." He said that it was an act of revolt for any member of the Eastern Church to Communicate with any other religious Confession, on any terms or conditions whatsoever: that as for the Letters of my Bishop, and for his Church, whether Anglican or Scottish, it might be orthodox, or it might be hereti-

cal, for all he knew : but if he were in the place of the Synod, or of a Russian Bishop or Priest, instead of being a layman and a soldier, who was not obliged to have any opinion on the subject, he should ask me, Whether we had not now a Bishop of our Communion, Dr Alexander, at the most central point of the Christian world, at Jerusalem? and whether he is in Communion with the Orthodox Patriarch? "No," I said, "he is not." "Then," said he, "how can you pretend to claim our Communion? You are in Communion with your Bishop at Jerusalem; are you not?" "No," I replied, "I am not indeed: I would neither pray with him, nor Communicate with him, if I were there." "But he has been consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of the Anglican Church?" "Yes," I said, "that is true; but upon principles, and in virtue of an agreement, contrary to our canons and religion." "You talk to me," he said, "of your canons: but I suppose the Archbishop also professes to ground himself in what he does upon the canons of his Church." "No, indeed," I replied, "he has presumed to innovate; to set aside our present discipline, and to make new rules contrary to it for this particular see." He said that if my application were to be laid before the Synod, it was a weighty matter, and they moved very slowly in Russia in such things: that they might very likely keep me a year at St Petersburg: I must make up my mind to that; and consider how I liked that prospect. I said I would willingly wait a year, or my whole life, if necessary, so long as I felt the step which I was taking to be right. "It would have been better," he added, "if your Archbishop too, in England, had taken a year, or a year and a half, and had consulted all his brethren, so that they might act together in a body, after our manner, before he answered the King of Prussia: and then, perhaps, if your laws are really such as you say, he might not have made such a false step." With respect to the transmission of my Letters to the Synod, he said, it was quite a different thing from any thing that he had done for me during my former stay in Russia: that I might indeed apply directly, in a spiritual matter, to any spiritual person I pleased, [and so also to any member of the Synod, who could present my Letters if he chose]; but that he, as representative of the civil power in its relation to the Synod, could receive

nothing from me himself: his only business was to transmit officially whatever came to him in due course to the Synod: that I being a British subject, neither my person nor my quality were civilly cognizable in Russia, except through my Ambassador: that so, any application from me must go through all the Civil Offices: It must be delivered in the first instance to my Ambassador, and sent from him to their Foreign Office; which would forward it again to the proper Department; and so, he said, when it reaches me, it will be my duty to lay it before the Synod: But all that cannot be done in a hurry. And as for himself, as the affair was delicate, and he did not wish to make any false step in it, or any step injurious to any person, he was quite serious in saying, that he could take no personal cognizance of it whatever: it must proceed in the most strictly official way, and go through all the forms. He warned me too, that I must on no account report or publish any thing as coming from him officially in this business; as he would in that case seem to have meddled with that which did not belong to him, and with which he wished to have nothing to do.

SECTION XXV.

OF THE CIRCULATION OF CERTAIN RUMOURS AT ST PETERSBURGH.

DURING all this time, that is, from after arriving at St Petersburg on Friday September 9, N. S., to the middle of October, I had been so studious of privacy, as to have refrained even from visiting those acquaintances which had been made during my former stay in Russia. Much less had I ever alluded to Mde. A., as if she had been the cause of my coming out. And afterwards, as time went on, and it became gradually known that I was again at St Petersburg, I answered all enquiries as to my object or business, by the general statement, that a certain Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church had seen fit to send Letters to be presented to the Russian Synod, for the purpose of disclaiming the imputations commonly cast upon his religion, and of seeking for the bearer the Communion. It was therefore with some surprise that I learned from the English Chaplains, that a report derived from Russian sources was current among the English residents both at St Peters-

burgh and at Cronstadt, to this effect; that I had come out to insult and persecute, on account of her religion, a Russian lady of rank; whose husband had turned me out of doors, and forbidden me the house. Other similar incidents, and notices from various quarters, forced me at length to perceive, that whatever might have been said of Mde. A's. prudence and caution, and of the non-existence of any public scandal, the whole matter was in fact noised abroad by some persons or other of that family; she being reported to have *triumphantly established her right to the Communion of the Anglican Church*; while I, it was said, had been prompted by pique or fanaticism to come and persecute her in Russia by threatening to denounce her to the Authorities, after I had been foiled by her elsewhere at all points. Conversation to this effect became at length so rife, that the High Procurator one day meeting her husband in a private company, took him aside, and cautioned him; saying, "*Your wife must be careful and hold her tongue: you know we may be forced to put her into a convent.*" This I learned accidentally some months later.

Remark by Mde. A. after reading the above, dated December 29, 1847:—

"In going back to Russia, I had made beforehand the resolution, dictated by the commonest prudence, never to speak a single word to anybody either of the circumstances of my conversion, or of the sufferings which it had brought upon me. From this resolution I never once swerved a jot during 16 months; nor did I ever speak to anybody whatever at St Petersburg of what you were doing in reference to me. As for what any one may have said, it reminds me, that when near a hundred newspapers of all the countries in Europe noticed my sufferings [in 1844], I was accused at St Petersburg of having supplied those articles." —Nothing further is meant to be asserted in the above Section, than that the rumours mentioned, from whatever member or members of the family they originated, were actually circulated at St Petersburg, and that not only in Russian society, but even among the English residents, to whose ears they had come from Russian sources.

SECTION XXVI.

PRESENT BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S LETTERS TO THE ENGLISH CHAPLAIN: AM RECEIVED BY HIM THEREUPON; AND DESIRED TO ASSIST HIM IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE H. COMMUNION.

ON Wednesday, October 12, N. S., having understood that the Holy Communion was to be celebrated in the English chapel on the following Sunday, I presented Bishop

Luscombe's Letters to the Chaplain together with a written application from myself in Latin, a translation of which is herewith subjoined :—

“REVEREND SIR,—I have come to this city with Canonical Letters from a Scottish Bishop, the Right Reverend Matthew Luscombe, who, before his Consecration, was a Priest in English Orders, and is now, independently of his Episcopal character, Chaplain to the English Embassy at Paris.

“This Scottish Bishop by his Letters commends me to all other Orthodox Bishops his brethren, to the intent that I may be canonically admitted to the Communion, and to the performance of the duties of my Order as Deacon, by any of them, within whose jurisdiction I may come. He has added also, for certain special reasons, in the same Letters an Exposition at length of the Orthodox Faith of the British Church on seven specified heads, with a disavowal of certain contrary heresies of Lutheranism or Calvinism, which are at present imputed to the Scottish and Anglican Churches, or, generally, to the British Church, by the Easterns.

“Now, although I acknowledge here the Russian Metropolitan to be the only lawful Bishop, and would not voluntarily separate myself so much as a hair's-breadth from his Communion, having in fact from the very day of my landing here begun to take measures for seeking from him and from the M. H. Synod the Communion, still, when I consider that the Eastern and Western Churches have been so long practically divided, and that I myself on a former occasion brought to the M. H. Synod a Letter which remains as yet unanswered, and that you, being a Priest, and a stranger here like myself, represent in some sense the Communion and jurisdiction of the Anglican Church upon neutral ground, being in no English diocese, nor yet canonically known to, or received into, any Russian, I think that I may rightly, under such circumstances, without prejudice to my professed desire of unity with the Russian Metropolitan, seek from you also, in the meantime, the use of the Sacraments, and offer to perform with you the functions of my Order among the English residents ; promising at the same time to obey you in all things lawful, and to conform myself to the customs and canons of the Anglican Church, which you represent in this city, as Priest and Chaplain to the English Embassy.

“And therefore, believing, as aforesaid, that by seeking the Communion from you I neither imply any voluntary separation from the Russian Metropolitan; nor the rejection of any article of Faith held by the Russian Church; nor the profession of any error, whether Popish, Lutheran, or Calvinistic, which is anathematized by the same Church; nor, lastly, the assertion of any anarchical right to individuals, whether clerks or laymen, to refuse obedience to the Russian Church in secondary matters pertaining to Rites and Discipline;

“And supposing besides, that you have here permission from the English Episcopate either formally or virtually granted you, to act in some matters of Discipline according to the exigency of particular cases, and so perhaps, sometimes to act or to determine for yourself in cases, which properly and ordinarily, if a Bishop were accessible, ought to be referred to the Bishop;

“And nothing doubting that your Faith, that is, the legal and canonical Faith of that Episcopate which you represent canonically here as a Priest, is absolutely one and the same with the Faith of that Scottish Bishop from whom I come, and utterly contrary to those Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies, which the same Bishop disavows and condemns;

“I present to you, Sir, the above-mentioned Letters of the Scottish Bishop Luscombe, from whom I come, in like manner as I have already put myself in course to present them to the Russian Synod, and so also to the Metropolitan of this city: And I ask you to admit me in virtue of these same Letters (after every thing else has been done that is proper) to the use of the Sacraments, and to the performance of the duties of my Order in your Chapel; promising you in the mean time true and dutiful obedience in all things lawful, according to the use and canons of the Anglican Church; until such time, as there may no longer be any obstacle to prevent the local Metropolitan from acknowledging and receiving as brethren Christians who come into his diocese with canonical certificates from the Scottish or Anglican Churches. For whenever this shall be so, we certainly ought neither to seek the Communion, nor submit to the jurisdiction of any other than the Bishop of the place. And so I remain, &c. &c.”

“N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

To this Letter the Chaplain replied, that he “would willingly admit me to the Communion : and that he begged me to assist him as Deacon in the Celebration on the following Sunday, *believing* that I had long ago subscribed *ex animo* the Articles and Canons of the Anglican Catholic Church, and would be ready to do so upon occasion again.”

To which I again wrote an answer, shewing, that “I could not so be received upon bare subscription to the Creed or Articles, without waiving altogether Bishop Luscombe’s Letters, and virtually acknowledging that he had no right to vindicate the true sense of those Formularies against heretical interpretations put upon them ; which would be nothing else than to yield a complete and manifest triumph to the opposite party.”

The Chaplain at length, after some mutual explanations, told me distinctly, that he was willing to receive me *upon Bishop Luscombe’s Letters* : and that he did in fact himself acknowledge all the statements of Faith under seven Heads really to express what was of Faith ; the statements of Heresy really to express Heresy : and the other opinions favoured or tolerated in the Letters to be undoubtedly tolerated by his Church, so far as relates to Communion.

SECTION XXVII.

WARN MDE. A. NOT TO ATTEMPT TO TAKE THE COMMUNION, OR TO REMAIN IN THE ENGLISH CHAPEL LONGER, THAN TILL AFTER THE SERMON.

HAVING been thus received by the English Chaplain, I delivered on the morning of Sunday, October 4-16, the following notice, which was dated the night before, to Mde. A. at her residence :—

“MADAM,—Having presented the Letters of Communion which I received from Bishop Luscombe at Paris to Mr L., the Chaplain to the British Embassy in this city, he has informed me, that he acknowledges Bishop Luscombe’s statements on seven points of Faith to be true statements of his own Faith, and of the Faith of his Church ; and that he rejects the contrary propositions as heretical : and thereupon he has both acknowledged me as admissible to the Communion, and has requested me to assist him on Sunday

next [to-morrow] at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, according to my office of Deacon.

“ It is the duty of the Deacon, among other things, to see that all strangers, who are not members of the Church, or who have been excommunicated, leave the Church after the Sermon, or after the Prayer which follows ; and that none remain but those who are members of the Church, and so have a right to Communicate, and who have duly prepared themselves to do so.

“ I therefore now, knowing what opinions you have professed and acted upon in past time, with regard to the right which you conceived yourself to possess of taking the Sacraments from the hands of British clergy, and considering that it is possible you may be intending to act on the present occasion as you have acted in other places before, and being desirous of avoiding any open scandal in the Church, and also at the same time of doing my own duty, do hereby give you notice and warning, that you in no wise presume to stay in the Chapel of the British Factory, if you should have come there, longer than to the end of the Sermon, which follows after the Gospel and the Nicene Creed ; nor to present yourself to receive the Holy Communion ; inasmuch as you are a stranger ; and have never been validly admitted to be a member of our Church, either by Baptism ; or by Canonical Intercommunion from any other Orthodox Church ; or by conversion and reconciliation from any Heresy or Schism ; and so you can have no sort of claim or title to receive the Sacraments from our Clergy.”

(Signed)

“ N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

Mde. A. did not attempt to take the Communion on that day : nor did she, as there was reason to believe, come any more to the English Chapel, so long as I remained at St Petersburg ; though she still continued, as before, to maintain her pretensions.

SECTION XXVIII.

MEMORIAL OR PETITION SENT TOGETHER WITH BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S LETTERS COMMENDATORY TO THE M. H. SYNOD.

I HAD already, on Friday, October 2-14, and again on the Tuesday following, seen the English Ambassador, Lord S. ;

and he had undertaken to forward my Petition to the Synod in the manner which the High Procurator had pointed out as most regular.

Accordingly, on Monday October 12-24, I sent to the Embassy, under an inclosure addressed to the M. H. Governing Synod, Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory, altered according to agreement, both in the original document (which it was intended should be returned,) and in a duplicate copy, which was to remain with the Synod. Together with them I inclosed also the following Memorial or Petition, dated at *St Petersburg, September 14-26, 1842* :—

“ To the Most Holy Synod, holding the place of Patriarch of All Russia, the humble Petition of N. N. Deacon :

“ There are now two years, Most Holy Fathers, since I came hither for the sake of Ecclesiastical study, and offered to your Holinesses, through his Excellency the High Procurator, a Letter of Recommendation from my Superior.

“ By presenting that Letter I professed, as an individual member of the British Church, and in her name, the Orthodox and Catholic Faith of Christ, though I came from the West, and not from any diocese of the Easterns ; and I prayed to be *examined*, as is prescribed by the Thirty-third of the Apostolical Canons ; and admitted, if found free from heresy, to Communion in the Sacraments.

“ The Letter, I was given to understand, was read to the M. H. Synod ; but no answer to the application was ever returned in its name.

“ In the mean time I neither obtained the Sacraments, as is the right of Orthodox Christians ; nor was I invited by the charity of the Orthodox Church to renounce any particular heresy which I personally held, as if I were a heretic.

“ I was indeed told by some, that it is the *custom* of the Eastern Church to account the British Churches to be Lutheran or Calvinistic ; and that so I must renounce Lutheranism and Calvinism, if I wished to be admitted by the Eastern Church to Communion. But I, though very willing to say Anathema to Lutheranism and Calvinism, and to all other heresies whatsoever, could not think of solemnly imputing before God to my Mother the Anglican Church

heresies, which I did not believe her to hold, and which under her training I had learned to abhor and condemn.

“Nevertheless, when I considered the length of time that the Churches of the East have been practically separated from those of the West; the very reasonable grounds for suspicion, which the history of the British Church during the three last centuries has added to the original quarrel; and lastly, that flood of abuses and errors of all kinds which must be confessed at present to exist, and even to be dominant, in the British Churches; and when I further reflected, that if I were dealt with according to strict right, by the exact letter and prescription of the Canons, the Letter which I had presented was not really canonical, coming as it did from no Bishop, I acquiesced, and was content that my Petition should be passed over in silence by your Holinesses; giving thanks in the mean time to God and to men for that courtesy and Christian charity which I met with, though undeserving, in this Russian Empire, and by help and countenance of which I was enabled the better to prosecute those studies for which I had come.

“About the same time that I first sought the Communion from your Holinesses, it was so ordered by Providence, that some words which the Emperor himself let fall concerning me came to the hearing of a nobleman, whose daughter, while residing abroad, had embraced and then professed the errors of Lutheranism and Calvinism in the name of the Anglican Church. This nobleman, upon first meeting me, inveighed against the Anglican Church as heretical; and asked, with an expression of astonishment, how I could have the confidence to demand the Communion from the Orthodox Russian Church, when the Anglican Church not only plainly professed Luther-Calvinism, but also at that very time was receiving and reconciling members of the Eastern Church as proselytes to herself? But at length, seeming to be somewhat moved by my assurances, and by the arguments which were adduced to shew that the British Church is neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, but holds essentially the same Faith with the Eastern Church, and that it is impossible for any one to be really, that is, canonically, admitted into it as a proselyte from the Eastern Church, he begged of me to do what I could to prove the truth of this to his

daughter ; and so to bring her back, if possible, to the common Faith of the British and the Eastern Churches.

“ A correspondence having taken place, the true state of the case appeared to be this : that a young Lady, otherwise of good disposition and excellent character, having lived many years abroad among the heterodox, had certainly imbibed Lutheran and Calvinistic opinions, though without being actually admitted a member of any sect ; and that afterwards she had, by abuse, contrary to our Discipline, and without any act, real or pretended, of Ecclesiastical authority, received the Sacraments at the hands of a certain heretical Priest of the British Church. This was that *conversion*, which the lady professed for herself ; and which her relatives here objected against Dr Routh’s Letter, as proving the heresy of the Anglican Church.

“ To be brief, I shewed by letter to this person, *first*, the fundamental error of that Protestantism, into which she had fallen at the beginning, and its irreconcilable inconsistency with the religion of the Anglican, no less than of the Russian Church : *whence* it followed, that even though she had been admitted ever so lawfully to our Communion, (which was quite otherwise), the only valid ground and condition of such admission would necessarily have been *not* that she should renounce that Faith into which the Russian Church had baptised her, but that she should continue stedfastly to confess the same. *Lastly*, it was proved to her, that so far from having been admitted a proselyte, she had never really or truly been admitted by any canonical act, or by any competent authority, to our Communion at all ; but had obtained the Sacraments only passively, and by abuse, through her own ignorance, and the sacrilegious error of the Priest who gave them : and that so it was now her duty to bewail that fault and sin which she had ignorantly committed against both Churches at once ; and after having Confessed and received Absolution in the usual manner, to submit herself again to her own Mother the Russian Church. All this was proved to her, partly from the facts and circumstances of the case itself ; partly from testimonies of the antient Fathers ; and partly from the Rituals, from authoritative documents, and from the writings of Divines of both the British and the Russian Churches : and, by God’s

mercy, I was, in part at least, the instrument, (indeed, as was here given out, the chief instrument) of recovering that Lady to the Orthodox Faith.

“ Yet when I had thus in the name of my Mother the British Church taken this person as it were by the hand, and brought her back from the heresies of Lutheranism and Calvinism to the common Faith of both the Anglican and the Russian Churches, and had presented her to her original Mother the Russian Church,—this was all the fruit gained by my labour, that I should be myself publicly anathematized together with the Anglican Church, under the name of Lutheranism or Calvinism, even by that very person whom the Anglican Church, through me as one of her members, had brought back from Lutheranism and Calvinism to the true Faith common to both East and West, and to filial obedience towards her own spiritual Mother.

“ Such was the fact: nor is blame now imputed to any one that it was so: for it is very possible that neither the Lady herself understood the full force and bearing of what was done, nor the Priest considered those peculiar circumstances of the case, which made it reasonable to expect that he should consult the superior Authority. And it is only honest to confess that the outward form of religion among us is such, that unless some very particular occasion lead to a closer acquaintance with its inner nature, the Easterns can hardly fail to conceive amiss of the British Churches. When however such a case occurs, as must force the Russian Church to perceive that the members of the British Church do not all profess the heresies of the Lutherans or the Calvinists, nor are bound to profess them; and so neither can abjure them without falsehood in such wise, as to profess to come from those heresies to the Communion of the Eastern Church; then, certainly, it may reasonably be desired of the Russian Church, either

“ I. *First*, That she cease for the future to require of us to abjure Lutheranism and Calvinism (which we have no more ever professed than Mahometanism or Judaism); or falsely and calumniously to impute those heresies to the British Churches, before we can obtain the rights of Christian men in the Eastern Dioceses. Rather, it would be reasonable to require us, if we seek the Communion, *first*, to say

Anathema simply to Lutheranism and Calvinism, and to all other heresies and sects under suspicion of which we may lie: *then*, to profess our acceptance and belief of all the Articles of the Faith, as held in the Eastern Church: and *lastly*, to promise a true and full obedience and conformity in matters of Discipline to the Russian or Eastern Church, while we may be living within its dioceses: To which conditions might be added the stipulation, that we should strive to bring back all things in Britain also to the rule of the Œcumenical Canons, so far as might be possible, and so far as the Civil Authority, as concurrent with the Spiritual, might allow. If we could be admitted to Communicate upon such terms as these, the Russian Church would at once be observing a due and proper caution for the security both of her doctrine and of her discipline, and would also be conferring an unspeakable benefit upon the British Churches, by giving them her charitable assistance to draw and raise them out of that flood of evils, under which they have now been long drowned. And, what is most of all, she would be acting equitably and justly towards those Christians, who, being plainly neither Lutherans nor Calvinists, cannot without sin go through the solemnity of a mock Reconciliation, by professing to abjure heresies which they have never held; and yet have the right to expect this from all Orthodox Churches, (since the mercy of the Lord is offered to all), that either their orthodoxy be acknowledged, and avail them to obtain the privileges of brethren; or else that some heresy be objected to them, which they are really bound by their present position to hold, and from which they can so really, and not by a fiction only, be reconciled to the Orthodox Church:

“ II. Or, *secondly*, if the Russian Church persist in regarding the Anglican, or rather the British Churches, as Lutheran or Calvinistic, even though they bring back to the Eastern Church from Lutheranism and Calvinism her own children that have gone astray; or, to say the same in other words, if this seems to the Russian Church to have been equitable and right in God’s sight, that the British Church, and I myself, as one of her members, should be anathematized under the name of Luther-Calvinism in a public Act of Reconciliation, by those very persons whom the British

Church through me had brought back from Luther-Calvinism to Orthodoxy, and to the bosom of the Eastern Church,—then I would beg this one thing only of your Holinesses in His name, Who is just, and the Lover of justice, that, whereas I have by His mercy brought back, or contributed to bring back, one soul to the way of life, and to your fold, you would now make me a like return; and, of your charity for the salvation of my soul, vouchsafe to object to me that Lutheran or Calvinistic heresy which you consider me bound to hold as a member of the British Church, and by anathematizing which I must anathematize at the same time that Church; and that so at length, if this can be done, and seems to be just in God's sight, you would admit me, if you please, to your Communion by that same Form of Reconciliation, by which you have already admitted and Reconciled those whom I brought back to you from Lutheranism and Calvinism:

“III. Or, *lastly*, If you are as yet in doubt as to the true nature and religion of the British Church, whether it be intrinsically Orthodox, or Luther-Calvinistic and heretical, I petition only for this, that your Holinesses would be pleased to return some short answer, signifying, *What* there is to prevent your giving credit to those Letters Commendatory, which I now present herewith from a Scottish Bishop; and by which, the said Scottish Bishop seeks to disclaim for himself and for his Church the charge of Luther-Calvinism now imputed to us?

“Praying the indulgence and condescension of your Holinesses, I bow myself at your feet to the ground, and await your pleasure, until you vouchsafe to determine upon my Petition, according to the wisdom given you of the Lord, &c. &c.”

“N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

Rather more than a month afterwards, on Tuesday November 10-22, I heard incidentally that the Petition, together with Bishop Luscombe's Letters Commendatory, had that same day reached the Synod, after having been first sent by the High Procurator to the Rector of the Spiritual Academy (the Right Revd. A., Vicar-Bishop of Vinnitsa), to be translated. This is always done with foreign documents, the Russ alone being used in all the Journals of the Synod.

SECTION XXIX.

AM DESIRED BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF RIAZAN TO WRITE
OBSERVATIONS ON AN ACCOUNT OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH
PUBLISHED AT ZURICH.

ON Thursday, November 12-24, I met at a private house the Archbishop of Riazan, one of the Members of the M. H. Synod, with whom I had some little conversation at the time : and on the Monday following, I received from him a large Sheet of paper printed in French, and marked in the corner No. XIX ; being one of a series of Tabular Views of the different Churches and Sects of Christianity. The particular Sheet then sent to me contained an account of the different religious Denominations of Britain, under the general head of "*Evangelical Christians, Third Series*" : The whole Sheet was divided into three columns, the first two of which had one common heading of "*Anglicans*" placed above them, with the letter *C.* ; the third column had the heading "*Sects*" with the letter *D.* Under the heading "*Anglicans*" were placed in the first column "*Episcopalians*" ; in the second column "*Presbyterians*" : under the heading "*Sects*," in the third column, were enumerated "*I. Independents*" ; and "*II. Methodists, &c.*" The Archbishop of Riazan requested that I would make in writing such observations upon the document as I thought proper, and send them to him together with the printed sheet, when I returned it. The entire work, which I saw afterwards at the residence of another member of the Synod, and which I was told belonged to the Synod itself, was published a few years back by a Pastor named Reutlinger at Zurich.

Here follows a translation of the whole Document, and of the remarks with which it was returned to the Archbishop :

GENERAL HEADING OF THE TABLE "EVANGELICAL ⁽²⁾ CHRISTIANS ⁽¹⁾ OF BRITAIN ;" SUBDIVIDED INTO "C. ANGLICANS ; ⁽³⁾" AND "D. SECTS : " "ANGLICANS" SUBDIVIDED AGAIN INTO "EPISCOPALIANS ; ⁽⁴⁾" AND "PRESBYTERIANS." THE ACCOUNT GIVEN OF THE "EPISCOPALIANS," OR FIRST DIVISION OF THE "ANGLICANS" HAS THREE SECTIONS :—

SECTION I.—*Of the Origin of the Anglican Church.* ⁽⁵⁾

"Henry VIII., King of England, who was at first a bigotted Catholic, ⁽⁶⁾ and so strongly opposed to *Luther* and the *Reformation*, ⁽⁸⁾ that he even

wrote himself against Luther, for which he was rewarded by the Pope with the title of Defender of the Faith, had married Catherine of Arragon, the relict of his elder brother Arthur : but wishing afterwards to separate from her, that he might be at liberty to espouse Anne Boleyn, he applied for a divorce to the Pope ; who, moved at first by the consideration that Catherine was aunt to Charles V., put the matter off for a number of years, without granting it. This at length enraged Henry. Thomas Cranmer, an English Divine, whose opinion was in favour of the divorce, suggested to the King to obtain the opinions of a great number of other theologians, who were also all in his favour. The King then put away Catherine ; married Anne Boleyn ; raised Cranmer to the dignity of Archbishop of Canterbury ; and in A. D. 1531, *obtained from the Parliament and the people the right of making himself Head* ⁽⁹⁾ *of the British Church in the room of the Pope.* He suppressed the Monasteries ; confiscated all their property ; and caused the Bible to be translated into English, in order that every church might at least have one copy of it. In this manner he prepared the way for the Reformation, while he still *upheld Catholicism as before.* ⁽¹⁰⁾ Upon the death of Henry, which took place in 1547, his son Edward, a youth of the age of 10 years, *was elected* ⁽¹¹⁾ *King.* Cranmer *governing in his name,* ⁽¹²⁾ *commenced the Reformation in England* ⁽¹³⁾ *upon the basis of the doctrine of Calvin.* ⁽¹⁴⁾ *Popery* ⁽¹⁵⁾ *was gradually abolished ; but they did not admit all the Institutions of the Genevese ;* ⁽¹⁶⁾ *and they kept the Episcopal form of Government.* ⁽¹⁷⁾ Edward died in 1553, at the age of 16. Mary, Henry's daughter by Catherine, a bigotted *Catholic,* assumed the government. She re-established *Popery.* Cranmer perished at the stake ; and a great number of *Protestants* ⁽¹⁸⁾ were put to death during her reign. She died in 1558. Elizabeth ascended the throne, who had been *bred up in the Protestant Church.* ⁽¹⁹⁾ She made use of Parker as her instrument for *introducing it into England ;* and so may be regarded as *having completed the Reformation.* She founded an *Evangelical-Church-Constitution,* ⁽²⁰⁾ which held the middle place between *the Lutheran Church* ⁽²¹⁾ *and the Reformed,* ⁽²²⁾ and the doctrine of which was grounded on the Holy Scriptures, and was conformable to that of the Constitution established in the first ages : and this was the reason that the Episcopal Constitution was preserved. *They adopted the doctrine of the Genevese Churches* ⁽²³⁾ *with respect to the Communion ;* ⁽²⁴⁾ *but not with respect to Church-Government.* As Elizabeth liked the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, *they retained some of them, but with modifications.* In the year 1563, this *new Evangelico-Episcopal* ⁽²⁵⁾ *Church, under the protection of the Sovereign, obtained the pre-eminence,* ⁽²⁶⁾ *and became dominant in 1563 in England and in Ireland.* ⁽²⁷⁾

SECTION II.—*Parties which have been formed in this Church.* ⁽²⁸⁾

Already, under Edward, the Episcopal Constitution was odious to many of the members of the Anglican Church. The *Evangelicals* who fled their country under Mary found refuge in Switzerland, at Strasbourg, &c. ; and finding the more simple ceremonial of the German Reformed Church to their taste, they introduced among themselves, during the time of their sojourning in Germany, *the non-episcopal Constitution of the Church of Geneva* : some others however, and especially those that were residing at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, *retained the Episcopal Constitution.* ⁽²⁹⁾ Upon the return of both into England under the reign of Elizabeth, the former party wished still to retain the non-episcopal Constitution ; to which

Elizabeth would not consent, but introduced the Act of Conformity. The name of 'Conformists' was given to the *partizans of Elizabeth*.⁽³⁰⁾ The party of the 'Non-Conformists' *thought* that they could not conscientiously yield in this to the Queen, because to do so would have been to bring in again the superstitions of Popery. Calling themselves 'Pure' (*Puri*) they received the name of 'Puritans.' *In this way was effected, in 1567, the entire separation of the Episcopal party from the Puritans*; ⁽³¹⁾ a separation which excluded the latter from all employments in the Church. In 1572 they founded a Presbytery, intending so to restore the Constitution of the Apostles, in which there were only Presbyters. The Puritans gave birth to other sects, such as that of the *Independents*; ⁽³²⁾ and that of the *Latitudinarians*, ⁽³³⁾ who attempted to unite together the Episcopalians and the Puritans; and afterwards that of the *Non-Jurors*, ⁽³⁴⁾ who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III., and would promise him no more than a passive obedience.

All those parties which do not belong to the Episcopal Church are called indiscriminately in England *by the name of Dissenters*.⁽³⁵⁾ *In several parts of England this name is given only to the Modern Presbyterians, a peculiar sense being in this instance attached to the word.*

SECTION III.—*The Episcopal Church, called also the High Church, ⁽³⁶⁾ as being the dominant Church in England.*

She may be said to hold the middle place between Catholicism and Protestantism, ⁽³⁷⁾ though *approaching more nearly to the doctrine of the Reformed*, ⁽³⁸⁾ with this difference, that she diverges from these latter in regarding the Episcopal dignity as a Divine and necessary institution, while she pretends that there has been from the beginning of Christianity an uninterrupted succession of Bishops, strictly so called; also, in that she attributes a great authority to the judgment of the Fathers, and makes a point of keeping more rigorously to the usages of the First Centuries. She retains some of the ceremonies of Catholicism: and her worship has more ceremonies in general than that of the Reformed Church.

1. *Government of the Church.*

The King is its Head, ⁽³⁹⁾ and its *first Bishop*:⁽⁴⁰⁾ but the functions of Preaching, of Ordination, of Confirmation, and of the Administration of the Holy Sacraments are forbidden him. He *Confirms the Bishops*, ⁽⁴¹⁾ who are elected by the Chapters. When it is proposed to make any essential reform in Church matters, *it is done by the King and the Parliament together*.⁽⁴²⁾ The Episcopal Church has two Archbishops, to whom the other Bishops are subject. The first is the Archbishop of Canterbury, the first Peer of the Empire, who resides ordinarily in London. The second Archbishop has his Chair at Bishopsthorpe, near York, but *he usually resides at London*.⁽⁴³⁾ The rest of the Clergy of England is composed of Prebendaries or Canons, joined with the Bishops as Ecclesiastical Counsellors; of Deacons, whose only business is to say the Prayers and read the Holy Scriptures; of Arch-Deacons; of '*Diacres de Camp*' [Qu. Diacres 'Deacons?']; of Chaplains; of *Pastors*; ⁽⁴⁴⁾ and of Vicars.

II. *The Worship.*

The *Worship* consists of Prayers, of *Sermons*,⁽⁴⁵⁾ of Singings, and Lessons. The Congregation at one time on their knees, at another standing, repeat aloud Prayers, Singings, Psalms, and the Creed. The Sermon is short. The Bishops alone administer Confirmation to the Children,

which they do by repeating the prescribed Prayers, and laying their hands on them. Baptism is still administered by other Ecclesiastics also : they *dip two fingers in the water*,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and *sprinkle* with it three times the child's forehead. The Communicants receive the Communion kneeling, and *without either appearing before the Curate, or Confessing*,⁽⁴⁷⁾ or going through any preparation beforehand. When they *visit the sick*, and when they bury the dead, they use *no other* ⁽⁴⁸⁾ ceremonies than the repetition of certain Forms of prayer. Excommunication is still in use, but *it has no consequences of any importance* :⁽⁴⁹⁾ the secular government denounces the guilty person to the Bishop ; but after having been excommunicated, *he can still enter any other religious Community*.⁽⁵⁰⁾ There are *no Pictures to be seen* ⁽⁵¹⁾ in the greater part of the Churches. *Only the Episcopal Churches* ⁽⁵²⁾ have bell-towers and bells. They bless the ground for the building of churches, and the laying out of Cemeteries. Those who fight on consecrated ground are punishable by law.

III. *The Symbolical Books.* ⁽⁵³⁾

The Symbolical Books of the Episcopal Church are, The Thirty-Nine Articles : The Book of the Homilies : The Book of Common Prayer ; and the Book of the Laws of the Church. The two first contain the Doctrines and Precepts of Morality. The two others contain the Liturgy, the Worship, and the Government of the Church.

A. *The Thirty-Nine Articles.* Already under the reign of Edward, Cramer and other Divines *drew up a Confession of Faith* ⁽⁵⁴⁾ consisting of Forty-two Articles ; which was revised under Elizabeth ; reduced to *Thirty-Nine Articles* ; ⁽⁵⁵⁾ and *published by the Queen* ⁽⁵⁶⁾ in 1571, after having obtained the sanction. The Articles agree with the Nicene, the Athanasian, and the Apostles' Creeds : also *with the doctrines of Luther* ⁽⁵⁷⁾ concerning Original Sin, Faith, Justification. They rejected on the other hand *the Catholic doctrines respecting Good Works, Purgatory, Indulgences, the Saints, Relics, the Seven Sacraments, the withholding of the Cup, the Mass, Transubstantiation, &c.* ⁽⁵⁸⁾ It is said in them *that the Church can decide in Controversies of Faith, but only so far as her decision may be in agreement with Holy Scripture*. They regard the Holy Sacraments *not only as outward signs of Faith, but as pledges of the Grace of God*. They teach *that Baptism is the symbol of Regeneration, and the mean whereby they who are baptized are received into the Church, and obtain Remission of Sins*. They lay down that the Holy Supper is a Communion of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, which are received *only by Faith*, and in a spiritual manner.

B. *The Book of Homilies is no longer in use*, but the Clergy are obliged to *subscribe it*. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ Its origin was in the time of the Reformation, when the Clergy were as yet incapable of composing sermons.

C. *The Common Prayer-Book* ⁽⁶⁰⁾ is a Collection of Liturgical Forms. It was sanctioned in 1662. ⁽⁶¹⁾

D. *The Book of the Laws of the Church* contains a Statement of the Constitution of the Anglo-Episcopal Church. ⁽⁶²⁾ It was drawn up in 1604, under James I.

IV. *Countries in which the Episcopalians are to be found, and the number of their Partizans.* ⁽⁶³⁾

They are to be found *in part of Ireland* ; ⁽⁶⁴⁾ in the West Indies ; in North America ; and in the Penal Colonies of New South Wales. Their total number is about 11 millions. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

II. [SECOND DIVISION OF ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS.] OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

I. *The Presbyterians of England.*

The Presbyterians of England differ from the antient Puritans, from the Presbyterians of Scotland, and among themselves.

Doctrines and Rites.—It is only the Holy Scriptures, *i. e.* the most antient doctrines of Christianity, and not the Church, or any mortal man, that have authority in their Ecclesiastical affairs. There is no distinction of rank or dignity among their Ministers. They consider that there are many remains of Popery in the Episcopal Church. They disapprove of the Consecration of Churches and Cemeteries; of the custom of kneeling during the Administration of the Holy Supper; as also of that of making the Sign of the Cross, and reciting set forms of Prayer. Their preachers preach without any gown or cloke, and sometimes, even in the every-day dress of citizens, only putting on a small pair of banns. They are better informed and more free than the Episcopalians. Their Worship is more simple. Their Churches have neither Altars, nor Images, nor Organs, nor Bell-Towers, nor Bells. At the Communion, the Pastors, the Elders, and the men who present themselves, seat themselves near the pulpit, round a large table. The Pastor distributes the Bread and the Wine, which is also carried to the women, and to those who have not been able to find room at the table. Baptism is administered without the presence of sponsors. They have no consistories. Each one of their communities administers its own affairs through its Elders and Pastors. The Pastors sometimes hold meetings together. Their salaries are very moderate; but they are remarkably laborious and frugal. They are trained in academies of the second class, not being admissible at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

II. *Presbyterians of Scotland.*

These form the dominant Church in Scotland. They keep closer to the principles of Calvin than those in England. There are, however, different parties among them; some adhering rigidly, and to the very letter, to the doctrines and mode of worship of Calvin. These are called 'Seceders,' and are not numerous; but the majority have departed from the opinions of Calvin on some points. Scotland is divided into seventy '*Presbyteries*,' which answer to the Bishoprics and Dioceses of other countries, with this difference, that there is no Head, in as much as perfect equality exists among the Ministers. In each Church the Pastor and the members of the *Presbytery* hold a '*Session*' weekly; and in each *Presbytery* all the Pastors and Presbyters who belong to it meet to confer on ecclesiastical matters. Above the Presbyteries are '*Provincial Synods*,' to which they send their deputies every six months. There is held annually a Synod at Edinburgh (the General Assembly), which is composed of all the clergy of Scotland. Their cures are commonly given them by lay patrons. The clergy of Scotland is distinguished from that of England by its greater diligence, learning, and morality.

III. *Sandimaniens.*

They are thus called from Robert Sandiman (an Englishman, who died in 1772). They form a branch of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. They follow the literal interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. They have Bishops, Elders, and Ministers. They condemn worldly amuse-

ments, games of chance, drawing of lots ; they hold love feasts ; use the kiss of charity ; the washing of feet ; abstain from blood, and from things strangled ; and have a common purse. Their religious exercises are not without solemnity.

“SECTS,” [AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE “EPISCOPALIAN AND PRESBYTERIAN ANGLICANS.”]

I. *Independents, or Congregationalists.*

The origin of this Sect is as early as the fifteenth century. The Congregationalists regard each Congregation as a part of the visible or militant Church. Each Church is, in their opinion, an organized body furnished with all that is necessary for the attainment of religious objects, without being subject to any other. Their doctrines are nearly identical with those of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. To be a Congregationalist one must profess belief in Christ, and repentance from sin ; must acknowledge the Trinity, predestination, original sin, particular redemption, final perseverance. They are most numerous in Scotland, and in North America. The number of their adherents is a million and a half.

II. *Methodists.* 1. *Name and Origin of this Sect.*

At the beginning of the eighteenth century several young students at Oxford, in England, seeing with pain the lukewarmness in religion of the Episcopal Church, united together and resolved to adopt a greater strictness of manners, and to lead a life of piety. One of the students, who was not of their party, speaking of them said, that there was risen among them a new kind of ‘Methodists,’ that is, methodisers of piety after a new fashion : this gave occasion to the fixing of the name of ‘Methodists’ upon the Society by way of derision.

II. *Founders of this Sect.*

The founders of this sect were John and Charles Wesley. The first was born in 1702, and died in 1791. He was the son of a Pastor of Exworth in the county of Lincolnshire. He studied at Oxford, where he formed a Society with his brothers and other students for the purpose of devoting themselves to a life of piety. They passed their time in prayers and fastings, and in the diligent study of the Holy Scripture : they Communicated every Sunday ; and gave away much in charity. Having formed an acquaintance with some of the Herrnhuters or Moravian Brethren of America and Germany, he formed his adherents into a Society based upon their principles. The constitution and doctrine of the Methodists have him for their author. He made numerous journies about the country ; visited annually all the Communities of his Sect ; and preached daily : he also wrote much.

III. *Formation and Fortunes of this Sect.*

This Sect sprang up in the bosom of the Episcopal Church of England in 1729 and 1730. The greater part of the Ecclesiastics of this Church showing little zeal for the practice of Christianity, several students of Oxford, as we have said above, united together with the design of devoting themselves to a life of rigid piety. Wesley was their leader. George Whitfield, a man full of zeal and talent, joined himself in 1732 to the brothers Wesley and their associates. Wesley organized in London a small community, which held its meetings in a private dwelling-house. The Methodist Preachers having soon drawn together such large numbers of hearers that neither houses nor churches could any longer contain them, they preached in the streets ; and made many proselytes. Whit-

field, in particular, collected sometimes more than 12,000 auditors by the eloquence with which he preached, in places of public resort. These preachers insisted strongly on the corruption of man's nature through the sin of Adam; on redemption by Jesus Christ; on repentance, and new-birth. Many of their hearers fell into convulsions on the spot, and embraced this new belief; which the Methodist preachers regarded as a work of Divine Grace. The field-preachings were before long put an end to; and the Methodists established Meeting-houses, which they called Tabernacles. They set up an Ecclesiastical constitution of their own similar to that of the Moravian brethren, though Whitfield differed from Wesley on the point of predestination, the former professing the particularism of Calvin, while the other preached universal predestination.

iv. *Doctrines, Rites, and Constitution.*

The Methodists attach a higher value to the positive doctrines of Christianity than does the Episcopal Church of England. The principal doctrines with them are those of the fall of Adam; of [faith in] Jesus Christ; and of Regeneration or the '*New Birth*.' They insist on a great strictness of morals; and there have been instances of a total change in the life of common labourers after having embraced their doctrines. They understand by '*Conversion*' the work that is wrought in the heart of man, a work, which shows itself by strong emotions: and they believe that through being thus spiritually regenerated or penetrated by Grace men can arrive at a higher degree of moral perfection. They are distinguished also by their doctrine of Christian '*perfection*,' which they think may be acquired in this life; also by their opinion of lying, which they condemn altogether. Their liturgy is the same with that of the Episcopal Church; but they pray with more fervour and devotion. Their religious singing is sweet and edifying: the men and the women sing alternately. They assemble in the meeting-house every day, morning and evening, at six o'clock. They devote one whole night in every month to religious exercises. On New-Year's Day they hold a meeting at Moorfields, to celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of their Church. In order to maintain discipline, they divide their communities into '*Classes*,' and these again into '*Bands*,' some of these being for the men, others for the women. These last meet every week under the presidency of a Superior, and confer on the spiritual state of their members. Every three months all the Classes and all the Bands celebrate what are called '*Love Feasts*.' They are further divided into members who have persevered in Regeneration and in Faith, and others who have fallen after the New Birth. They make especial prayers for these last. The Class-leaders give tickets of admittance to members on trial to be present at the prayers of the permanent members, that is, of those who are established in the faith. Transgression of their laws makes the offender to incur censure and excommunication. The communities are under '*Superintendents*' or '*Bishops*,' '*Assistants*,' and lay Pastors, who continue all the same to follow their secular calling. The Synod or '*Conference*' of the Wesleyans meets at King's Wood, near Bristol. The Methodists of the New Connection began in 1796: they have a College composed of Pastors and lay members: this party is the most numerous.

v. *Countries which they Inhabit, and Numbers of their Adherents.*

They are very numerous in the British Empire, and in the United States of North America. Their total numbers are probably about 483,383.

Observations on that part of the Document or Table [reprinted above] which relates to what is there termed "the Episcopal or Anglican Church," as distinguished from the Presbyterians of England and Scotland also termed "Anglicans," and from the "Sects" of the Independents and the Methodists; all being comprehended together under the common denomination of "Evangelical Christians."

The idea upon which this whole classification proceeds is essentially heretical. If the Church of England had ever herself recognised any such idea, or spoken any such language, she would have sinned against her own existence. The word 'Evangelical,' in its true sense, imports conformity not merely with the written Bible, but also with the Doctrine, the Fellowship, the Oblations, and the Prayers of the 'Apostles;' that is, of the 'Messengers' (τῶν Ἀγγέλων τῆς Ἐυαγγελίας); so that the only 'Evangelical' Christians recognized as such by the 'Evangelical,' or, as she calls herself 'Apostolical' Church of England, are the members of this same Evangelical or Apostolical Church, and of those other Churches of kindred origin, which differ from her in nothing that is indispensable to her essence; and which all together, even though divided, as at present, by superficial schisms, form the one and only true Holy Catholic Apostolic or Evangelical Church, visibly, and not only invisibly extended over both East and West.

If, then, we take the word 'Evangelical' in the only sense in which it is known to the Church of England, the 'Presbyterian Anglicans' of England and Scotland will be no less 'Sects' than the Independents or the Methodists; and all together will be any thing rather than 'Evangelical Christians.' But if we take the word 'Evangelical' in the sense put upon it by heretics, namely, as signifying the aggregate of all individuals, or associations of individuals, calling themselves Christians because they follow, as they think, the written Bible,—in this case, neither the Church of England nor her true members will have any claim to be ranked among 'Evangelical Christians.'

Such being the ideas and principles of the Author by whom the Table was drawn up, it will suffice to remark here at the beginning once for all, that the necessary consequence has been the employment throughout of a phraseology totally at variance with that received by the Church, alike with respect to historical facts, and to the doctrines of Religion. A member of the Church of England not only has a right, but is bound to keep always to the language of the Church, and to recognize no other, by whatever parties it may be employed.

Having premised thus much, I will now proceed to make some observations, as requested, upon the language and statements of the Table which has been sent me, so far as it treats of the Church of England, with which I am now, as the Clerk of a Scottish Bishop and through the Communion of the Scottish Church indirectly, and otherwise also directly connected.

1. "*Christians*:" As if there could be any 'Christianity' or 'Christians,' in the strictest sense of these words, separate from 'the Church.'

2. "*Evangelical Christians*:" As a class distinguished from *non-Evangelical*; that is, in the sense of the writer, Heretics, or Sectaries, calling themselves 'Evangelical' or Scriptural. Whereas, if the word 'Evangelical' were used in the good and orthodox sense of which it is capable,

the only 'Evangelical' Christians would be 'the Faithful' or true Believers; Christians, who are really such, having received the name, and not having arrogated it to themselves; that is to say, the members of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which alone is truly 'Evangelical.'

3. "*Anglicans:*" As a religious Denomination or '*Confession.*' The writer, being himself, as it seems, a Presbyterian Calvinist, exempts the Presbyterians from being classed among the 'Sects' with the Independents and Methodists, and joins them (probably on account of their being civilly Established in Scotland) with the Episcopalians or the Anglican Church, as forming together with it one class, which he calls 'Anglicans;' though his sect has ever been a most bitter enemy of the Apostolical Church in England and Scotland, to the members of which, and that properly in England only, the title of 'Anglicans' belongs. The Apostolical Church, or, which is the same thing, 'the Church' simply, has never taken to herself any titles expressive of locality otherwise, than in relation to those localities which they express. In England the Church has ever called herself since the formation of that kingdom, before, no less than since the time of Henry VIII., 'the Church of England;' but in Ireland the same Church is 'the Church of Ireland;' in the Isle of Man, 'the Church of Man;' in Scotland, 'the Church of Scotland;' though since the Revolution in 1689, the Civil Government has given, so far as it could, that title to the sect of the Presbyterians or Calvinists. For this reason, to distinguish her from the sect which has legally and politically usurped her place, the Church of Scotland is now sometimes called by her members 'the Scottish Church,' or 'the Church,' or 'the Apostolical Church in Scotland.' But never, at any time, have any of our Churches, or any of their members, who have common sense, spoken of the 'Church of England,' or the 'Anglican Church,' as existing at once in all those countries.

4. "*Episcopalians:*" As a religious Denomination. It is true that all Churches, which are really such, are governed by Bishops, and so 'Episcopal:' and their members may in consequence, in a certain sense, be said to be 'Episcopalians:' but this phraseology is nowhere to be met with in the Acts or Formularies of the Church of England. The Churches of Scotland and America, it is true, have allowed this name to be put upon them by the Civil Governments of those two countries respectively: but they have never, I apprehend, thereby intended to allow that they have any community of principle with the sects of those who are not 'Episcopalians.'

5. "*Origin of the Anglican Church:*" The Church of England, if she were to be heard for herself, would not admit that she had any other 'origin' than that which she derived in the Apostolic age from the preaching of St Paul or his immediate disciples; and again, in the seventh century, from St Augustine and his fellow-labourers. The changes, more or less considerable, which she has undergone at different times (in rites and discipline, or even in lesser points of theological doctrine), have never affected the integrity of that 'deposit of the Catholic Faith,' which was committed to her in the first century; nor the uninterrupted succession of her Hierarchy.

6. "*Catholic:*" This word is not used by the author of the Table in any sense recognized by the Church. The Church of England has ever

called herself and her religion 'Catholic;' both in the times of the antient British Bishops, who were in no immediate dependence upon the Pope at all; in the times of the Saxons, who were subject to him in a certain degree; in those of the Normans, who were so in a still greater degree; and so also even down to our own times. Through all the external changes which the policy or violence of civil rulers or popular parties has wrought, though the Pope has been deprived of all that jurisdiction he formerly exercised over her, she has never given up her own claim to Catholicism; and consequently, has never recognised any such use of the word 'Catholic' as that in which it is here employed, namely, as synonymous with 'Roman.'

7. "*Luther*:" This individual is not known by name to the Church of England, or to any of the Churches of her Communion.

8. "*The Reformation*:" This general term and idea, with the actually existing system and modern institutions of innovators, which it recognizes as one whole, has never been sanctioned or adopted by the Church of England; although, on the accession of William III, all the influence of the Government, which had arisen from a Revolution essentially democratical and Protestant, was used in order to compel her to accept it.

9. *Henry VIII. "obtained from the Parliament and from the people, the right of making himself Head of the British Church, in the room of the Pope:"* The Author seems to use the word 'Parliament' only of the Lords, or Upper House of Parliament, and to intend the Commons, or Lower House of Parliament, by the word 'people.' His assertion is true in respect of the civil sanction of the legislature, as distinguished from the spiritual authority of the Church. The Church being united with the State, all laws having any relation to her needed the sanction of two distinct authorities, *first*, of the Synod or Convocation of the Clergy of the Kingdom, to give them the force of laws spiritual; and then, *secondly*, of the King and the Parliament, to superadd the force of civil obligation, and make them part and parcel of the laws of the realm. The Convocation of the Clergy having been questioned by Henry VIII. on this point, whether the Papal jurisdiction, such as it then existed in England, was of Divine right, and of necessity, or of Ecclesiastical institution, replied, that it was not of Divine right: on which Henry VIII. demanded of them, with the menaces of a despot, to be acknowledged himself 'Head of the Church of England;' explaining however at the same time, that he meant by this claim no invasion upon that power which was purely spiritual, and which he confessed was given to the Bishops alone by God. The Convocation of the Clergy submitted to the King's demand, but with this remarkable qualification, '*Quatenus per Christi legem fieri liceat.*' The Parliament passed an Act to the same effect. At the same time it is certain that neither the Parliament nor the Lawyers ever understood this Bill to have done anything more than re-enact and enforce, at once, all those laws which had been passed before at different times by the Kings and Parliaments against the exercise of the Papal jurisdiction in England. The Roman party having taken occasion from this title of 'Head' to draw such inferences with regard to the Church of England as best suited their own views, it was laid aside by Elizabeth, and by the Kings her successors; and the true sense, in which the Church had acknowledged and understood the Royal Supremacy, was carefully explained both by official declarations on the part of the Civil Government, and by

the Church herself in the last but two of the XXXIX Articles ; in the Homilies (on Rebellion) ; and afterwards in the reign of James I. ; (as may be seen in the Canons of 1602, and in Bishop Overall's ' Convocation Book.')

10. "*While he still upheld Catholicism.*" This is true, if the word ' Catholicism ' be understood in the sense recognized by the Church, (see above, No. 6) ; but entirely false, if the Author means by the word ' Catholicism ' the whole system of outward religion then upheld by the Roman Church. To mention only two points : The Bishops of the Church of England during the reign of Henry VIII. corrected two articles of what is superficially and incorrectly called the Roman Faith, namely, those of Purgatory and Indulgences.

11. "*Edward VI. was elected King.*" Edward succeeded to his father not as this writer affirms by election, but by virtue of his father's Will and a legal settlement of the succession made during the former reign.

12. "*Cranmer, governing in his name.*" It was not Cranmer who governed the kingdom in consequence of the minority of Edward, but certain temporal noblemen, who sought only, under the pretence of Reformation, to enrich themselves from the spoils of the Church ; and who sided with Cranmer in his theological tendencies, because they saw in them the sure means of accomplishing their own purposes.

13. "*The Reformation.*" This word, even if it be employed exclusively with reference to England, still has no one fixed or definite sense ; nor can it be used without risk of the greatest ambiguity, and upon the whole of giving countenance to error. To give only one illustration of this : The act of Henry VIII. in suppressing and pillaging the religious Houses was evidently a mere outrage of personal tyranny and rapine ; and as for the Church, she has never hitherto said so much as a single word against the monastic state. Still, the people having suffered their passions to be engaged in the strife between their own Sovereigns and the Court of Rome, and afterwards having become infected with Calvinism, and conceiving a violent prejudice against all that had been mutilated or taken away in their own Church, as if necessarily, and on that account, the property of Rome, soon came to think and to speak of the suppression of the Monasteries, as if it had been an important or essential part of their so-called ' Reformation.'

14. "*Cranmer,*" it is said, "*commenced the Reformation upon the basis of the doctrine of Calvin.*" Here we have a complication of errors. In the first place, even if it should be thought necessary to use the term ' Reformation ' to designate at once all those changes which the Church of England was to undergo, the ' Reformation ' had been already commenced, and more than commenced, under Henry VIII. Secondly, the several acts of ' Reformation,' or rather of change, did not derive their force from the individual Cranmer, though he was the Primate ; but from the concurrent decrees of the spiritual and civil Authorities. Cranmer was doubtless the prime mover and adviser in all those changes which were purely ecclesiastical : but the changes themselves were enacted by the Synod of the Bishops, and the Convocation of the Clergy, and at that time (in the first years of Edward VI.), Cranmer was very far from wishing to make any Reformation ' upon the basis of the doctrine of Calvin,' although he thought there was need of a general reformation in the whole Latin Church, and wished, as far as possible, to co-operate with all those

on the Continent of Europe who were of the same mind. He had been engaged in friendly correspondence rather with Melancthon than with Calvin; and it was after conferences held at London with several German Divines invited over for the purpose by Cranmer and Henry VIII, (though these conferences had no result, the Anglicans not consenting to satisfy the Germans in all that they desired), that Cranmer wrote those Forty-two Articles, which were the first germ of the Thirty-nine adopted afterwards by the Church. He was, in truth, a learned and very laborious man, who had no intention of following either Luther or Calvin, but wished sincerely to follow rather the Fathers of the primitive Church. It was his unhappiness, rather than his fault, to be of a weak flexible character, so that he did in fact follow unconsciously the opinions of certain individuals about his person; and towards the end of his life, just before the accession of Queen Mary, he had really become a Zuinglian, or very nearly so, on the doctrine of the Eucharist. But at the time of which we are now treating he was so far from commencing 'upon the basis of the doctrine of Calvin,' that he had even caused the young King, Edward VI, to decline an offer which Calvin had actually made of his advice. And even if Cranmer himself had really at that time held Calvinistic opinions, to commence a Reformation then upon the basis of the doctrine of Calvin would have been the most impossible thing in the world; inasmuch as the great majority of the Bishops, who would have had to vote upon every thing proposed, though they might be capable of yielding something to a call for Reformation on the principles of the primitive Church, were still so little disciples of Calvin or Luther, that a few years later, when they had seen their first concessions end in a real danger of Zuinglianism, they nearly all adhered to the Ultramontane Romanism of Queen Mary, and persisted firmly in it even after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, who expelled from their sees all those of them that were still living, on their refusal to take the oaths to her. The truth is this, that on the accession of Edward VI the holy Communion was given to the laity under both kinds; and the Offices of the Church were translated, in an abridged form, into the vulgar tongue, by an Act of the Convocation of the Clergy, which at the same time was civilly ratified by an Act of the Legislature. It is important to observe, that this first Prayer-book, so 'Reformed,' (which appeared in 1548, and was not the work of a party of Reformers, but of the whole united Clergy, and in which there is no trace either of Lutheranism or of Calvinism), has never lost its authority as an exposition of the belief of the Church, although the Prayer-Book now actually in use differs from it by various alterations and omissions. These changes and omissions were made by the Clergy, under order of the Crown, at the end of the reign of Edward VI; and so far as concerns the Archbishop Cranmer, who was their author, he wished, no doubt, at that time to favour by those changes the opinions of Zuingle, especially on the doctrine of the Eucharist; but the Church admitted the changes from a very different motive, namely, to avoid a total subversion, with which she was menaced by the civil power in case of her refusal. And care was taken to declare publicly in 1552, at the moment of making the changes and omissions in question, that they had not been judged to be in themselves at all necessary, or even reasonable, all that was contained in the First Book being very good, and very Christian: and this was solemnly attested even by the

Parliament itself in the very Bill by which it voted the legal introduction of the Second Book with the alterations. All other changes which have been made at different times since 1552 in the same book by Synods of the Clergy under Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II., have always been in the same spirit, namely, to remedy in some degree its defects, by bringing it back nearer to the First Book of 1548, so far as prudence, and a due consideration of the times, and the prejudices of the people, which became more and more infected with Puritanism, permitted. This process of restoration has been carried furthest in Scotland, where the mass of the people being openly hostile to the Church, and entirely separated from it, the Bishops were more at liberty, and had no such reasons as existed in England to use caution and economy.

15. "*Popery*:" Another term just as indefinable and deceptive as those of 'Protestantism' and 'the Reformation,' and one which the Anglican Church has never used, nor uses.

16. "*They* ['*on*'] *did not admit all the institutions of the Genevese*:" If '*they*' means the Church, the Church (*i. e.* the Convocation or Synod of the Clergy of the kingdom) has never admitted any of the institutions of the Genevese. But further, the Church does not acknowledge either in '*on*,' or '*ois*,' any authority to admit or create any institutions whatever.

17. "*The Episcopal Form of Government*:" Another phrase which is unknown to the Church; as if there could be other 'forms of government,' which should not be 'Episcopal.' 'The visible Church' is *one*, and 'Episcopal;' and all particular Churches are necessarily Episcopal also by the unity and homogeneity of their nature.

18. For the words "*Catholic*," and "*Popery*," see above No. 6 and 15. As for the name "*Protestants*," all the notice that the Church has taken of it is this, that in the time of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, she strictly prohibited her members to use any such names of reproach and calumny one against another as those of 'Papists' and 'Protestants,' names which signified in fact nothing more than a spirit of party, or of individualism, on the one side, and a spirit of blind and fanatical adherence to a foreign Prelate and Prince, often mixed with treason, on the other. The Church of England has never taken the title either of 'Protestant' or of 'Reformed,' nor in any way whatever recognized the term 'Protestantism' down to the year 1689, when it pleased the Civil Government, then newly established by a Revolution at once democratical and Protestant, to apply these epithets to a Church which the same parties had themselves only 40 years before, overthrown and proscribed as 'Popish.'

19. "*Elizabeth . . . had been bred up in the Protestant Church; and made use of Parker as her instrument for introducing it in England*:" As if there had been in England a number of *different Churches* overthrown and founded one after the other. Elizabeth had been baptized and bred up in 'the Church of England,' which has been always one and the same Church from the time that it was founded by the Apostles or their disciples; as that Queen herself very rightly answered to the Emperor of Germany.

20. "*And so may be regarded as having completed the Reformation*:" See above, No. 13. "*She founded an Evangelical-Church-Constitution*:" Elizabeth founded nothing, except, it may be, some schools, and some almshouses for poor people. She plundered, however, a good deal of property from the Church. The word 'Evangelical,' as has been said above, is not known to the Anglican Church in the sense in which it is here used.

21. "*Which held a middle place between the Lutheran Church and the Reformed:*" The Anglican Church has never acknowledged the existence of any such thing as 'the Lutheran Church;' and if she were now to acknowledge it, her own children ought to renounce her, as having committed suicide, and seek elsewhere for the true Church.

22. The same remark is equally applicable to what is called "*the Reformed Church:*" These two general terms 'Lutheran Church' and 'Reformed Church' designate nothing more than two nebulous masses of sects and individuals, of centrifugal atoms, which have still a certain vague unity and coherence, if viewed relatively to their historical origin, and to the successive phases of their gradual development towards atheism and suicide.

23. "*They ['on'] adopted the doctrine of the Genevese Churches:*" 'The Genevese Churches' neither had nor have any existence; consequently neither could there be any such thing as their 'doctrine.' The members of 'Protestant' or 'Reformed' associations can doubtless read, think, criticise, theorise, talk, write, dispute, preach, and even sometimes persuade, but they can never *teach* (in the strict sense of the word, '*docere*'), as they have cut themselves off even from the shadow or pretence of authority; whereas the word '*doctrine*' necessarily implies an *authority to teach*.

24. "They adopted," it is said, under Elizabeth, "the doctrine of the Genevese Churches *with respect to the Communion:*" The fact was precisely the reverse. It is true, that at the close of the reign of Edward VI. Cranmer had been a Zuinglian, or very nearly a Zuinglian, on the subject of the Eucharist; and he had forced into the Prayer-Book the admission of certain changes and omissions, which greatly favoured that heresy. But after the Prayer-Book so mutilated had been in use only a few months, Edward died; Queen Mary ascended the throne, and restored by an act of the secular authority the Roman ritual. What was really done on the accession of Elizabeth, when by the repeal of the Acts of Queen Mary's Parliament the English Prayer-Book recovered its civil authority, was this, *not* to adopt the doctrine of the Genevese Churches with respect to the Communion, as is asserted in this document, but, contrariwise, to correct in some degree those changes introduced by Cranmer into the Liturgy under Edward VI, which seemed most open to the charge of favouring Zuinglianism. And at the same time the Archbishops and Bishops, to show their faith, and the faith of their Church, on the subject of the Eucharist, published in English, with their subscriptions, a remarkable document of the ninth century, namely a Homily of the Saxon Archbishop Ælfrie antiently read in the Churches on Easter Day; in which the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ is very distinctly taught. I will here add the testimony of a learned Frenchman, Renaudot, who was certainly no friend to the Anglican Church, and who, having been applied to by Bossuet for accurate information as to any variations which had taken place in the doctrine of the Anglican Church, more especially upon the matter of the Eucharist, replied, that 'the Church of England in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and ever since, has certainly professed to believe the Real Presence.'

25. "*Form of Church Government:*" See above, No. 17. For the term '*Catholic Church*', see Nos. 6, 18, and 19. "*This new Evangelico-Episcopal Church:*" If the Church of England had ever, even so much as once, used or recognised such phraseology, she would have formally admitted her

own nullity. For the word '*Evangelical*' see above the note on the Title and No. 2; and for '*Episcopal*' see No. 17.

26. "*Obtained in 1563 the pre-eminence, and became dominant:*" This date is not amiss, as it shews the falsity of the assumption that *one* Church was destroyed, and *another* new one created in its room. In the year 1563 the Pope himself was still in Communion with the '*new Evangelico-Episcopal*' Church, supposing that in spite of much disorder and certain changes, which he disapproved, it was still the same antient 'Church of England' which had been '*dominant*' there for centuries, and that the moment was not yet come when he was obliged to break with Elizabeth, or with the Church, which in too many things had submitted to her will. It is well known that the Pope invited Elizabeth to send the Bishops of her Kingdom to assist at the Council of Trent, (as he also invited the Tsar of Muscovy); and that it was not till the eleventh year of her reign (A. D. 1569-70) that he pretended to dethrone and excommunicate her. The Churches of England only then fell under the excommunication of the Pope, and that incidentally and indirectly; not in consequence of any formal accusation and condemnation for heresy, but because their members, both of the Clergy and of the laity, persisted in acknowledging Elizabeth as their Sovereign, and would do nothing to dethrone her, or to assist Philip of Spain to take possession of her dominions.

27. "*And in Ireland:*" The Irish Church is a distinct National Church belonging to a kingdom, which was at that time quite separate from England, and had its own independent Hierarchy, its own Archbishops and Bishops and Synods for spiritual government, and its own Parliament for temporal government. The history of the acts by which the Church of Ireland (the Hierarchy of which was at that time composed exclusively, or almost exclusively, of Prelates of Anglo-Norman origin) was induced to follow the Church of England in all those submissions which the latter made to the will of her Princes, is a distinct field of inquiry; and however complete may be the conformity which exists at present between the different Churches of the now-united kingdoms, it is not the less true on that account, that the Anglican Church neither now exists nor ever has existed in Ireland, any more than the Irish Church exists in England. So also in Scotland; the Apostolical Church there is not 'the Anglican Church', but 'the Scottish Church', the 'Church of Scotland', or '*in Scotland*', as some people, to distinguish it from the legally established Calvinism, may prefer to say.

28. "*II. Parties which have been formed in this Church:*" Without multiplying to no end remarks upon the un-ecclesiastical phraseology which is constantly recurring in this document from one end to the other, I will notice henceforth only errors of history, or errors on matters of fact. And first, with regard to this title:—The writer here falls into no slight blunder by confounding together religious parties, schools, or tendencies, which may have existed at different times since Henry VIII. *within* the Church of England, without breaking the outward bond of its Communion, and other tendencies or opinions, which have really taken the forms of '*Parties*' or '*Sects*', and have either separated and come out of themselves from the Church, or have been excommunicated and cut off by an act of her authority. It is of the utmost importance to make this distinction; as, for instance, between the spirit and tendency of a party more or less Roman *within* the Church, and the Roman party which *separated* from the

Church in the year 1570, and has remained *separate* ever since, in consequence of that Papal Bull which dethroned and excommunicated Elizabeth : and in like manner, between the Zuinglian, Calvinistic, or Puritan spirit and tendency, which has ever been fermenting *within* the Church since the time of Cranmer, and the Puritan party, considered as a Sect or Sects *separated* from the Church, whose separation began later during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

29. "*Retained the Episcopal Constitution :*" That schism which took place among the English exiles on the Continent in the time of Queen Mary had no reference at all to the "*Episcopal Constitution*", as is here erroneously asserted, but merely to certain ritual forms and ceremonies ; the one party following strictly all that had been authorised in the Church of England at the time of their flight, (and the re-establishment of the Latin ritual under Mary had been enacted only by secular authority, without any Synodal act), the other party discovering that the spirit of the English ritual was not altogether in unison with that of the Continental Reformers, whom they regarded as the master-movers and directors of the general '*Reformation*,' and whom they thought they had an abundant right to imitate and follow, especially on the Continent, without much regarding that Synodal authority, which had appointed another form for the English ritual. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth all the exiles returned to their own country ; and the acts of Queen Mary's Parliament having been repealed, the English ritual regained civilly the force of law. The whole nation, with very few exceptions, both those who had desired a Reformation, and those who had opposed it, submitted to this change, as they had submitted to others before it. However, as the same tendencies and opinions which had shewn themselves among the exiles on the Continent during the late reign still subsisted, it was not long before they re-appeared in England, and *within* the Anglican Church, under Elizabeth. Both the two parties in question, in common with the whole nation, were at that time '*Conformists* ;' but they that wished to follow the usages of the foreign Calvinists began to agitate *within* the Church, and to petition the Queen and the Bishops to '*perfect the Reformation*,' which they thought was only begun, and to accommodate the whole Church to their ideas by '*purifying*' it, and purging out the remaining leaven of Popery ; or at the least to grant them personally the liberty to do as they pleased *within* the Church, without conforming to the established order. Their petitions being rejected, *some* of them, whose consciences were most tender, *separated* from the Church, or were excommunicated for their contumacy by the Bishops ; and these were the first '*Non-conformists* :' but the *great majority* of the Puritan party, and among them a number of the Bishops themselves, continued to practise an outward conformity, so far as it was exacted, while they sapped the Church at its base *from within*. The effects of this their politic economy broke forth at length in that terrible Revolution of the time of Charles I., which overturned at once both the Church and the State, and gave a political ascendancy for 20 years to undisguised Calvinism.

30. "*The Partizans of Elizabeth :*" That is, the whole mass of the nation, which, from a great variety and mixture of motives, remained in Communion with the antient Church of their country, and conformed or submitted to its existing order and ritual. Politically speaking, the English were indeed the "*Partizans of Elizabeth*," and not of Pius V.

31. "*In this way was effected in 1567 the entire separation of the Episcopal party from the Puritan :*" Without dwelling on the inaccuracy of this language, which makes the Church herself with all her members (the favourers of Rome included) into a mere party called 'the Episcopal party,' nothing can be more false than to assert that any entire separation of the Puritan party from the Church was effected in the year 1567. A handful of the most fanatical of the Puritans did indeed separate about that time ; but all the more moderate, the immense majority of those who were more or less Puritans, conformed outwardly, and remained within the Church as before. (See above, No. 29). And it was *only* by degrees, in proportion as they saw the Hierarchy becoming more and more firm and rigid in opposing their ulterior designs, that they *began* to discover *in the Episcopate itself* the source and root of that Anti-Calvinistic system and spirit which they wished to reform and destroy. During the three successive reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, Puritanism was continually growing stronger and stronger *within* the Church. It gained especially among the citizens of the towns, and of the Metropolis, and among the members of the Commons House of Parliament, whom they elected. The more the evil grew, the more decided was the opposition the popular movement encountered from the Crown, the Bishops, and the better part of the nobility : and the highest stretches of authority and prerogative were put in force to head the popular errors, and to correct them even in their sources, which lay no doubt in those equivocal and dangerous changes which had been admitted by the Church at the end of the reign of Edward VI. The collision of these two contrary forces and tendencies, of the authority, which sought to force the people and the Church backwards, and to correct or undo the past, and of the popular party, which sought to force an onward development of those principles of the Reformation (which they understood to be already admitted) even to the destruction of the principle and essence of the Church, drew the attention of all Europe at the time of the Great Rebellion, under Charles I. It was *not till then*, in 1648, that, at the moment of its apparent triumph, the Puritan party really separated itself from the Church, or from 'the Episcopal party,' which it proscribed and trampled under foot. Having thus become really separated from the Church, which it openly persecuted, it martyred the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, and the King, Charles I ; prohibited the use of the Church ritual ; and expelled from their Churches 8,000 of the Clergy who would not submit to the dominant Sectarianism. At the same time the Puritan or Calvinistic party was split up within itself into a great variety of distinct sects, most of which have long since perished, so that even their names are now forgotten, though some of the chief remain, as those of the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Particular and General Baptists, and the Quakers. We are told by some writers, that during the 20 years that Puritanism was dominant, before the Restoration of Charles II., there were in England as many as 200 different sects. On the return of Charles II., and the political re-establishment of the Church, all this religious chaos of Puritanism (except a small party of the more honest or fanatical) submitted to the renewed 'Act of Uniformity,' and conformed outwardly to the Church. But scarcely 20 years had passed, when there broke out, in 1688, a fresh Revolution, which, without reproducing all the excesses of the first, established the supremacy of Protestant and Democratical principles in

a manner much more subtle and artificial, more permanent, and so, consequently, much more dangerous eventually both for the Church and for the State. From that epoch the evil dispositions of the popular Puritanism towards the Church were concentrated in the religious policy of the new Revolution-Government, which the people, and a certain oligarchical faction called 'Whigs,' which duped the people, had created for themselves. The majority of the Bishops of England were expelled from their sees; and in Scotland the whole Church, so far as its civil Establishment went, was overthrown. The property, the buildings, the privileges, and even the name of '*the Church of Scotland*' being transferred to the Calvinists. Placed under the influence of such circumstances and such masters in England, the Church there soon shewed the effects of Calvinistic ascendancy, Latitudinarian and Puritan; and is at the present day further than ever from having yet witnessed any "complete separation of the Puritan party from the Episcopal party," that is, from herself.

32. "*The Independents*:" This is a Sect which sprang *not* from any party or tendency *within* the Church itself, but from the decomposition of the 'Party' or Sect of the Non-Conformist Puritans *without* the Church, when these latter had already begun to make a principle of rejecting the Episcopate, and contended, out of the Scriptures, for the Divine authority of that '*Discipline*' of Presbyteries and Synods which Calvin had instituted. The Independents, on the other hand, saw in this system only the assumption of a spiritual authority which was just as irreconcilable with the principles of their Protestantism, as that of the Bishops. They aimed therefore at being more consistent than their brethren, the earlier or Presbyterian Calvinists, and laid down clearly the principle, that all ecclesiastical as well as all civil power is from the gift of the people. This sect became predominant for a time, and supplanted that of the Presbyterians from which it had sprung, in the time of Oliver Cromwell; and it has still many adherents both in England and in America. It is perhaps the sect which embodies most fully the spirit and development of modern Calvinistic Protestantism.

33. "*And that of the Latitudinarians*:" The Latitudinarians are not a 'Sect;' nor have ever been. It is only a name or epithet given to a certain class of weak or vicious men, which rendered eminent service to the Civil Government after the Revolution of 1688 by enabling it to mitigate and cloke, to the eyes of the nation, the monstrous and immoral absurdity of establishing two contrary religions at once; of persecuting in Scotland the very same Church to which they pretended to adhere in England. Such men as those called 'Latitudinarians' have always been to be found in greater or less number in every sect and system, political as well as religious, and in every part even of the true Church; and that both absolutely, and also in respect of every particular controversy which has ever existed. But when any one speaks of the 'Latitudinarians' as of a party formed within the Anglican Church at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries, we must understand only the Court-Divines of William III. and his successors, who had a sufficient belief in the Church of England to enable them to aspire to its titles and benefices, and at the same time not so exaggerated a belief in it as to disable them from excusing the establishment of a contrary religion in Scotland. The 'Latitudinarians' have ever since been in England the favoured or dominant party: and though at first none, of course, but

either weak ill-taught men or politic time-serving rogues could hold such opinions, yet in process of time 'Latitudinarianism' has become in England a tradition: and like all the other co-existing traditions, it now comprehends within its pale minds of all classes, and of every degree of strength and respectability. As writers, the Latitudinarians have ever made the essence of religion to consist in a 'Christianity' so vague that it comprehends all those that profess to 'admit the Holy Scriptures as a Divine Revelation;' in a 'Protestantism' equally indefinite; in an antipathy for 'Popery' (a word also quite indefinite); and for every kind of 'superstition,' 'enthusiasm,' 'exaltation,' or 'emotion,' in religion; and lastly, in a dry, superficial, Pelagian, or rather heathenish 'morality.' The prevalence of such writers, and the favour in which they were held at Court, was no doubt one of the principal causes of that Protestant-Evangelical reaction, which produced the 'Methodism' of the two Wesleys, and the revived Puritanism of the 'Evangelical' Clergy, which is yet on the increase, and which has recently, contrary to long-standing precedent in favour of the exclusive pretensions of the Latitudinarians, been admitted to some share in the Court patronage.

34. "*The Non-jurors:*" The 'Non-jurors,' far from being a 'Sect' produced by the decomposition of heretical Protestantism in England and Scotland, were members, and most zealous members, of the Apostolical Church in those countries. The whole Hierarchy, with all the laity that adhered to the Church, in Scotland, that is, the whole Scottish Church herself, were 'Non-jurors'; and in England a great number of the laity, and the most eminent for virtue and learning of the Clergy, with many of the Bishops and the Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at their head, were 'Non-jurors': that is, they refused to take the oaths to the Revolution-government, so as to acknowledge William III. of Orange to be their lawful King. It was the attitude of the non-juring Bishops and Clergy, and the evident favour shewn them by a large part of the English people, which caused the preservation of the Church of England free from any radical change, in spite of the hostile policy of the Government, which used all its influence to make that Church acknowledge the existence of a 'Protestant Reformed Religion' held in common, as to all essentials, by the two religious 'Establishments' of England and Scotland, and common to these two Establishments or 'Churches' with all the other 'Protestant and Reformed Churches' of the Continent. At the same time the Government sought to make the Church of England modify her Discipline accordingly, so as to establish formal Intercommunion between the Scottish and English Establishments, and also equally between them both and all the other Protestant sects or 'Churches' of the Continent. But this could not be effected. And so, the basis of the Church being preserved in spite of all secular influences, and other generations coming on which had never sworn any oath of allegiance to the Stuarts, the Non-jurors in England gradually died out. In Scotland, it was only in the latter part of the 18th century, on the death of the last male descendant of James II., that the Apostolical Church recognized the Princes of the House of Hanover as lawful Sovereigns, and obtained, not without some damage to her spiritual position, the indulgence of a legal toleration from the British Parliament.

35. "*In several parts of England the name of Dissenters is given only to the Modern Presbyterians:*" That is, not to the more antient; nor to those of the

Scottish Establishment. This assertion is altogether incorrect. The Anglican Churches and their members in all parts of the British Empire without exception call by the name of 'Dissenters' all Protestant Non-conformists whatever. And the sects in England take this title politically themselves.

36. III. "*The Episcopal Church, called also 'the High Church,' as being the dominant Church in England:*" 'The High Church' is not a title given to the Church of England (here called 'Episcopal') because it is dominant. It is not even a title of the Church at all, nor of a party or school in it: but it is a name which *the political faction* of the Revolution of 1688, (the same party, that is, at once democratical and Sectarian, which sought to assimilate with the sects through worldly influences that Church which they had not succeeded in destroying by the more open violence of 1648), —it is the name which this political faction, and the Latitudinarians and Puritans created or revived by the same, have always, since 1688, affected to give to *the contrary political party* of the old 'Tories,' who were often Jacobites, and Non-jurors; and who were so strong in the kingdom, that they balanced, and all but neutralized, the effects of the Revolution of 1688, and greatly thwarted the evil policy of the new Dynasty. The party of the 'High Church' are then all such as have been consistent maintainers, for whatever reasons of policy or religion, of those high pretensions of Church authority, and of those rights of the Established Church of England, which have ever been odious to the sects. The party of 'the Low Church,' on the other hand, are those who, having been secret Puritans within the Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth, shewed themselves her open enemies in the great Rebellion; then conformed again hypocritically at the Restoration; and lastly, having got the upperhand by their Revolution of 1688, sought to *lower* the pretensions of the Church by the influence they then exercised over her from within in virtue of their hypocritical conformity, so as to assimilate her to the Presbyterian sect which they had set up in Scotland, and to all the other Protestant sects. At the present day the two rival political factions are nearly equally philosophical or indifferent in matters of belief: the 'Tories' or 'Conservatives' being far more liberal and democratical than were the 'Whigs' in 1688, while the 'Whigs' have become in proportion more democratical and more Protestant (in a 'Latitudinarian' 'Low Church' sense) than the 'Conservatives.' Meanwhile the sense of the two epithets 'High Church' and 'Low Church' has become to a great degree detached from their antient connection with these two rival *political* factions. They designate now rather two contrary *religious* elements and tendencies, which co-exist, and are very generally diffused, throughout the whole body of the Anglican Communion. The principle or tendency of the 'High Church party,' or simply of 'the Church,' ('High Church principles,' or simply 'Church principles'), manifests itself in a zeal for the Church as such, a zeal so distinct and consecutive, that it seems to the contrary party or tendency to estrange and separate them that are infected with it from 'the Reformation,' from 'Protestantism,' from all the 'Protestant' and 'Reformed' sects or 'Churches' whether in Britain or on the Continent, and especially from the Calvinistic Establishment which has legally the title of 'the Church of Scotland,' and from the 'liberal' and Protestant principles of 'the glorious Revolution' of 1688. On the other hand, the Low Church spirit and tendency

is characterized by such a political zeal for the Revolution of 1688, and such a sympathy, Puritan or libertine, for 'the Reformation,' and for 'Protestantism' in general, and for the 'Bible or Evangelical principle,' which is the source of all the sects, that its partizans seem to moderate or careless men to diverge, and even to depart, from the Church, and to approximate to the Dissenters or Sectaries, and to the members of the Scotch Establishment, who are openly separate from the Church. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this distinction of tendencies into 'High-Church' and 'Low-Church' is entirely unknown among the native members of the Apostolical Church in Scotland; and that even in England the Church, as such, knows nothing of this language. Indeed, even the public in England speak indifferently of 'High-Church principles' and 'Church principles,' the 'High-Church party,' and the 'Church party;' while the contrary opinion and tendency, though it is outwardly within the pale of the Church, and possessed of a great proportion of her dignities, is still, even to the conscience and language of the world in general, a foreign and hostile element.

37. "*It,*" (that is, the '*Episcopal or High Church,*') "*may be said to hold the middle place between Catholicism and Protestantism:*" I have remarked above (No. 10), that the Church does not admit that use which is here made of the word '*Catholicism*' as synonymous with '*Roman-Catholicism*;' and that she does not use or admit the word '*Protestantism*' at all; (No. 18). But if these words be taken in a vague and superficial sense, the one to designate the general mass of the external accidents of the Roman Church, the other to represent the general aspect of religion among Protestant sects, the assertion of the document is true. For in truth the Anglican Church, in its present state, is penetrated from one end to the other by Protestantism. In itself, in its essence and theory, so far as it has the being of a Church, it is Orthodox and Catholic; but, as it manifests itself to the world only in the existing generation of its members, and they are nearly all more or less infected with the anti-ecclesiastical principle, it must naturally have the air of being itself a mixed body, compounded of two contrary natures, and following in its course a diagonal line, resulting from two contrary impulses.

38. "*Though approaching more nearly to the doctrine of the Reformed:*" The word '*Reformed*' has no fixed or definite meaning; but if it is to be taken (as seems to be here meant) in its widest sense, for all the individuals, and associations of individuals, who have followed Luther or Calvin, no assertion can be less accurate than this, that the Anglican Church approaches nearer to the doctrine of these sects than to that of the Latin Churches of the Roman Communion: *First*, Because, as we have seen above, the sects have *no* '*doctrine,*' in the strict sense of the word: they start from the principle of denying the existence of any human authority with the right to teach. The Anglican Church, on the contrary, in common with the Church of Rome, and with all the other Apostolical Churches, starts from the principle that she has received a divine mission and authority to teach. This radical difference between all the *Churches*, which are necessarily, by their very nature, *dogmatical*, and all the anti-dogmatical, '*Evangelical,*' or '*Biblical*' *sects*, is so deep, that every '*Church*' (which is really such) must ever be much nearer in respect of its doctrines, to every other '*Church*' of like nature to its own, (even to that which seems to differ most widely from it), than it can ever be to

any *sect*, whatever show there may be of outward agreement or sympathy. But, without dwelling upon principles, if one looks only to questions of detail, it is totally incorrect to assert that the Anglican Church is nearer to the opinions of those who call themselves 'Reformed' or 'Evangelical,' than to the doctrine of the Roman Church. For the word "*Catholicism*," see No. 10 ; and for "*the Reformed Church*" see No. 22.

39. "*Government of the Church. The King is its Head* :—" I have already explained above (No. 9), with what limitations this title of 'Head' was admitted by the Clergy in the time of Henry VIII. Since the accession of Elizabeth however, this title has been purposely dropped altogether, though the Sovereigns of England have retained that Supremacy 'in governing all ranks and orders' within their dominions, which, to use the words of the canons decreed by the Church in 1604, 'always belonged to the Christian Emperors.'

40. "*He (the King) is its first Bishop* :—" This is simply nonsense ; as any one may perceive by considering for a moment what is the Anglican definition of a Bishop. A Bishop is a man who must be of the age of thirty years at least, and who has been ordained before to the Orders of the Diaconate and the Priesthood by some other Bishop, and then consecrated Bishop by the imposition of the hands of three Bishops at least ; by which consecration he receives 'the gift of the Holy Ghost' to teach the doctrine of Jesus Christ, to perform all sorts of benedictions and Consecrations, to remit or retain sins, and to administer or refuse the holy Sacraments. But it is expressly said in the XXXIX Articles, (as had been before also declared by Henry VIII. himself), that the Church of England gives not to her Princes, either directly or indirectly, these Episcopal functions and powers. (Article XXXVII.) And even the clause which follows in the document, "*But the functions of preaching, &c. are forbidden him* :—" is of itself enough to refute the previous assertion ; though the writer, by using the word "*forbidden*," may have been willing to insinuate that all those sacerdotal functions and powers belong in principle, and of right, to the Sovereigns of England, or, at least, might have belonged to them but for some special arrangement to the contrary. For no man is ever '*forbidden*' to do that which is beyond the sphere of his natural capacity.

41. "*He Confirms the Bishops, who are elected by the Chapter* :—" This is true with respect to the civil recognition, and the temporal endowments and privileges attached to their sees. But they must also be Confirmed at the same time by the Metropolitan, to obtain their spiritual or canonical rights, and to be enabled validly to exercise their sacred functions.

42. "*Essential reforms or changes in Church matters are enacted by the King and the Parliament together* :—" This assertion is like the last. It is true only so far as the Civil Power is concerned : but there must be also the act of the Synod or Convocation of the Clergy. Any new Ecclesiastical law or canon must be first decreed by the Spirituality, and then enacted by the Crown and the Parliament, before it can obtain civilly the force of law.

43. "*The Archbishop of York usually . . . resides in London* :—" This is incorrect ; but all the Bishops are, of course, obliged to be in London when they attend in their places as Peers of the Parliament during its Session : Thus the Archbishop may be in London for some months together.

44. "*The rest of the Clergy of England consists of . . . 'Diacres' . . . of Diacres*

de Camp, . . . and of *Pastors, &c.*:" " *Diares* ' probably stand for *Deacons*, as they are closely joined in the text with Prebendaries and Canons; and "*Diares de Camp*" must be either Rural Deans, or else "*Diares*, '*Deacons*.'" The term '*Pastor*' is not known to the Anglican Church as a technical word, or title. It is here evidently used in the sense of the Protestant or Reformed Sects.

45. "*The worship consists of Prayers, of Sermons, &c.*:" The Church does not allow that the *Sermon*, which usually follows shortly after the Gospel in the Liturgy on Sundays and Festivals, is any part of Divine *worship* at all. It might be pretended with equal truth, that the publication of Briefs, Excommunications, Banns, and various other notices, which is appointed to be made about the same time during the Liturgy, is part of the worship of God. But this again refers to the custom and opinion of the Sectaries, with whom even prayer itself, which is an extempore effusion of the Pastor or Minister, runs into preaching; and preaching is considered the very first part of religious worship.

46. In Baptizing "*they dip two fingers in the water, and sprinkle with it thrice the child's forehead:*" If the rule of the Church be alluded to, the passage should rather have run thus; "*They pour water thrice, &c.*:" though it is to be observed, that the Rubric orders the child to be immersed, unless it be certified that it is too weak to bear plunging without danger. However, in point of fact, Baptism by immersion is very rarely practised: and though there are very many who *pour* the water, as the Church directs, there are also, it must be confessed, too many who disobey or neglect her injunctions, and baptize by sprinkling. It is scarcely necessary to add, that they who are so careless or ignorant as to sprinkle, are very little likely to take the trouble to sprinkle "three times," which is no longer even ordered by the letter of the Rubric.

47. "*The Communicants neither appear before the Curate, nor confess, nor go through any preparation previously:*" This is only too true, so far as the general practice is concerned. As for the rule and theory of the Church, it is expressly required, that all who desire to Communicate should signify their names to the Curate at least some time the day before. And the Church reminds her members every time that she invites them to the Communion, (which she does a week beforehand), that all persons who have any '*weighty matter*' on their consciences, that is, any mortal sin, or sin incurring excommunication by the Canons, ought to confess and obtain Priestly absolution, before they approach the holy mysteries. It is not quite accurate to say that the general practice is to Communicate without any previous preparation. On the contrary, it is a very general practice to follow some course of special devotions, as a preparation, during the week preceding.

48. "*When they visit the sick . . . they use only certain Prayers:*" The Anointing with holy oil was included in the office for the Visitation of the Sick in the first English Prayer-Book; but was omitted, together with various other things, at the end of the reign of Edward VI. (see above, No. 14), and it has never yet been restored. In theory, however, its propriety is still maintained; the Church never having withdrawn her adherence to all that was omitted from the first English Ritual: and in Scotland it may still exist even in practice by the piety of individual Bishops. Bishop Jolly, it is said, was always ready to Anoint the Sick.

49. "*Excommunication* is still in use, but it *has no consequences of any*

importance :" On the contrary, it is precisely because the excommunications pronounced by the Episcopal Courts had extremely grave consequences, civil as well as spiritual, that the popular Protestant and Liberal Government, since 1688, has thrown every possible impediment in the way of the exercise of spiritual discipline ; so that it is barely true to say, that excommunication is now in use at all.

50. "*But the person excommunicated can enter into another community :*" The force of this remark is not quite clear ; for this was equally the case in the lifetime of the Apostles themselves. They who were excommunicated had always the power of entering into 'another community.' The Church herself, when she cuts them off and rejects them from her bosom, sends them away (unless they return, and humble themselves by penitence) to 'another community.'

51. "*In general there are no Pictures to be seen in the churches :*" However there is very commonly, at least in the better-furnished churches, a large Picture behind the Altar, called the Altar-piece. The nudity for which Anglican churches are too justly reproached by all foreigners who are not Calvinists, was not caused by any act of the Church herself, nor even of the civil Government. Painted Windows, Images, Pictures, Candelabra, and Altar Lights, Crosses, and even Crucifixes, together with the antient vestments and ornaments, were all preserved for the most part in the churches, down to the great Rebellion of 1648. After the Restoration, it would not have been politic to begin at once by openly outraging that inconceivable fanaticism which the Puritans had ever shewn against all the outward ceremonies of religion. The first and most pressing business was that of reclaiming the population to the belief of the most essential articles of the Faith, which it had abandoned for more than 20 years past. After the second Revolution of 1688, the Church herself ceased so much as to think of restoring any splendour, or even decency, to her ritual. She barely retained her existence.

52. "*The Episcopal churches :*" The 'Episcopal churches' alone have the name of 'churches' in England. The places in which Dissenters meet are called by themselves, as well as by members of the Church, 'Meeting-houses,' or 'Dissenting Chapels.'

53. "*The Symbolical Books of the Episcopal Church :*" The Church knows no such expression as this of 'Symbolical Books,' which is Lutheran, and smells strongly of heresy.

54. "*Cranmer . . . drew up a Confession of Faith :*" The Church knows nothing of any such 'drawing up' of 'Confessions of Faith.' An Archbishop, either with or without the assistance of other Bishops and Divines, might properly enough prepare canons, to be afterwards submitted to the decision of a Synod.

55. "*The XLII, or as they were afterwards decreed by the Synod, the XXXIX Articles :*" These have never been regarded by the Church as a 'Confession of Faith,' nor so called by her. They are merely, as the Church calls them, XXXIX Articles, or Canons, on different matters of faith, opinion, ritual, and discipline, which have all, or nearly all (except the first five), some direct reference either to those controversies which were agitated in the former part of the 16th century throughout the whole Latin Church, or else to some peculiar circumstances of the Church of England. If a Synod were to be holden to-morrow, which should impose XXXIX fresh Articles, to decide those controversies which exist at pre-

sent in England, this would not be to 'draw up' any new 'Confession of Faith,' but rather to add to our previously existing dogmatical Articles and Canons certain new decisions and explanations, which the circumstances of the present time render necessary.

56. "*The XXXIX Articles were published by the Queen in 1571, after having obtained the sanction.*" After the word '*sanction*' the writer should have added "*of the Synod or Convocation of the Clergy.*" For the authority of the XXXIX Articles comes not from their having been 'drawn up' in the time of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. by the Primate, with the aid of other Divines, nor from their having been 'published' afterwards by Elizabeth: but their authority for the Anglican Church is owing solely to this, (to use the very words of the Synod of 1571), that they have been 'decreed by the sacred Synod of the Bishops;' which Synod, in adopting them, prescribed at the same time, and by the same canon which required the Clergy to subscribe them, this following rule:—"*Above all things, the Clergy are to see that they never teach anything in their public discourses, to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholic Fathers and antient Bishops of the Church have therefrom collected.*"

57. "*The XXXIX Articles agree with the doctrines of Luther concerning* I. *Original Sin* ; II. *Faith* ; III. *Justification* :"*"* The word '*Doctrines*,' in that sense in which alone it is known to the Church, implies two things ; *first*, authority ; and *secondly*, concert or unity ; so that it is inapplicable to the thoughts, opinions, interpretations, or convictions of an individual, such as was Luther. The name of Luther is as little known to the Anglican Church, as are his doctrines. So this assertion, of a general agreement between the XXXIX Articles and "the doctrines of Luther," is too vague to admit of its being examined as accurately as one might wish. All that I can say to it is,

I. That in Article IX of the XXXIX, which concerns Original Sin, I can discover nothing which is contrary to the belief of the Roman Church, by which Luther was excommunicated. The Anglican Church defines that Original Sin *remains* even in them that are baptized or regenerate, *but without its guilt* ; while the Council of Trent teaches that Original Sin in such persons is *entirely done away* by Baptism, *so far as the guilt is concerned*. In this I can see no more than two different ways of saying one and the same thing.

II. III. Though "Faith" and "Justification" are enumerated separately in the text, as if allusion was made to two distinct points of doctrine on which the Anglican Church agreed with Luther, it seems most probable that only one is in fact intended, namely, that of 'Justification by Faith only ;' and that an "*and*" has slipped out from between the two words, "Faith" and "Justification." For there is only one of the XXXIX Articles which treats directly of Faith ; and in this (Article XI) it is only 'Justifying Faith,' or 'Justification by Faith only,' which is mentioned. As it is certainly said in this Article that we are 'Justified by Faith only,' any one might naturally suppose that there *was* here such an agreement with Luther as is asserted, unless he noticed that this same Article refers the reader to a Homily 'On the Salvation (or 'Justification') of men,' for a fuller explanation of the sense in which the Church teaches that we are Justified by Faith only. Now we read in that Homily, that the Justification which is by Faith only is wrought in us at the moment of Bap-

tism; and that to be 'Baptized' is one and the same thing with being 'Justified;' ('after we be Baptized or Justified;') just as in the XXXIX Articles 'Baptized' and 'regenerated' are employed, the one in the Latin, the other in the English copy, as synonymous terms. If Luther had maintained such a doctrine of 'Justification by Faith only' as this is, he would have been orthodox enough so far: but even in that case it would not have been speaking accurately to say, that the XXXIX Articles agreed with his doctrine: but one should rather have said, that Luther's personal belief, as that of an individual, agreed on this point with the doctrine taught by the Church of England in the XXXIX Articles. For in truth, (as St Paul also says), when we are baptized, we *are* 'justified by Faith only, and not by works:' that is to say, no works of man's own free will, whether of the righteousness of the Law of Moses, or of the civil righteousness of natural conscience, as among the heathen, can avail anything to justify us. But after Baptism, and in respect of our *final* Justification, we must be justified (as says St James) '*by works, and not by faith only.*'

58. "*They reject on the other hand the Catholic doctrines respecting Good Works, Purgatory, Indulgences, the Saints, Relics, the Seven Sacraments, the withholding of the Cup, the Mass, Transubstantiation, &c.*" It is manifest from the canon recited above (No. 56) that the Synod of 1571 in decreeing and imposing the XXXIX Articles had no sort of idea that it was rejecting any 'Catholic doctrine' whatever. But the writer of this Table uses the word 'Catholic,' as has been noticed before, (No. 6), in a sense quite different from that in which it is used by the Church. And even if we take it in that sense in which he uses it, as synonymous with 'Roman,' it will be almost impossible to examine accurately an assertion so vague and sweeping as this, that the XXXIX Articles reject '*the Roman doctrine*' on such a number of extensive subjects, all in the lump, without any single precise proposition on any one of them being specified, as being the Roman doctrine on the one hand, or as being rejected by the XXXIX Articles on the other. However, I will venture to make a few remarks on the different points mentioned, in the order in which they stand:

1. "*On Good Works:*" I see nothing on this point in the Articles which is contrary to the really Catholic doctrine, or even to the Roman doctrine. No doubt, any one who had so misunderstood the 'Justification by Faith only' which is taught in Art. XI, as to identify it with the opinion of Luther and Calvin, would also necessarily attach a false and heretical sense to that which is said of Works in the same Article, namely, that they do not justify us. But if one had learned to make that distinction which the Church makes between *final* and *primary* Justification, one would have found nothing to object to. In Art. XII it is said of 'Good Works which follow after Baptism,' that they 'cannot put away our sins:' and this, in the sense of the Article, is true. But as another false and heterodox sense may be given to these words, I will here notice that the Homilies (which are approved in the XXXIX Articles) teach expressly in many places that good works, and more especially alms, *can* and *do* 'put away our sins;' that is, in another different and secondary sense. Besides, the assertion made in Art. XI by no means implies the denial of other truths, which are no less distinctly taught by the Church, though they are not contained in the XXXIX Articles. In Art. XIII it is not said, as some writers have pretended, that all Good Works of legal or natural justice are *sins*; but that they contain in themselves the nature

of sin *in so far as* they are distinct and separate, and independent of the grace of God, and produced only by that will of the creature which is not in God, as such. In fact, the very greatest sin, perhaps, that could be conceived, would be, to arrogate to one's self virtue or merit, as if it could have any existence in the will of the creature as apart from Him Who is the source of all good.

II. III. IV. V. "*Purgatory, Indulgences, the Saints, Relics:*" Article XXII of the XXXIX pronounces in general terms, that '*the doctrine*' of the Romanizing party in England ('*Romanensium*') on five different topics, namely, '*Purgatory, Pardons, the Adoration and Worshipping as well of Images as of Relics, and also the Invocation of Saints,*' was a '*fond thing*, grounded on no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.' In this Article there is not, strictly speaking, any theological proposition whatever. There are very many propositions capable of being stated on every one of the five topics, some of them true, and some false. Many of these may be equally approved, and many others may be equally rejected by both the two Churches, the Roman and the Anglican. Others of them may, perhaps, be approved by one of the two Churches, and rejected by the other. But seeing that the Anglican Church assuredly does not reject *all* the doctrines of the Roman Church, or even all of the opinions of the Romanizing party of the 16th century, on all, or indeed on any one, of the five topics mentioned; and seeing that it is impossible to reduce or fuse together into any one single '*doctrine*,' or proposition, all those Roman opinions which the Anglican Church may really reject on five topics so extensive, and so widely differing one from another; we are necessarily constrained to suppose, that those expressions of the Article, '*The doctrine of the Romanists,*' and '*a fond thing,*' are to be understood generally, and in the mass, of that *practical* system, which the Roman party sought at the time obstinately to defend as a whole; and which the Church of England, on the contrary (whether rightly or wrongly) decided practically to reject, and to cut off. If this interpretation of the Article be true, there must, no doubt, be implied under the words of its general condemnation certain specific propositions, which the Church would deny and reject also. But if we would know with certainty what these propositions are, it is indispensably necessary that we should know *first*, what propositions on all the five points are taught or admitted by the Church of England; and then, *secondly*, what other propositions on the same points have been expressly condemned by her. In this way we shall at any rate come to understand, that, whatever may be in fact the propositions or usages alluded to in the Article, the granting Indulgences or remissions of canonical penance, the usage of praying for the departed, that of giving a due and proper honour to sacred representations and Relics, and the belief of the Intercession of the Saints, are certainly *not* among the number. I will here add two illustrations; the first with respect to the Intercession of the Saints. After the death of King Charles I., who, as well as the Archbishop of Canterbury, was martyred by the Calvinists, the Church on the Restoration, in the year 1661, caused a Prayer to be offered in all the churches of the Kingdom, that God would be merciful to us for the intercession of His Saint and Martyr the late King, and of all His other Saints, who (in the words of that prayer) '*intercede continually for that portion of the Catholic Church which is militant here*

in earth, and which so is still in conflict and danger of the flesh.' The other illustration which I shall adduce, bears upon that due honour which one ought to give to Relics, or Pictures and Images, (for the example about to be given will suit both equally), and which one may give without incurring the censure of the Article. It is taken from the Book of the Homilies, which are approved in Article XXV, and are appointed to be read in all the Churches, and which the author of the Table calls, in his phraseology, one of the 'Symbolical Books' of the Church of England. In one of these Homilies the Empress St Helena is praised as having done very well and Christianly *in saluting or adoring the Cross which she had found*; because, says the Homily, with a certain antient writer of the Church, her thought and her adoration had respect to the King who hung upon the wood, and *not to the material thing itself*; which is precisely the doctrine of the Second Council of Nice, where it decrees the veneration of sacred Icons. The same Homilies also celebrate St Epiphanius, for that his relics are attested to have had the virtue of expelling devils from persons possessed, when any such were brought near to his tomb.

VI. "*The Seven Sacraments*:" Before the adoption of the XXXIX Articles, the Church of England had certainly taught that according to a certain definition of the word Sacrament (a word of which we may observe however, that it had not been limited to any technical definition by the Fathers of the Church), there were neither more nor less than *seven* Sacraments. Article XXV of the XXXIX amounts to no more than to such a proposition as the following:—'Whereas some of late have seemed to set all the Seven Sacraments absolutely on a level, because they all fall equally within that definition of the word which fixes the number to Seven, though we ought always to distinguish Two of them, namely, Baptism and the Eucharist, from the rest, we declare that those other Five, commonly called Sacraments (and which we do not deny to be Sacraments in a proper sense) are not nevertheless Sacraments of the Gospel (*i. e.* of the Testament or Covenant) in the same sense as those Two, nor have a Sacramental nature absolutely identical with the nature of those Two, *for that* &c.' It is not said that the *Five* are not in *any* sense Sacraments, or have in *no* sense the nature of Sacraments: on the contrary, both the Homilies and the Prayer-Book give them that name, and the name of '*Mystery*,' which is the same thing; and expressly teach, that they are outward signs or acts conferring invisibly special graces of God. As for the expression 'corrupt following of the Apostles,' I suppose that it was intended to blame the doctrine of the Roman Schools on '*Extreme Unction*,' in administering which they followed, no doubt, the Apostles, and particularly St James, but corruptly. For the Apostle commands solemn intercessions of a meeting of Priests, and unction to be applied for the healing both of soul and body, or rather, for the recovery of bodily health through the forgiveness of sins. But the Romans absolutely forbid their Priests to administer this Sacrament, unless the sick person be at the point to die; and make its end and efficacy to consist in preparing the souls of the departing for their passage. Certainly, if the Church of England had ceased to call those *five* by the name of Sacraments, or to teach of them that they confer grace, any one might naturally enough have supposed that this Article XXV had been enacted expressly for the purpose of

introducing the change. But now, as the Church has never ceased to call the other *five* Sacraments, nor to teach that they confer grace (as any one may see stated at length in the Homily on the Sacraments, approved by Article XXXV, and in the Marriage Service), we are obliged to adopt such an interpretation of Article XXV as agrees best with Article XXXV, and with the other extant definitions, I will not say only of the same Church, but of the very same Bishops and of the same Synod which decreed the Articles. Lastly, there has been a formal decision pronounced by public authority concerning the interpretation of this Article XXV, on the number of the Sacraments. Certain Puritans in the time of King Charles I. accused a Bishop named Montague, among other things, of having taught, contrary to the sense of Article XXV, and in agreement with the Church of Rome, 'that there are more than two Sacraments :'. But it was decided without the least hesitation, that the Church had never ceased to teach that there are more than two Sacraments ; though she makes a distinction between the Two and the others ; and that the Puritans had mistaken the sense of the Article.

VII. "*The Mass :*" The word Mass has not been rejected by the Church. The names 'Mass' and 'High Mass' are still to be found not only in the Rubrics of the first English Prayer-Book, but also in another peculiar Office or Ceremonial which is actually in use. But the allusion of the writer is evidently to the last clause of Article XXXI, where it is said that '*those sacrifices of Masses in which it was then commonly said that the Priest offered Jesus Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, because there is only one perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world (whether original or actual), that is, the Oblation of Jesus Christ once offered upon the Cross ; and because there is no other satisfaction for sin, but that only.*' I confess that this Article, like several of the others, is couched in terms vague enough to be capable of two interpretations quite different the one from the other : but our only business is to learn what sense the Church of England, in accepting and enacting the Article, did in point of fact intend to give to its wording. It seems then that she intended to condemn the sacrifices of Masses *such as they were then commonly in practice*, as they were then commonly bought, celebrated, and applied to the profit of the quick and the dead, in the Latin Church ; and this not absolutely, nor so as to involve in the same condemnation every thing to be found in the Roman Missal, (for in that case she would have condemned her own Liturgy), but only *so far as* Masses were then so celebrated and esteemed, *as to be more or less derogatory to the one source of all expiation*. The source of this error and abuse seems to lie in the corruption or mutilation of the modern Roman Liturgy, (I say mutilation, because there are still signs that it was not as it is now from the beginning). In this Mass or Liturgy, which the Popes, through the assistance of secular rulers, had succeeded in imposing upon all the Churches of Europe, and which had so supplanted the earlier Liturgies once used in its different countries and peoples, there is not to be found that 'Invocation of the Holy Ghost,' which ought to follow after the 'Great Oblation.' The opinion having come in, that the change of the species is wrought and completed at the moment when the Priest pronounces the Words of our Saviour, and that this change is more or less a physical change, this necessarily gave quite a new

sense and force to the Oblation which follows (rightly enough) immediately after ; and made it seem as if, instead of offering mystically on earth one and the same Sacrifice with that which Jesus Christ continually offers for us in Heaven, the Priest repeatedly offered on earth, physically and materially, that Oblation and Sacrifice, which, according to the expression of the Apostle, was offered on the Cross ‘*once for all.*’ This seems to have been the source of the corruption. To see what were its details and developments, it will be enough to consider what is the usage of all the Latin Churches under the Pope at the present day, as well as in the 16th century, when this Article was decreed. The first thing, the first thought with them, is to multiply as much as possible ‘the Sacrifices of Masses,’ especially with reference to Purgatory ; that so the souls in Purgatory may obtain ‘remission of pain and guilt.’ It is impossible to notice the difference existing on this point between them and all other Churches, whether orthodox or heretical, which have preserved in their Liturgies the Invocation of the Holy Ghost after the Great Oblation, without perceiving that it is very far indeed from being merely formal or superficial. I will add here two arguments, to shew that I have given the true sense of the Article ; *First*, because it is the only possible sense, unless the Church of England had wished to condemn her own ‘Sacrifices of Masses,’ or of ‘Liturgies,’ in which, according to the teaching of her own theologians, the Priest offers the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ for the quick and for the dead : *Secondly*, because the doctrinal tendency of this Article seems to be shown and demonstrated by the fact, that the Churches of Scotland and of America (which owe their Episcopate to the Church of England), have actually re-inserted in their Liturgies the Invocation of the Holy Ghost after the Great Oblation. If the same has not yet been done in England, it is not that the will of the English Bishops and Divines at the last revision was opposed to it, but that the political and religious difficulties by which they were surrounded, and which have been ever on the increase since the Revolutions of 1648 and 1688, have hitherto denied them the opportunity.

VIII. “*Transubstantiation.*” The allusion is to Article XXVIII, which resembles Article XXXI in being capable of very different senses : For, *first*, One might very naturally suppose that the Church intended by it to condemn the notion of any Transubstantiation whatever, if it were not for the considerations to be offered below, which seem to preclude such an interpretation. But we shall find in these considerations signs that the Church had in view only one certain specific sense of the expressions ‘Transubstantiation,’ and ‘change of substance.’ And when we further learn, that the very same Bishops who decreed this Article also solemnly subscribed and published, as a declaration of the Faith of their Church on this point, another document of the ninth century of considerable length, in which it is taught that Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Ghost *changes the substance of bread and of wine into the substance of His own Body and of His own Blood*, we may say that it is certain that this Article does not condemn Transubstantiation absolutely, in every sense whatever for which the word may stand. If we seek to know more precisely, *what* Transubstantiation, or change of the substances, really *was* meant here under these terms, we must have recourse to an examination of the Liturgies in use in the Anglican Communion, and to the writings of our Divines, which we must compare with the writings of Roman

Divines on the same point. Now, in point of fact, all those expressions which denote a *change*, and a *change of substance* too, are to be found employed or allowed in our Liturgies, or in the writings of our Bishops : But, at the same time that they say that the Bread is ‘transmuted,’ ‘transelemented,’ or ‘transubstantiated,’ they say also, that it is ‘transfigured,’ or ‘transformed :’ at the same time that they quote and admit those passages of the Fathers which assert that after Consecration the natural Bread is done away ; and that, in these mysteries, we are not to believe or follow our senses, but our Faith ; they also quote and accept (uncorrected, and unglossed) those other passages, in which the Fathers say that this food is compounded of two things, one heavenly, the other earthly ; and that the natural *substances* are *not* destroyed by the superaddition of Divine Grace. They all, with one accord, declare that the Church of England, in condemning the Roman Transubstantiation, intends only *that* Transubstantiation, by which it has been attempted to define the *manner* of the change ; that is to say, by laying down first the distinct and separable existence of natural ‘substances’ and natural ‘accidents ;’ and then teaching, that such a separation of the natural ‘substance’ from its natural ‘accidents’ actually exists after the Consecration of the Eucharist ; the natural substance ceasing to subsist, and the natural ‘accidents,’ unsupported by their natural substance, remaining. To know whether the Roman Divines understand or not by their Transubstantiation a definition of the manner, it will be enough to refer to Bellarmine, who will tell us plainly that there are two distinct dogmas, I. Of the Real Presence ; and II. Of Transubstantiation, ‘which is the manner of it.’ They will also tell us (which is worth attending to), that Transubstantiation (that is, in their sense, by separation of natural ‘substance’ and natural ‘accidents’) has not *of itself* the nature of a necessary Article of the Faith, but has been made such only by the fact, that the Popes have decreed it, and that the Church (that is the Latin Church, or the greater part of it,) has followed their definition.

IX. “*It is said . . . that the Church can decide in controversies of faith ; but only so far as her decisions may be in agreement with Holy Scripture :*” I do not suppose that any Church has ever taught otherwise ; that is to say, that she *may* introduce ceremonies or doctrines, which are contrary to the Holy Scriptures. But if so, to what purpose could it be, one may ask, to frame such Articles as Article XX, and Article XXI ? In reply to this question we must remark, that certain writers of that time, and before, in the Latin Church, who were for ever insisting on the promise of our Lord, and on the authority and infallibility of the Church, (which they made in fact to consist in the authority and infallibility of the Pope), had been so carried away by their zeal, as to maintain not only that the Church can decree *new* Articles of Faith without proving them by the Scriptures ; but further, that even *if* the Church were to decree anything *contrary* to the Scriptures, men ought to follow the Church rather than the Scriptures. No doubt, if one were to speak of the Œcumenical Church, according to its true definition, such supposed cases would be simply impossibilities ; but still, it was not the less, on that account, a sign of a very faulty moral disposition in the Latin Church, that theologians of note should allow themselves to run, even by way of illustration, into such irreverences. The Roman Controversialists of that age in treating of Purgatory and of Indulgences often made no difficulty of

admitting that then their doctrines were *new*, and destitute of proof from Holy Scripture: they did not always even claim for them the authority of Apostolical tradition: But they reasoned as if the Church had arrived at the knowledge of them many centuries after her first establishment, and thereupon had added them to her treasures by decreeing them authoritatively. And in decreeing the Communion under one kind only the Council of Constance, (Sess. xiii.) had had quite the air of asserting that it could decree things even contrary to the Holy Scriptures. The thing most important to observe on this Article is, that the Church of England in it lays down a rule *for herself*, in opposition to the contrary license claimed by some writers for the Church of Rome. But she has never said that it is for individuals to judge by private reason whether the decrees of the Church are agreeable, or no, to the Holy Scriptures.

x. "*They regard the Sacraments, 'not only as outward signs' of faith, but as 'pledges of the grace' of God:*" Here one or two expressions are cited from Article XXV, which, even if they had been given correctly, and without interpolating the words "*of faith*," so as to pervert the sense of the passage, could give but an imperfect idea of the whole doctrine on the Sacraments contained in the XXXIX Articles, and in the Homilies, which they approve and refer to, to say nothing of other documents equally authoritative. In the Articles, the two great Sacraments of the New Law, (answering to Circumcision and the Paschal Lamb under the Old), by which we receive Jesus Christ Himself, to be the beginning and the continuance of the new life, are declared to be not only signs and pledges, but also effectual instruments or means, instituted by Jesus Christ Himself, to confer on us *those* graces of which they are at the same time the signs and the pledges. And these graces, which are the inward things or parts in the Sacraments, are, in the first Regeneration, in the second the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; as is explained more at length in the Catechism of the Church.

xi. "*They teach that Baptism is the symbol of Regeneration, and the mean whereby they who are baptized are received into the Church, and obtain remission of sins:*" alluding to Article XXVII. This is true; but the writer might have seen, that by the same Article it is taught to be also the instrument or mean by which we are 'regenerated.' The Church teaches in the Articles, and in many other places, in the most distinct manner, sometimes, that Baptism '*works*' or '*confers*,' sometimes, that it '*is*' Regeneration. Thus in Article IX of these Thirty-nine, the word '*renatis*' that is 'regenerated' of the Latin original, is rendered in the English version, which is of equal authority (as having been subscribed at the same time with the Latin, and by the same Synod in 1571) by the word '*Baptized*.'

xii. "*It is laid down in Article XXVIII, that the Body and Blood of Christ are received only by faith, and in a spiritual manner:*" The words of the Article are not "*only by faith*," but '*by faith*,' and '*only after a heavenly and spiritual manner*;' that is, not after a carnal, sensible, earthly, or physical manner. The like to this we find also in the holy Fathers, when they say, that 'the disciples were scandalized at the words of our Lord, supposing that he had invited them to eat flesh, that is, natural flesh, (σαρκοφάγῳ). And the same is in effect confessed by Latin Divines, when they admit that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are present in the Eucharist 'after the manner of existence of spirit,' or 'with the qualities of spirit, not of

body.' It is not said in the Article that we receive the Body and Blood of Christ 'only' by faith. This proposition is indeed capable of a true sense ; but in its most natural sense it would be manifestly false. For though it be admitted that there may be such a thing as spiritual Communion by faith, when it is impossible to receive the Holy Sacraments by the mouth, (since the mercy of God is almighty), still, even of this kind of Communion it would not be true to say, that we receive the Body and Blood of Christ *only* by Faith. We should receive it rather by the mercy of Him who extends His Hand to give us that divine sustenance. And still more, when we Communicate in the ordinary way, that is, sacramentally, we receive this same food by the mercy of God ; by the Consecration ; by the hand of the Priest ; by our own hand and mouth ; and lastly, by the consecrated elements themselves. It is not, then, either said or meant in the Article, that we receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ "*only* by faith ;" but it is said, and with truth, that we receive them 'by faith ;' faith being the indispensable condition for the reception of this nourishment. For 'he who has not faith,' as says Origen, 'cannot eat that heavenly bread.' However it is of the utmost importance to notice here, what is the exact sense of the word '*Faith*,' when we say that it is the indispensable condition of our receiving the Body and Blood of Christ. For this Faith is not a transient energy or emotion of mind or of soul, elevating itself to God at the moment of receiving the elements, to seek a grace separate and distinct from them : But that Faith which is the hand, and as it were the stomach, of those who eat the heavenly bread, by virtue of which they have in them that nature which is capable of being fed, is nothing else than the habitual Faith which was infused into us in our Baptism ; by which we were born ; by which we now live, and are 'believers' or 'faithful,' *πίστευσι*, having capacity and need to be fed. For sustenance implies life.

59. "*The Book of Homilies is no longer in use ; but the Clergy are obliged to subscribe it.*" The Book of Homilies, it is true, is not now read very commonly in the churches, if that is what was intended ; but they are still read occasionally. Indeed, I have myself read the greater part of the Homilies repeatedly in different churches, and have heard them read by others. Neither is it accurate to say, that the Clergy are obliged to subscribe the Book (or rather the Books, for there are two) of the Homilies. It is true that the contents of the Homilies are in general terms approved by Article XXXV of the Thirty-Nine ; and the Articles are subscribed by the Clergy : but no man has ever yet been so unreasonable as to imagine that the Church meant to oblige all the Clergy to subscribe directly or indirectly to every proposition that can be found in a thick volume of Sermons, as if it were an Article of Faith. This is more than has been ever claimed even for the writings of the holy Fathers. And, to set this point at rest, the Ecclesiastical Courts in England have repeatedly declared that no such sense is to be put on the approval of the Homilies by Article XXXV. The author of the Table has been led into this blunder apparently by his own phraseology ; as he had before thought proper to call the Homilies one of the '*Symbolical Books*' of the Church of England.

60. "*The Common Prayer-Book is a Collection of Forms of Liturgy.*" The word 'Liturgy' is here used in a sense different from that of the Church, which uses it specially and almost exclusively of the Eucharistic Service. The Book in question contains the daily Service and the ordinary occasional

Offices of the Church, that is, the Breviary, without the Lessons, the Missal, and the Ritual, in English, in that very abridged form to which they have been reduced from the Latin. In some editions the Ordinal also is appended. The title is '*The Book of Common Prayer (that is, of Vespers and Matins) and administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter, &c.*'

61. "*It was sanctioned in 1662 :*" That is to say, was revised for the last time by the Convocation of the Clergy, and invested with legal authority by an Act of the Crown and the Parliament in 1662. For its use had been proscribed during the 20 years of the Great Rebellion, under the severest penalties. But the same Book of the Offices of the Church in the vulgar tongue had been sanctioned for the first time by the Clergy and the Parliament in 1548, under Edward VI. In 1552, the Civil Government, by threats of violence, caused it to be mutilated by various changes of transposition and omission, owing, no doubt, to the weakness of the Archbishop Cranmer, who had become at the time a Zuinglian, or nearly a Zuinglian, on the doctrine of the Eucharist. Notwithstanding this, it was at the same time publicly declared (as has been mentioned before), and that, too, even by the Parliament itself in enacting the use of the Second Book, that '*there had been found no good reason, nor necessity for omitting or changing anything that was in the First ; which had been composed by the Synod of the Clergy with the special aid of the Holy Ghost, and had been generally received by all orders and ranks with the greatest unanimity, as a gift of the Divine mercy ;*' and that the changes and omissions then made were mere concessions for peace's sake to captious objectors, who, there was fear, would not so easily be contented. On the accession of Elizabeth, and again, under James I. and his son Charles I., and lastly, on the Restoration, under Charles II., various fresh changes and additions were adopted by the Convocations of the Clergy, and were legalized by Parliament.' These later changes have all been made in a spirit and with an object precisely contrary to the spirit and tendency of the changes of 1552, so as to qualify or correct in some degree, though delicately and cautiously, those defects which had been occasioned by the first omissions ; and so as to bring the Book somewhat nearer to the first and original English Prayer-Book of 1548. The dispositions of the English people being always Puritan, and far from any hearty loyalty to the Church, it is by no means wonderful that these later changes and improvements should have been made by the Clergy so cautiously and delicately, by such minute and scarcely noticeable modifications : but rather it is indeed wonderful that the Clergy themselves should have had the knowledge and disposition to make any such retrograde modifications at all. In Scotland, the Bishops having the great mass of the people openly hostile, and entirely separate from their Communion, and besides that, after the Revolution of 1688, being cast off by the State, and so freed from all considerations of civil policy, found themselves more at liberty. At any rate, they acted more decidedly ; and to this it is owing that the Liturgy of the Scottish Church (using the term Liturgy in its proper sense) is now much nearer to the first English Liturgy of 1548, than is the Communion Office of the English Prayer-Book of 1662, which is at present used in England. However, it is to be remarked as a balance to this advantage, that the Scottish Bishops have been sub-

jected during a long period, until recently, to violent and bitter persecution from the Presbyterians, and from the Civil Government; and that they have hitherto made little or no progress towards the general conversion or recovery of their country.

62. "*The Book of the Laws of the Church contains a statement of the Anglo-Episcopal Church-Constitution:*" There is no such book as the "Book of the Laws of the Church" of England. Its laws are extremely complicated, and have never been revised, collected, or arranged, or published by authority, in any general code for many centuries. We may say that the basis of all our ecclesiastical laws is the Nomocanon of John the Scholastic; that is to say, the canons of the first four Œcumenical Councils, with all the others cited or approved in them. The fifth and sixth Œcumenical Councils also have ever been received and regarded as supplementary to the third and fourth, though they made no canons of discipline. The acts of the Seventh Council, held at Nice, were transmitted by Pope Adrian I. to the Bishops of Germany and of France, in the time of Charlemagne, and by these again to the Bishops of England: But this Council was not received; though the usages which it had sanctioned respecting Images or Pictures, and which occasioned its rejection by a large part of the West, came to be practically received in later times through the influence of the Popes. For later times, the ecclesiastical law of England has been composed of a chaos of canons, more or less generally received in the Latin Church; of decrees and bulls of the Popes; of Legatine constitutions; of canons of our own National and Provincial Councils; and also (especially since the Revolution of 1688) of civil Laws on a great variety of mixed matters, which have never been approved or decreed by any regular Synod of the Clergy, but have been silently received and submitted to by the Church, either on the principle of State supremacy, as her enemies declare, or to avoid greater evils, as her friends would rather prefer to think. In fact, since the beginning of the last century, the civil Government has not suffered the Church to do anything Synodically; and it is only in our own day that the Bishops and the Clergy, and even the people, are beginning to demand of the Government to permit the assembling of a Synod, to decide those religious controversies, by which the whole country is agitated. And this must end either in the condemnation or in the recognition of that Protestantism which has been so long politically dominant in England. The book alluded to by the author of the Table is really the '*Book of the Canons of 1604*' containing certain particular canons decreed by the Synod of the Clergy at that time.

63. "*Countries in which the Episcopalians are to be found, and the number of their partizans:*" I have already made remarks on the term "*Episcopalians*," which is unknown to the Church. (See above, No. 4.) As for the expression "*their partizans*," it is equally so. The members of the Church of England are rather open to this reproach that they have never yet had earnestness or conviction enough to be really '*partizans*' either of the Pope, or of Calvin, or of any other; but have remained, as a mass, within that Apostolical Institution in which they had been baptized and bred up, however great might be the external changes to which it was subjected by the tyranny of their Sovereigns or the weakness of their Clergy. But the truth is, that they never had any choice. The only alternative that they could have adopted, if they had been convinced that the essence of their religion and of their Church was seriously altered by

the acts of their kings, or by the compliances of their clergy, would have been that of appealing to the intervention of the Roman Pontiffs. Unhappily those Pontiffs, by their intemperate conduct towards the State of England, made it extremely difficult, or even impossible for good Christians and loyal subjects to avail themselves of that influence which the Pope might otherwise have exercised in favour of the interests of the Church ; or even to keep themselves within the Papal Communion. For Pope Pius V., without accusing *the Bishops or the Church of England* of having fallen into heresy on certain distinct points, without any sort of canonical examination or judgment, '*by the plenitude of his Apostolical power*;' anathematized, excommunicated, and deposed *Queen Elizabeth* ; granted away her kingdoms to Philip King of Spain, and excommunicated by the same act all those of her subjects in England and in Ireland, *who should persist in recognising her sovereignty, or refuse to aid Philip King of Spain to carry the same Bull into execution by taking possession of her crown and her dominions*. Thus the whole rupture of Communion between the *Church of Rome* and the *Church of England* (however grave may be the theological questions, which *might have been raised, but were not raised* between them), turned in point of fact then, and has ever turned since, on the *political struggle* which was entered into between the two *Courts*. However great may have been the excesses and disorders which the Anglican clergy had admitted under the name of Reformation, at the command of their Sovereign, the conduct of the Pope in attempting to force them *upon a civil rebellion, as the indispensable condition of his Communion*, had deprived the Church of England of all possibility of obtaining their modification or correction from that quarter.

64. "*They are to be found in part of Ireland*:" The Church of Ireland has members in all parts of that island, though they are certainly but a small minority, if compared with the indigenous Gaelic population, which, nearly without exception, followed the emissaries of Rome and of Philip of Spain at the time of Pope Pius' Bull against Elizabeth, and have ever since maintained among themselves a new Hierarchy of Roman consecration ; while the original Hierarchy of the country, which in the 16th century was entirely composed of Anglo-Norman Prelates, persisted, together with the Anglo-Norman population generally, in their allegiance to Queen Elizabeth ; and their successors are still in unity and Communion with the Established Church of England.

65. "*Their total number is about 11 millions*:" It is difficult to calculate with any exactness, on account of the great numbers in England, who are in the habit of frequenting services, and otherwise uniting with Dissenting Sects, without entirely or finally withdrawing from the Church in which they were Baptized perhaps, and Confirmed, and Married, and in the consecrated cemeteries of which they look to be Buried. If I were asked to guess, I should say that the total number of members of the Anglican Communion must amount at least to 15 millions.

The above Remarks being written in French, like the printed Document itself, were delivered to the Archbishop of Riazan on Friday, December 9, N. S. ; and were shortly afterwards sent to the Spiritual Academy, to the Rector, the Bishop A., who had been charged with the translation

of them into Russ ; it being the only language used in all the proceedings of the M. H. Synod.

SECTION XXX.

ON AN ATTEMPT MAKING AT THE SAME TIME ON THE PART OF CERTAIN ARMENIANS TO VINDICATE THE CHARACTER OF THEIR CHURCH.

It has been already mentioned at the beginning of the last Section, that on Thursday, November 12-24, I met for the first time the Archbishop of Riazan ; and that some little conversation had passed between us, previously to his desiring me to write remarks upon the Swiss printed Account of the Anglican Church. The Archbishop had upon that occasion introduced the subject of the possibility or prospect of a future union of the Armenian with the Eastern Catholic Church ; a subject of which it may be worth while here to take some notice ; inasmuch as the coincidence in point of time, and the similarity of the effort then making by certain Armenians to disclaim imputations cast on their religion, seemed interesting and remarkable ; and also because the only principle on which any future union of the British and Eastern Churches seems either possible or conceivable is the very same as that on which the Russians, whom I saw at St Petersburg in 1842 and 1843, supposed a union with the Armenian Church to be both easy and probable.

The Archbishop of Riazan introduced the subject, by observing that I should probably be interested to hear, that while I was bringing Letters from a Scottish Bishop, who sought to disclaim the imputations commonly cast upon his religion, and supposed unity of faith to exist between his Church and theirs, some of the Armenians also had moved a question of the same kind, and in much the same way. A book, he said, having been published at St Petersburg, in which the Armenians were spoken of as heretics, some Armenians of that city had complained to the Government that such calumnies against them had been permitted to pass by the Censurate ; when they were orthodox Christians, no less than the Russians themselves ; and indeed, though they might differ in ritual and discipline, and in some verbal forms, yet agreed with the Russian Church in all the articles of the Faith. In consequence of these representations the Emperor had recommended the affair to the Synod ; and had given a command to the Patriarch of the Armenians at Etchmiadzin to send to the Russian Synod a full exposition of the faith of his Church, if he concurred in feeling with the Armenians of St Petersburg. [The Answer of the Patriarch had not arrived when I left Russia ; and he died not long after, leaving the matter to devolve upon his successor.]

Now, though it is true that the Armenian Church is, upon the whole, in outward accidents and ritual, just as near to the Orthodox Eastern Church, as the Anglican or British Church is remote from it; and though it is also true that the Armenians are condemned as heretics only upon one single point, while the British Church is rejected or suspected upon many, yet as that one point, upon which the Armenians are at present condemned and rejected, is much more clearly bound upon the Armenian Church itself, by repeated Synodical Acts, than any of those heresies, of which the British Churches, whether rightly or wrongly, are accused, are bound upon them, it seemed to be a question of no little interest for ourselves, to see in what way a door for the reconciliation of the Armenians upon equal terms might still be open. And some time after the above conversation with the Archbishop of Riazau, M. Mouravieff (the author of the '*History of the Russian Church*') in giving some account of the composition and publication of a volume entitled '*On the Faith of the Armenians*' by the Prince-Archbishop Argoutinsky Dolgorouky, in the time of the Emperor Paul, observed, that though the phraseology of the Armenians, attributing to our Lord only one nature, is proscribed by the Orthodox Church, and could never be received by her, and though there is too much reason to fear that this phraseology has been held, and is generally held, by the Armenians in a heretical sense, still there has been all along within the Armenian Church a succession of Prelates and Doctors of great reputation and authority, who (as Argoutinsky's book fully shows) have agreed in sense with the Orthodox Church, and have often distinctly confessed their agreement, reducing the whole difference to a question of words. And not only has this been so, but there have been at certain epochs in former times public Synodical acts of the Armenian Church distinctly explaining their phraseology in an orthodox sense, and consenting to union with the Eastern Church, so that, upon mutual explanation, they should receive the orthodox Councils and the orthodox phraseology for the future, discontinuing their own; while the Eastern Church should receive them to Communion without making them to anathematize their peculiar language retrospectively, contenting herself with their Synodical explanation of it in an orthodox sense, and their engagement to disuse it for the future. "So then," he said, "there being no express Synodical Act of the Armenian Church condemning such an orthodox interpretation of her phraseology, but only a popular indisposition to adopt it, it seems open to her at any time to own, or to renew, or repeat, those Synodical acts which she has already in past time more than once adopted." In like manner, then, no doubt, or even much more is it true, that though the Eastern Church could never consent to approve or accept for the future many existing peculiarities in the phraseology and customs of our British Churches, yet if those peculiarities were explained by some Synodal act in an orthodox sense, and the law and language of the Œcumenical Church returned to for the future, unity having been thus ascertained and declared, union would no longer be either impossible or objectionable.

It was on Tuesday, May 11-23, 1843, that I conversed for the last time with M. Mouravieff on this subject, of the re-union of the Armenian Church, and the possible application of the same principle and method to the case of the British. He was then upon the point of leaving St Petersburg for Moscow; and made me a present of a MS. paper in Russ, which had

been drawn up for him by the present Archbishop of the Russian Armenians, with the view of showing how far the Armenian Church had gone in past times, both through the writings of her Doctors, and by distinct Synodal Acts, towards justifying the view now put forward, that a union is possible.

SECTION XXXI.

INTERVIEWS WITH THE BISHOP A., RECTOR OF THE SP. ACADEMY, WHO HAD BEEN CHARGED TO TRANSLATE BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S LETTERS; AND WHO AFTERWARDS PREPARED THE ANSWER.

ON Thursday, November 4, N.S. having gone to the Spiritual Academy in the Nefsky Lavra, to visit the Hebrew Professor (a converted Rabbi from Weimar), whom I had known during a former stay in Russia, and to be shewn the English books in the Library there, I was invited to call upon the Rector; who had recently been consecrated to be Vicar-Bishop of Vinnitza, under the See of Podolia; and who, it was said, had heard of the probability of my coming to the Library, and had expressed a wish to see me. I had myself heard this Bishop spoken of before by the Priest A. (who had been consulted respecting the alteration of Bishop Luscombe's Letters), as being high in the confidence of the aged Metropolitan of St Petersburg, and no less so in that of certain civil Authorities, and as being very orthodox, but thought harsh and excessive by some, as seeing Lutheranism or Calvinism every-where, and taxing all around him with heresy. It had been said by one or two persons, "that I had come to Russia at the very worst moment possible: and that if I saw the Rector of the Academy, I should probably meet with a very rough reception: that he Latinized himself on some points, while he accused others of Protestantism: that if things went on long as they were going on then, there would sooner or later be only the deeper reaction." I am bound however to acknowledge, that when I actually met this Bishop, I found in him more heartiness and frank courtesy, than I had met with from almost any other Russian Ecclesiastic. He entered openly and fearlessly into any theological question which offered: and whether he were excessive or not on any particular points, he certainly had good grounds for complaining, that ever since the time of Theophanes Procopovich there had been a school and

spirit at work within the Russian Church, which, in respect of the deepest principles of theology, had shewn a dangerous affinity to Protestantism. But without alluding further to such matters, which are beside the purpose, it will be enough here to set down briefly such passages from conversations with him as bore immediately on my own business :

He told me at once, the first time we met, that Bishop Luscombe's Letters, together with my own appended, had been sent to him to be translated into Russ for the Synod : and he read over aloud some passages of them in the original or rough copy of his translation, expressing his satisfaction at the principles they contained. Like others, he spoke of the Jerusalem Bishopric, saying, that he " wished I could take those Letters to Jerusalem : for that the new Prusso-Anglican Bishop might really do much harm to Orthodoxy through the influence of English money, tracts, political influence, and civilization." In the mean time, he expressed some curiosity to learn the details of the particular controversy alluded to in Bishop Luscombe's Letters : and noticed that they bore marks of erasures and changes : and that the Letter appended on the reverse of the parchment sheet was unauthenticated by the Bishop's signature. It was hinted to him in general terms, (though perhaps he knew all well enough already), what sort of reasons might have existed for making alterations ; with the addition, that there was the Bishop's authority for making them. He observed also that " this Scottish Bishop, from whom I came, had not addressed his Letters directly to the Russian Synod : had he done so, the Synod would doubtless have replied to him in the same manner ; which now it could scarcely do : though even in that case the declaration of a single Bishop, *unsupported by his brethren*, could not have been received as a sufficient testimony of the doctrine of his Church." I replied, that both myself and the Bishop " had foreseen this objection : and that before being brought to Russia the Letters had been taken into Scotland, to seek for them the support and concurrence of the Scottish Bishops, by whom Bishop Luscombe was consecrated." " And what did they say to you ?" he asked. " They said" it was replied, " that the Bishop, their brother, might perhaps have very good reasons for what he was doing ; but that it would be time enough to apply for further support

to his Letters, when the objection should have been actually made in Russia." He rejoined, "Certainly that *will* be the objection made: and I hope it may give occasion to some Synodical act in Britain hereafter." He asked many questions concerning the Scottish Church as distinguished from the Church of England; especially, whether both Churches possessed the liberty of Synodical action? and in what relation they stood to those Scottish and English Bishops who corresponded with the Russian Synod and the Eastern Patriarchs in the time of Peter I? saying, that he thought "the influence of Theophanes Procopovich was discernible in the tone adopted by the Synod in that correspondence." A similar spirit, he said, had led in the last reign to the introduction of the Bible Societies into Russia; and I had done well to find fault with that selection of English books and publications which I had seen in the shelves of their Library; for, in fact, the greater part of what I had found there had consisted of Reports of the Bible Society, and other publications of a like character. To the same source, the Rector said, were to be referred certain semi-heretical statements which had been published as from one of their Prelates by the Independent, Dr Pinkerton, and which had been recently quoted against the orthodoxy of their Church by Roman-Catholic writers in Germany. To this it was replied, that there was an old canon forbidding to take the witness of heretics against a Bishop: that I had seen the propositions alluded to in Dr Pinkerton's book, before I first visited Russia; and doubted how far they were to be trusted as genuine: At any rate, if that Prelate had ever written them, he must have been quite young at the time; and must have completely corrected his views since, as he grew in years and learning: for I could myself bear witness to the accuracy and jealousy with which he had criticised in my presence those precisely of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church which seem to favour similar errors. [And, after all, the propositions themselves, though one-sided and incautious even to a greater degree than our XXXIX Articles, yet, like the XXXIX Articles, are capable of an orthodox sense; and by no means shew that the writer had distinctly adopted in his own mind those erroneous consequences.

which in tone and language he certainly too much favoured. Perhaps, too, some others besides the Americans may be too sensitive with regard to the criticisms of foreigners and enemies. Cyrill Lucar Calvinized, there can be no doubt: but still the tone and air of Dositheus and his Synod in seeking to approve themselves to the Latins, and in following the suggestions of the French Ambassador, does not inspire any great idea of the superiority, or even of the absolute self-sufficiency and independence, of the Eastern Church. And so now, if it be true, as a great Personage is reported to have said, that "the Russian Church has two Pillars" of one and the same name, it would be no great gain or credit to her, if she should undervalue one of her 'Pillars,' merely because he is asserted by two foreign writers, the one an Independent the other a Papist, to have written privately, many years ago, a paper shewing some leaning towards the Bible Societies rather than to the Jesuits.]

But to return from this digression to the interviews with the Rector of the Academy: Having noticed (on Tuesday, November 17-29), that he spoke of the XXXIX Articles as containing many things irreconcilable with orthodoxy, and would scarcely consent to modify this charge so far as to say, that "at any rate they needed much authoritative explanation," I sent to him on Monday, December 7-19th, a copy of the Latin '*Introduction to the XXXIX Articles*,' [see Appendix I. in the published Work] together with copies of all that I had published or written in England on the subject of the Jerusalem Bishopric. All these he read; and when he next saw me, pointed out many passages which he had underlined. He admitted freely that the Eastern Church would be satisfied with regard to the Creed by the *simple omission* of the interpolation: And of the Articles he said, that the Treatise given him had removed his objections, so far as it went: that the *Sixth* Article (to which he had before objected) was not at all contrary to their doctrine, if taken as there interpreted; and he saw the rest were so briefly and generally worded, that they might perhaps, by additions and limitations, be interpreted in an orthodox sense, as I had interpreted the Sixth: But that, if such were indeed the sense of our Church, this explanation *must be made by authority*, and not merely by an individual

like myself, before we could hold any amicable conference with the Eastern Church. He added, that "it would be well to print the Articles in three parallel columns, the text in one, the real and orthodox interpretation in another, and the heterodox interpretations which might be put upon them in the third." Answ. "No doubt something of that kind might very well be done by a selection of extracts from the Fathers, and from our own orthodox Divines." "But have you such Divines?" he asked; "for I have read twenty volumes of English Sermons, which quote the Scriptures in Latin in a strange way: but I have found none of them remarkable for orthodoxy." He observed of the Jerusalem Bishopric, that if the nature of the Anglican Church had been rightly represented in those pamphlets given to him, it would plainly be impossible to carry the scheme permanently into effect without a total change of our institutions. He asked many questions about the Scottish and Anglo-American Churches, which he had been told possessed liberty of Synodical action; and desired to know "what chance there was of *their disapproving* what had been done by the English Prelates?"

On Tuesday, December 15-27, staid several hours with the Rector at night; and upon rising to take leave, it being past nine o'clock, found myself locked up in the Academy; the gate at the end of the passage connecting it with the Lavra being always shut from the other side for the night at nine o'clock. "This," the Rector said, smiling, "*we* shall take for a good omen." He had the same night announced that he had been ordered to prepare the first draft of an Answer to my Petition; and he shewed me what he had written; being very nearly the same as was afterwards adopted, and returned from the Synod. It turned upon the insufficiency of Bishop Luscombe's Letters and my own Petition to prove the doctrine of our Church, or to justify the Synod in receiving me to Communion by any other than the usual Form; a Form which imputed to our Church, under the names of Lutheranism and Calvinism, the same errors which Mde. A. was asserting, and which Bishop Luscombe and myself were seeking to disavow in its name. The Rector asked, "What do you think of such an Answer? and have you any objection to make against it?" I replied, that I had no objection to make: that it was much what I had

expected: and I felt myself that the Letters of a single Scottish Bishop might reasonably be thought to need further confirmation, before they could be allowed such weight as to raise a doubt of the justice of the present use and opinion of the Eastern Churches towards the British. He said, "he hoped such an answer, if given by the Synod, might lead to some Synodical act on the part of the Scottish Bishops, shewing that they approved of what their brother had done, and joined him in disclaiming those heresies which he had disclaimed."

On this occasion I saw lying on the Rector's table the Paper of Observations which had been written at the request of the Archbishop of Riazan. [See above, Section XXIX.]

SECTION XXXII.

THE ANSWER OF THE RUSSIAN SYNOD.

ON Monday, January 11-23, 1843, being at the English Embassy, I at length received the Answer of the Synod to my Petition, which had that same day been transmitted through the Foreign Office from the Chancery of the High Procurator: The following is a translation:—

"Latin version of a Decree made by the Most Holy Synod of all Russia, in the year 1842, the 21st day of December, [O. S.]

"Seeing that the British Church has never yet, by any Synodal act, expressed her purpose of restoring that union with our orthodox Catholic Church which she has lost, by disavowing all dogmas contrary to our orthodox Confession; and seeing that the present Letters of a single Bishop with the Petition of a single Deacon, as expressing no more than the opinions of individuals, are in nowise matter for Synodal deliberation, the H. Synod for these reasons cannot admit the petitioner N. N. to the Communion of our Church otherwise than by the Rite prescribed for converts from heterodoxy." [With the authentication in Russ.] 'A true copy.' 'N. N.' *Director of the High Procurator's Chancery.*

This, I was told, was according to the usual form of communicating such extracts and orders from the Synodal Minutes to individuals, whether native Russians or foreigners. See below another instance in Sections XLI, XLII, and XLIII.

SECTION XXXIII.

INTERVIEW WITH THE HIGH PROCURATOR: AM RECOMMENDED BY HIM TO CONSULT THE RECTOR OF THE SP. ACADEMY, AND THE ARCH-PRIEST B. B. K.

ON Wednesday, January 6-18, I received a note from the Secretary of the High Procurator, desiring me to go to the High Procurator at his residence the next day; when I went accordingly, and saw him; (as also again on Tuesday, the 12-24th; and on Monday, the 6th of February, N. S.)

He told me that "my Petition and Bishop Luscombe's Letters had been read in the Synod: and that the Bishops and Prelates present had been much affected by hearing them; and had even spoken with tears of emotion in their eyes: That he felt himself, and not he only, but the members of the Synod felt, all of them, that if there were only a few in Britain, nay, if there were only twenty, who thought with the Bishop from whom I came, unity must sooner or later be restored." To this it was replied, that there are not twenty only, but many hundreds and thousands. He said "The Synod could have wished, in the form of its Answer, to have gone further, to shew its sympathy with the goodness of your work in Britain; but they are obliged to be very cautious. If the Bishop from whom you came had addressed himself distinctly to the Synod, it would have been another thing: though, even then, it must have made the same objection in substance, that one Bishop, unsupported by his brethren, had not sufficient weight: But, as it was, it was really only your personal opinion which expressly acknowledged our Church as orthodox, the Bishop doing so only indirectly, or by implication." He said many things which were meant to shew good will, and his sense of "the goodness of the work that was going on in Britain, and the prospect which it really opened out of ultimate unity: that we must go on, by all means, with our efforts; which deserved all sympathy; and, *the more so, from the evident difficulties against which we have to contend*: that God is manifestly drawing us all together."

I observed, that as the Synod had invited me to be reconciled to their Communion 'by the Form prescribed for

converts from heresy,' it seemed to make it necessary for me to send in another Petition, to request the appointment of a Confessor, who should let me know my heresy, or that of my Church, and reconcile me from it by the Form alluded to, if he convinced me of error, and if the Form were really applicable. He replied, that "the Synod had not contemplated the probability of any further application ; else it would probably have referred me to some Bishop in its Answer : whereas now I should have to begin all over again, and go through the same forms as before ; and that would keep me another six months : though, certainly," he said, "he saw that I might reasonably seek to know what heresy was charged against me." He advised me to consult the Rector of the Academy, and the Arch-Priest ; saying that perhaps I might find a shorter way than by making another application to the Synod. And so I took leave.

SECTION XXXIV.

CONSULT THE RECTOR OF THE ACADEMY, AND THE ARCH-PRIEST : DETERMINE TO MAKE A SECOND APPLICATION TO THE SYNOD.

IN accordance with the advice of the High Procurator, I called the same evening upon the Bishop of Vinnitza, the Rector of the Academy, (who had himself prepared the Answer of the Synod to my Petition), and left with him a draft of the fresh Petition which I proposed to address to the Synod. He desired to have two or three days' time to consider it, before he gave any advice upon the subject.

When I came again, which was on Sunday, January 17-29, he informed me that the aged Metropolitan of St Petersburg, Seraphim, had died the night before ; and that it would be well to await the appointment of his successor, before taking any further step. He said that "he thought the purpose of presenting such a petition for a Confessor as I had shewn him, was good and straightforward ; and that the thing itself was desirable ; and might lead to *a more accurate ascertainment* of the true doctrine and character of the British Church, than they at present possessed : that the Synod would no doubt name some Prelate." He also said that "the object and wish of the Synod was *to give occasion*

to some *Synodal act in Britain*: and that it would be worth consideration whether that end might not be better attained by carrying back to the Bishop and to his brethren the present vague and general answer, than by pressing to have *definite charges* brought against them and their Church, which might have an air of greater harshness or hostility." I replied, that though there was nothing to complain of in the Answer, which was perfectly in keeping with the present formal attitude of the Eastern Church towards the British, I yet saw nothing in it which was at all likely to invite or prompt a spontaneous offer of explanation or conference from a British Synod: that, without entering into such general considerations, it seemed clearly to imply a charge of heresy against us, and to call upon us for a retraction: that a demand or invitation to the British to declare their perfect agreement with the Eastern Church, without entering into any particular questions, could only be viewed as unreasonable, arrogant, and offensive: whereas an existing attitude of hostility, as shown in the Answer, might be honestly carried out to its consequences without offence: and when we were charged with distinct heresies, we might feel called upon to disavow them for our own sake, and for the truth's sake, irrespectively of any possible relations to the party which brings the charge. I therefore thought that on public, as well as private grounds, (*since*, he said, the Synod wished to give occasion to a Synodal act), something ought to be done to bring out more fully and distinctly the real sense of the Answer then received. In the course of our conversation he mentioned his having seen a Report made in writing by the Metropolitan of Moscow concerning what passed between him and myself, when I was before in Russia: and he observed, that the Metropolitan stated me to have maintained to him that the 'Latins have as good a right to their doctrine and phraseology on the point of the Procession, and, in a word, to their form of the Creed, as the Easterns have to theirs.' I explained, that I might have said, and indeed would still say, as much of the expression '*Filioque*' as occurring in orthodox Latin Fathers before the Schism, and as agreeing perfectly in sense with that Faith which I found expressed in other words by the Greek Fathers: [So I then thought: but see below Sections

XXXIX, XLIII, and others]: but that I had never defended the literal interpolation of the Creed; on which subject I had kept to the language of Bishop Pearson. He said, "If the Creed is restored to its canonical form, that is enough to make union possible: all human reasonings beyond, on such a subject, being irreverent, and superfluous, and destitute of intrinsic force, will fall of themselves, unless maintained by the pretence of authority." He said that "the Synod had recognized the '*British Church*' as such, and its Orders of '*Bishop*' and '*Deacon*,' because they found that the Eastern Patriarchs in former times, as well as the Synod itself, had set them a precedent for so doing, in the correspondence which had taken place in the time of Peter the Great." He also said that "the Synod, though it had waived all deliberation upon the documents I had presented, on the ground mentioned in the Answer, had still in fact read and considered them all; and *wished to provoke some Synodal act* on the part of our Church; *for this reason*," said he, "that *certainly the principles laid down in those statements of yours, and now approved by one Bishop*, especially in that one of them which treats of the Church, *are such, that if they were allowed by your Church, the Russian Synod could deduce all that is necessary from them.*"

On Monday, January 18-30, I called upon the Arch-Priest, telling him what I was thinking of, and that the High Procurator had recommended me to ask his advice. He said that "the Answer I had received unquestionably did (as I supposed) both charge the British Church with having originally lost her union with the Eastern by a departure from orthodoxy, and call upon her now for a Synodical retraction of her errors; that is, both of the original error, and also of those additional errors of Lutheranism and Calvinism, into which she had fallen since: That, as for myself personally, or for my Bishop, they saw that our sentiments, so far as we had expressed them, approached closely to the doctrine of their Church: That he had read through the Latin '*Introduction to the XXXIX Articles*;' [See the published Work;] And that the Synod had considered the Letters and the Petition which had been presented: That he made no sort of personal accusation of heresy against me: On the contrary, they would be most happy to admit

me to their Communion with affection, for my good feeling towards them ; but only on condition *that I renounced the errors of my Church* : That the XXXIX Articles were plainly Luther-Calvinistic, and must necessarily be rejected by any man who agreed with them ; and by the British Church, if she would agree with them." Answ. " No ; never." He said, " Though I do not myself allow the possibility of reconciling the two extremes, and the two Churches, as you seek to reconcile them to your own mind, yet, *even if this were possible, it must be done by the Synodical act and explanation of the British Church herself* : and until it be so done, we cannot but understand the XXXIX Articles in their plain and natural sense, and condemn your Church accordingly, as contrary to our own." It was vainly attempted to persuade him that, although it may be quite true that the agreement of our Church in true orthodoxy with theirs, and of theirs with ours, needs Synodical explanations to be made manifest ; and though there may seem to either side to be ever so strong reasons for suspecting some decrees made by the other party since the separation, or for thinking them irreconcilable with truth and orthodoxy, and with their own recent decrees, still, they cannot be said to have any formal or ecclesiastical cognisance of any thing the other party may have done in the interval, until the original cause of quarrel is removed, and until the Churches compare together, and confer upon, their subsequent acts on either side, so as to make one general law for the future by the common authority of both sides, and in words equally understood and agreed upon by both. He thought that " the intention of applying again to the Synod was straightforward ; but *could* lead to no other result than a Reconciliation, if I were reasonable, and sincere."

On Monday, February 6, N. S. I again saw the Rector of the Academy, and told him what had passed with the Arch-Priest. And inasmuch as some doubt had been suggested both by him, and by others who had been consulted, whether any further application to the Synod was necessary ; and whether the Answer then already received did not of itself authorize any Bishop, or even any Priest, with the knowledge and consent of his Bishop, to state to me the heresies objected against our Church, and to proceed to the act of

Reconciliation ‘*according to the prescribed form,*’ I went over with him at his desire the accusations which I supposed might be made [much as may be found printed below in Section XXXIX.], and asked him whether he would undertake to deal with me officially *himself* upon the Synodal Answer? as, certainly, if that were possible, it would save a delay of many months. He declined however, on the ground that “even if this could be done, he was not the proper person for me to apply to, being only a Vicar-Bishop of another and distant diocese, [of Podolia]: that I should rather apply to the diocesan authorities: though, for his own part, he doubted whether they would any of them like to act, after the Synod itself had already acted in the matter.”

In consequence of this advice, I applied first to the Protopope of the Parish in which I lived, the Priest A. who has already been mentioned above. [See Section XXII. p. 74.] He declined, saying that “the affair belonged to the Synod.” Upon this, I went next to the Vicar-Bishop of the Diocese of St Petersburg, making application to him through the Rector of the Academy. He declined in like manner, alleging that “he was only a Vicar, taking his title from a provincial town within the diocese; and had no independent jurisdiction: so I ought to wait for the arrival of the new Metropolitan, Antonius, who had formerly been Archbishop of Warsaw.” The Metropolitan himself, when he came, and was informed of the matter by the Rector of the Academy, answered, equally with the rest, that “he would not meddle with it otherwise, than when it should come before him, in common with the other Prelates, as a member of the Synod.”

SECTION XXXV.

CONVERSATION WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF VOLHYNIA, WHO HAD PRESIDED IN THE SYNOD WHEN BISHOP LUSCOMBE’S LETTERS CAME BEFORE IT.

ON Sunday, February 7-19, I was taken by a Russian acquaintance to attend the Liturgy in the chapel attached to the residence of the Archbishop of Volhynia, named Nicanor, *who had presided in the Synod when my business came before it.* The Archbishop himself officiated; and after the service we called upon him together; he being per-

sonally acquainted with my introducer. He said much in a tone of very good and Christian feeling; "that he prayed to God for the re-establishment of unity with all his soul: that he had read what had been sent in to the Synod with the most lively joy: and, that though some additional explanations would be needed, which might no doubt be made, there was nothing in what I and the Bishop from whom I came had written, which offered any difficulty." In reply, it was explained, that "all that was written in the Letter to Bishop Luscombe, and adopted and approved by him, was written only with respect to those points which had actually come into controversy in the particular case which had caused the Bishop to act; and was by no means put forward as a full statement on all those points which needed explanation and agreement." "The British Church," he said, "was certainly most antient; and therefore ought to have preserved much that was primitive and Apostolic, [alluding to the early mention of Christians and Churches in Britain]: that he well knew many of our writers, even in recent times, had breathed a spirit of orthodoxy; and he made no doubt that the British, *and especially the Scoto-British Church*, would be the first to unite with theirs, and to begin that general reconciliation, for which their Church continually prays: That it would be much more difficult, indeed exceedingly difficult, for the Roman-Catholic or Latin Church to unite with theirs, inasmuch as there all is wrapped up in the Pope; and he is now habitually fixed in his system; and has become its bond-servant: That, however, he had observed the Latins living in his diocese had of late years come freely to hear him preach, and heard him with pleasure; which they used not formerly to do." He asked several questions *about the Scottish Church*; especially, in what respects was it distinguishable from the Established Church of England? "*We hope*," he said, "*that the Scottish Bishops will now Synodically express their desire of union; that so the Russian Synod may be able to treat with them directly.*"

On another occasion, being in company with the same Prelate, and having told him, in answer to some questions put by him, of the second Petition, which had that same day been sent in to the Synod, he assented to the reasonableness and propriety of such a step; and said, that the Synod would no

doubt answer the demand, and appoint some one to act, as soon as the new Metropolitan should be come.

SECTION XXXVI.

SECOND APPLICATION TO THE SYNOD.

ON Wednesday, Feb. 10-22, I delivered to the English Ambassador (to be forwarded through the Foreign Office, and the Chancery of the High Procurator) a Second Petition, of which the following is the translation :—

“ To the Most Holy Synod, which is Archbishop and Patriarch of all Russia, and Brother of the Eastern Patriarchs, the humble Petition of N. N., Deacon, praying that a Confessor may be appointed to admit him to the Communion of the Russian Church according to the Form prescribed for Converts from Heterodoxy, if this, on examination of the Heterodoxy of the petitioner, shall be found possible :

“ I presented to you, Most Holy Fathers, Canonical Letters from the Right Reverend Matthew, a Scottish Bishop, who supposed that neither he nor the British Church had ever yet, by any Synodal act, lost their union with the rest of the Orthodox and Catholic Church, and therefore sought for me, as his Clerk, the Communion of all Orthodox and Catholic Bishops, disavowing at the same time, and condemning, by the same Letters those errors of Lutheranism and Calvinism, which he had heard were imputed to the British Churches by the custom and opinion of the Easterns.

“ In the Answer which I have now received the M. H. Synod, I observe, makes no mention of any such imputation ; nor charges the British Church with the individualism of those sects which are not really Churches, but mere fortuitous associations of individuals interpreting the S. Scriptures by private judgment. Of such heterodoxy as this the Synod says nothing. On the contrary, it allows that the British Churches in time past held one and the same common Orthodoxy with the Easterns, and enjoyed the same common rights of canonical union. But yet, going back, as it seems to me, to a suppositious cause for the interruption of intercourse, the Synod objects, that the British Church at some certain epoch (which however it has not expressly named)

lost its right of union with the Eastern Church ; and that, as it should seem,

“ I. By some certain Synodal act : for else perhaps the M. H. Synod would not have denied that the canonical ‘ Letters of a single Bishop, with the Petition of a single Deacon ’ were ‘ in any wise matters for its *Patriarchal* deliberation : ’ nor would it have accounted a Synodal act on the part of the British Church to be necessary for the recovery of its antient right.

“ II. Then, further, this also is signified, that the British Church at some certain time fell away from the Orthodox and Catholic faith by the Synodal admission of some certain and definite heterodoxy or heresy : for which reason, the apostacy having been by a Synodal act, the Orthodox Eastern and Russian Church now expects a Synodical retractation : and, in the mean time,

“ III. Necessarily regards the British Church, with all her Bishops and children, and so myself also, as heretical ; so that the M. H. Synod cannot admit me (or the Bishop from whom I come) to the Communion of the Russian Church, otherwise than by the Ritual prescribed for converts from heterodoxy.

“ For myself I know not, nor does the Bishop from whom I come know, at what certain definite epoch ; by the admission of what definite heterodoxy or heresy ; or by what Synodal act, either on the one of the two sides, or on both, it can have been, that we lost our canonical right of Communicating with the Eastern Churches. Nevertheless, I confess that the deposit of the orthodox faith is one and the same to all ; and that mere differences of time or place can never make truth to differ from itself. Wherefore Orthodoxy, if it really exists in the British Church, ought to agree perfectly with Orthodoxy in the Russian or Eastern Church, (supposing it to exist there) ; and, *vice versâ*, the Orthodoxy of the Easterns ought to harmonize with that of British Churches. And indeed I do most confidently believe that this is so, even at present, intrinsically ; and that it is capable of being made manifest to all men, if only, after having first got rid of that original charge or suspicion which makes it to be supposed that we have lost our right of union, we should afterwards reduce all later controversies

to bare and simple propositions of abstract falsity or truth ; in order to which, all considerations of authority, and all ambiguities of phraseology, must be carefully eliminated on both sides. Nor is this unreasonable. For whatever questions may have been considered, or whatever decrees may have been made on either side since the interruption or suspension of union *de facto*, such decrees must, by the very hypothesis of separation, be so far from having any binding force on the Churches of the other side, that they cannot be held to be even *known* as yet, that is, canonically and formally known, to any Bishops but those who either personally, or in their predecessors, had a part in framing them. But whenever the original and formal cause of offence shall have been removed, it will then become possible for the two sides to notify to each other, and to consider in common all those later questions which have arisen since the separation, and which they have now, and hitherto, on either side considered and decided only separately, each party for itself. And thus common decrees upon the same subjects may be agreed upon and enacted to bind both parties, when reunited, for the future. In the mean time, however, mere abstract truth needs not to wait for any such future conferences or decrees ; but is able of herself, and at once, both to commend herself to those who hold kindred truth, and to recognize her own likeness in others.

“ Wherefore, though I am quite unconscious as yet of that heresy by which I am alleged, together with the Bishop from whom I come, and with the whole British Church, to have lost the right of union with the Eastern Church, still I by no means think it right, or my duty, scornfully to deny the charge, before I hear a distinct and intelligible accusation. I desire sincerely to renounce and to leave all heresies which are really to be found either in myself, or in the British Church, of which I am a member. And therefore, if the H. Synod itself seeks this, and seriously calls upon me with the fervour of Apostolic charity, to return as from heresy to the orthodox Faith, from the way of darkness and of death to the way of life, I most humbly request the same M. H. Synod to appoint me a Confessor, who may tell me at what point of time we lost our right to union, and enlighten my conscience as to the cause ; that is, may convince

me of the heresy of which I am now accused, and commend to me the contrary truth; and so at length propose to me that Form of Words by which the Synod desires to reconcile me from the heterodoxy or heresy with which I am charged to the Communion of the Eastern Church, and to the true Catholic Faith. &c. &c.” “N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

Written at St Petersburg on Sunday, February 7-19, 1843.

SECTION XXXVII.

WRITE TO BISHOP LUSCOMBE, RELATING WHAT HAS PASSED, AND PROPOSING TO HIM TO SEND INSTRUCTIONS: HIS REPLY.

AFTER having sent in this second Petition to the Synod, I wrote the following Letter to Bishop Luscombe at Paris:—

“MY LORD,—I have been intending to write to you some account of my proceedings here, ever since I received and answered your Letter which was forwarded to me from England; but I have put it off from time to time in the hope of being able shortly to conclude the business here, and to tell you definitively the result. Now, however, things have taken such a turn, that I write without further delay.

“On arriving here in the Autumn, or shortly afterwards, I found that Mde. A. still continued here, as at Paris and Geneva, to profess herself a member of the British or Anglican Church; that she was in the habit of frequenting the Chapel of the British Factory, and even of *taking the Communion there*, though she had never so much as spoken to the Chaplain, Mr. L., nor thought it necessary to do so.

“On my asking, in your name, for the book which your Lordship had lent her [containing Archbishop Platon’s Exposition of the Russian Faith], and which she was supposed to have carried away with her by mistake to St Petersburg, I received for answer, that she had sent you back the book by a French Physician *from London*, whither, it appeared, she had proceeded shortly after you had refused her the Certificate she desired; and from whence she returned to Russia so well satisfied that the Church of England, with her English and Prussian Representatives, was not only ‘*Protestante*,’ in her sense of the word, but ‘*Archi-Protestante*,’ that she paid no sort of regard to your disavowal of her acts and opinions. Indeed, her husband himself, who had asked me to come to St Petersburg, to prove to her the contrary, appeared to have completely gone over to her view of the British or Anglican Church; and asked me, very gravely, how I could persist in remaining a member of a Church, the rulers of which were so evidently of a religion contrary to mine? saying, that if I were to attack anybody, I ought surely rather to attack the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who had been founding, in conjunction with the King of Prussia, a Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem, and not his wife, who, however, mistaken in her opinions, agreed only too well with the Heads of that Church, against which I was in open rebellion. For myself, in the mean time, I told them, that if she would say that she did not pretend to be a member of the British Church; or else, if she would give the due rubrical notice to the Chaplain here,

and make good her right to Communicate to his satisfaction, or at least not attempt to Communicate without his permission ; or if she would only so much as say that she was sorry to have deceived your Lordship, although unintentionally, and that she did not pretend to have any right to *your* Communion, although she might keep her own opinion as to other British Bishops, or as to the *English* Church ; or lastly, if her husband would give me a written assurance that he did not regard her as having become a member of the British Church at all, I would be content, and would take no further steps in the matter, but would return immediately, without presenting your Lordship's Letters to the Synod here, or seeking the Communion from the Russian Church as a member of the British, and in virtue of a profession of Faith contrary to hers. Neither the lady nor her husband would do or say any of those things which I suggested : and, this being the case, I resolved to present your Lordship's Letters (together with those appended to them), to the Synod, in order to counteract, as far as possible, the bad impression which the notoriety of her conduct and opinions must otherwise produce against our Church. At the same time I thought it to be due to her, and to her family, to avoid all risk of involving her in any civil consequences ; and therefore, feeling sure that in this I should have your Lordship's approbation, and that all the more after the offer contained in your letter of September 5, [See Section XXI.] which I had then just received and answered, I took the liberty of omitting or altering every passage or expression which her husband thought might be dangerous, as alluding too distinctly either to the person, or to the illegal and punishable acts which she had committed. I presented the document, as thus altered, to the Synod ; and have recently, after a considerable interval, received an Answer, which is intended, as I am told on very good authority, to *croke a Synodal Act from the British, and in the first instance from the Scottish Church* ; but which, in the mean time, has seemed to me to render a further step on my own part necessary, before returning to report the result of the application to your Lordship, from whom (if any further confirmation of your testimony is requisite) any appeal to the Scottish Bishops for a Synodal Act must necessarily come. The Answer which I have received is to this effect :—*That the British Church having lost her antient union with the Eastern Church, must be supposed, and is supposed by the latter to have lost it by falling away into heresy : And as the British Church has never, down to the present time, declared by any Synodal act, her intention of restoring union, she herself, her Bishops, and all her members, are necessarily supposed by the Eastern Church to be still professors of heresy : and that, therefore, I cannot be received to Communion by the Synod, except upon renouncing the heresy in question.* These are not the exact words, but the substance of the Answer which was sent to me in Latin, and of which I inclose a copy. Upon receiving it, I sent in a second Petition to the Synod, praying to be referred to some Confessor, who might tell me in its name at what time, by what act, and in consequence of what heresy, the British Churches (and so also your Lordship, and I, who came with Letters from you) are said to have lost that right of Communion with the Eastern Church, which the Synod in its Answer admits us to have possessed in former times.

· “ If I am, as I suppose I shall be, referred to a Confessor, it seems to me that I ought to take care in conferring with him to guide myself by

the three following Rules :—[See below in the next Section, where the same are adopted and returned as Instructions by the Bishop.]

“ If your Lordship approves of these three Rules, by which I propose to guide myself, I should take it as a kindness if you would give me a line to say so, especially if your letter should embody, either in terms or in substance, the three clauses which I have set down above. I anticipate that this might probably be of some assistance towards maintaining the ground which has been taken up, or rather which the Synod itself has given us, if I could plead the knowledge and approbation of that Bishop, at least, with whose Letters I came here. It is not likely that I shall receive an answer from the Synod for a month or six weeks yet to come, at the least : so there will no doubt be plenty of time for your Lordship’s answer to reach me. &c. &c.” “ N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

“ P. S.—I inclose a sketch of a letter you might send me in Latin, if you pleased, and which would suit my purpose still better than what I have written above, as it would in fact be giving me formal Instructions, which I could shew here as official, and which would at the same time, being written in Latin, be intelligible to Russian Ecclesiastics.”

To the above letter I received an answer from Bishop Luscombe on Friday, April 9-21, (being Good-Friday that year in the Eastern Church.) The Bishop’s Answer was dated April the 9th, and was as follows ;—

“ REV. AND DEAR SIR.—I have too long delayed returning an answer to your last letter. I have been more than usually occupied during the season of Lent ; and I required time to consider the subject of your letter.

“ I think you have a just cause to ascertain *why* you have been refused Communion with the Russian Orthodox Church ; but from the tenor of the Letter addressed to you, I fear your claim will not be regarded.

“ I feel somewhat unwilling to intrude my opinion on them, seeing that they disregard one Bishop and one Deacon.

“ I hope that you will not again call on me *individually* ; but, if occasion shall require, *I hope you will apply to the Episcopal College in Scotland.*

“ You cannot be more desirous than I am to make our Church well understood by the Church in Russia, and thus restore their former Communion ; but I fear that I and you are not of sufficient weight and importance for this object.

“ You have however my best wishes for your success in this and every other good undertaking. I remain, Reverend and Dear Sir, your’s very faithfully.”

“ M. H. LUSCOMBE, *Bishop, &c.*”

And inclosed with above, the Bishop sent the Letter of Instructions in Latin, such as I had desired ; which shall follow in the next Section.

SECTION XXXVIII.

THE INSTRUCTIONS, AS SENT BY BISHOP LUSCOMBE, ACCORDING
TO THE ABOVE SUGGESTION.

“ *To N. N., Deacon, wishing health :*

“ I understand by your Letter that the Russian Synod (which however is not, properly speaking, a Synod, but

represents only the person of an individual Bishop or Patriarch,) declines to acknowledge the Letters you have presented as Canonical, on this ground, that the British Church, as it alleges, has, by departing from the Orthodox Faith, lost its original union with the Eastern Church.

“ Unless this charge can be maintained, it follows necessarily that the right of union, which is allowed to have once existed, remains still. But this charge itself is made not against you as an individual Clerk, nor against me as an individual Bishop, but against our Church herself, and against you and me *as comprehended in her*: And therefore, in answering, you will have to answer not so much in your own name as in mine; and I again shall have to answer by you not so much in my own name, as in the name of the Church, which is accused in me and in my Clerk.

“ It is my desire, I. That as soon as you appear before the Confessor who shall be appointed, you first of all ask him in your own name, and in my name, and in the name of the Church, at what time, by what Synodal Act, and by the Synodal admission of what heresy, we lost our original right of union? And, until you receive some answer to these questions, I would not have you answer so much as one word to any other accusations or suspicions whatsoever.

“ II. If the Confessor be unable to mention exactly the time, or the Synodal Act, but is ready to object some definite cause for Excommunication, that is, some Heresy into which we are said to have fallen at some point or other of time within certain limits, and by falling into which we may have lost our canonical rights, you may proceed to answer to the charge; yet only under protest, that there needs not only some just ground for Excommunication, but also some real and Synodal enactment of Excommunication, and that at some certain assignable time, before the consequences of Excommunication can fairly be asserted, even against individual Bishops in the West.

“ III. Whatever questions may have been asked, or answers made, concerning that original accusation and loss of union which is objected against us, you may freely afterwards answer to any other accusations or suspicions which may be alleged. For the Apostolical Canons enjoin that, after the presentation of Letters of Communion, the Bishop, whose

Communion is demanded, shall *examine* the Petitioner on all points of the Christian Faith which he may judge necessary. Only, you must take notice, that in this subsequent and more general examination, you must neither allege on your own side, nor admit, if alleged from the other, the authority of any of those more modern Decrees which may have been made on either side since the cessation of intercourse; but you must have recourse for all your answers to the antient and common Decrees of the Universal Church, anterior to the quarrel, or at least to the common sources of orthodox Tradition. For, whatever acts may have been done, or Decrees passed, on either side, since the suspension of intercourse, no such acts or Decrees can be held to be as yet so much as known officially to the other side; inasmuch as they have never hitherto been formally and canonically communicated by Synodal Letters, or jointly examined in such wise, as, after due conference, to be approved and received by the Bishops on both sides in common. Farewell in the Lord.

“Done at Paris, this 8th day of April, in the year of Our Lord, 1843.”

“MATTHEW H. LUSCOMBE,
*Bishop of the Scots, English, and others, of British
origin residing in France, &c.*”

SECTION XXXIX.

AM REQUESTED TO WRITE CERTAIN NOTICES OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND RELIGION, AFTERWARDS GIVEN IN BY THE ARCH-PRIEST B. B. A. TO THE SYNOD.

SOME time previously to sending in the second Petition to the Synod, I had been requested by a Russian layman of distinction, M. Mouravieff, formerly Under-Procurator to the Synod, to write for him in English some short Notices or Dissertations on the Anglican Church; which were written accordingly, and were delivered to him on Monday, February 15-27. He read them through, and returned the MS. on Wednesday, March 8, N. S. with the request that I would translate them into Latin, that so they might be the more easily read by such of his countrymen as could not read English; as very few of the Clergy can. He added

at the same time a recommendation, that before leaving Russia I should send a copy of them to the Synod, which I did not feel disposed to do. I translated them however, as had been requested, into Latin, with the intention of leaving them in his hands, to do with them what he pleased. But things so fell out afterwards, that when certain heresies were objected to me in the name of the Synod, and of the Russian Church, and I was called upon by rejecting the same heresies to renounce the British Church, these Dissertations were just the things needed to offer in defence and illustration of my reply; in proof that it was possible to put a better interpretation upon the XXXIX Articles than that objected against us; and also in proof that there had been no such dishonest disposition to dissemble what is amiss, as that of which an accidental circumstance had suggested the suspicion. So the Dissertations were placed in the hands of that Member of the Synod, the Arch-Priest, who had been appointed to deal with me; and he, of his own mind, while disallowing my defence, proposed, as an act of fairness, to send them in to the Synod together with his own written Report. And as they had been, all but the last, hastily translated, and rather illegibly written, he returned them to me that I might correct and transcribe them, and add any thing which occurred to be added, and so send them again, in a fair copy, to the Synod. These Dissertations, as originally written for M. Mouravieff, were eight in number; but, as ultimately revised and re-written, after the Arch-Priest had proposed to give them in to the Synod, they were increased to twelve.

“ I. INTRODUCTORY: OF ‘ THE REFORMATION ’ GENERALLY.

“ After Constantinople had been taken by the Turks, many of the more learned Greeks came as exiles into the West of Europe; and the Art of Printing having just been discovered, the revival or new light of learning, which then blazed forth, not only wrought powerfully on the minds of men, but inebriated them with self-confidence even to a point of madness. Complaints were heard on all sides, that through the general depravation of morals, and the ignorance which had long been prevalent, the Church had become corrupt, and had erred both in discipline and in rites, and even in her Scholastic Theology, very far from standard of the Holy Scriptures, and of primitive antiquity. Nor did such accusations proceed only from a number of factions or headstrong people, but the very best and most truly-learned also avowed their conviction that a Reformation was indeed

needed 'both in the Head and in the members' of the [Latin] Church, and they sighed and prayed for the same.

"But by the just anger of the Lord it came to pass that that Reformation, which might have been obtained by prayers and tears of good and humble Christians, was perverted into a terrific outbreak of heresy. For Luther first, in Germany, and afterwards other still more audacious men, Zuingle, that is, and Calvin, in Switzerland, having been led by different particular circumstances to attack some of the corruptions of the Roman Church, were carried on by the heat of contest from one thing to another; and being excommunicated by the Bishops, they made to themselves, and of themselves, a new 'Gospel,' a new 'Ministry,' 'Pastorate,' or 'Preachership,' and a new 'Church' or 'Congregation,' opposed to the old, Divine, and Apostolic Faith, and Hierarchy, and Church. Not that these innovators contemplated from the first any such result, or foresaw to what a descent of wickedness they were committing themselves. On the contrary, in the first expression of their heresies they were far from being consistent either one with another, or with themselves: but what they erroneously denied in one place or passage, or at one time, they at another rightly admitted or affirmed: what in their later writings they asserted against the truth, had in other earlier writings been sufficiently refuted by themselves: the madness of Calvin and Zuingle was exposed with invectives by Luther; that of Luther was confessed and lamented by Melancthon; that of all and of every one of them by one for another, and even by each one for himself. But, as is generally the case in such movements, there had been from the first outbreak of controversy a certain common spirit tending towards the establishment of a self-originating democratical religion, or irreligion, of reason and private judgment; a spirit of pride and lawlessness; of which the immediate and ostensible occasion was the Printing Press and the Bible; and which, when once set a-going, could not be stopped, but went on by a law inherent in itself, towards its natural and full development, irrespectively of the particular inconsistencies, misgivings, or even occasional reluctancies of individuals, or whole parties. And thus, whatever differences or contests there may have been at first among the Reformers or their followers, the Reformation, or new creation which they produced, was really, and not nominally only, one united whole, radically as well as superficially distinguished from all the older Churches, whether heretical or orthodox, by the substitution of variable opinion or feeling, begotten of fortuitous reading or preaching, for the antient Apostolical or traditional faith, obedience, and worship."

[The rest of this Section was taken from the Pamphlet entitled '*Aids to Reflection, &c.*' from p. 33 to p. 39.]

" II. OF THE ANGLICAN REFORMATION.

"The present double appearance and character of the British Churches, half Protestant and half Catholic, may be said to have been caused by three distinct acts, which, taken together, constitute what is commonly called 'the English Reformation.' None of these acts originated with the Hierarchy; but they were all decreed by it at the command, and even in some degree under the compulsion of the Crown. These three acts were,

"1. The recognition of the Royal Supremacy or Headship, first yielded

in the time of Henry VIII, and finally confirmed on the accession of his daughter Queen Elizabeth :

“ II. The enactment of a Book of Church Offices, abridged and translated from the Latin, with several omissions and changes which seemed to favour Zuinglianism. This book was first so altered as to favour Zuinglianism at the end of the reign of Edward VI; and was re-enacted (though with some restorations) after the death of Queen Mary, in the first year of Elizabeth :

“ III. The enactment of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the requirement of their subscription by the Clergy. These also were composed in the reigns of King Henry VIII and King Edward VI, and published at the close of the reign of the latter, but were first approved Synodically on the accession of Elizabeth, and finally imposed on all the Clergy by a Synod holden in the year 1571.

“ Thus it may be said that all the three Acts in question were done by the Clergy at the suggestion, and under the influence of Elizabeth ; and the first year or years of her reign may be taken as a fixed point containing the whole of those important changes which were to modify, for good and for evil, the future character of the English Church. Our business is to examine the character of the bud or germ, that we may be the better able to understand the subsequent growth and development.

“ I. Now, first, we may observe, that if the recognition of the Royal Supremacy by the Clergy had been unlimited and absolute, or had extended to any of the essential functions of the Apostolical Priesthood, or to the conferring of their powers and offices, it is evident that the Church would have been thenceforward either absolutely or virtually a new, human, and political institution ; absolutely, if the Crown had delegated or consecrated a new Clergy, whether under the old or under new names ; virtually, if the canonical succession of Ordinations had been continued, but the Clergy, by a Synodical Act, had acknowledged that the source of their mission and authority was in the Crown. As a matter of fact however the Synod accepted the Royal Supremacy only with the following limitation and reservation, ‘ *Quatenus per Christi legem fieri liceat* ;’ a reservation, the precise value of which the subsequent history of the Church and of the Crown alone could shew.

“ II. In like manner, the omissions and changes in the Book of the Offices of the Church, if they had been made spontaneously, would have been an actual half-admission and countenancing of Zuinglianism or Calvinism (especially on the point of the Real Presence in the Eucharist), and a virtual pledge of future changes, which should effect the complete and consistent establishment of those opinions. But in point of fact the omissions and changes in question were only submitted to under compulsion, and were neutralised by a declaration, that the doctrine omitted, or cast into the shade, was all good and true, and that there was no reasonable ground of propriety in the thing itself for making any such changes at all. And here also, as in the former case, it is only the subsequent history of the Church which enables us to judge of the value of this declaration.

“ III. The Thirty-nine Articles, however defensible they may be in the true and literal sense of their particular propositions, still in their general tone and form of expression, and in many particular passages, certainly shewed a deep and friendly sympathy with the party of the Continental ‘ Reformers :’ and it might well be supposed that they implied in the

Church which adopted them, an agreement not merely with any or all of the foreign 'Reformers' upon some particular points, but also with the deep principle which lay at the root of the whole foreign movement, namely, That the Bible is the immediate source of the Christian religion; and that it addresses itself, as such, directly to mankind at large. As a matter of fact however, the same Synod or Convocation which enacted the Thirty-nine Articles, also bound all the Clergy, and by the very same canon, '*to teach no other interpretation of Holy Scripture to be religiously believed of the people, than that which the Catholic Fathers and antient Bishops have collected out of the same.*' Here also we must look to subsequent history, to know whether the Catholic principle of Traditional Teaching was virtually abandoned, or not, by the British Church.

"The Civil Government, in inducing or compelling the Church to admit the three changes above-mentioned, had motives and purposes of its own, which were not at all religious. The Archbishop Cranmer, who was the ecclesiastical originator of all the three, though he must be admitted to have erred greatly, both in a blind and weak subserviency to the Civil Power, and in undue favour and obsequiousness to the foreign 'Reformation,' and also in his personal opinions on particular points of doctrine, still seems really to have desired, as he professed throughout his life, and at his death, to reform the Church over which he presided according to the ascertainable model of primitive and Catholic antiquity. The laborious collections which he made from the Fathers on all the controversies of that age are still extant in MS. But the weakness of his disposition led him to give way to others, and deceived his judgment in particulars, while his general principles were good, and his object laudable. Thus, even if the Synod of the Bishops and Clergy had shared his opinions and dispositions, (which they plainly declared they did not), still they would not have *intentionally* committed the Church to any principle of heresy: while any *unintentional* error, however grave in its nature, or its consequences, might still, if it so pleased God, find opportunity of acknowledgment and correction at some future period.

"But, the truth is, that the Church, from the very time of her yielding to those changes of which we have spoken, after a momentary pause, and, as it were, hesitation, began to set herself more and more steadily to oppose the spirit and principles of the foreign 'Reformation,' which she soon found rising up upon her from below, and taking occasion from the concessions already made to demand still further concessions and changes from the Hierarchy. The opinions of the Calvinists gained ground indeed continually, especially in the towns, and at length had the nation in a manner in their favour; but the Hierarchy, instead of yielding further to the demand of a perfect or 'pure' Reformation, opposed a strenuous resistance to the growing madness: and when at length the popular party, after a civil war, was triumphant, and trampled under foot both the altar and the throne for twenty years, the Clergy suffered in silence, but made no submission. And again, after the restoration of the Monarchy, when the popular Protestantism had no longer to contend against both the Crown and the Bishops, but was favoured, and in a manner recognized, by that new dynasty which it had itself brought in by the Revolution of 1688, though the Church of England seemed to acquiesce at length, and to be penetrated by the spirit of her temporal Rulers, the daughter Church of Scotland preserved uncontaminated the succession of

those martyrs and confessors, by whom her Bishops had been consecrated. Nor did the English Church herself admit any organical changes. And not only has the Church in this way, for 300 years, constantly refused to recognize those principles which seemed to many people to be involved in the changes which she had admitted in the time of Elizabeth; but she has done more: she has taken various opportunities to prepare the way for the restoration, re-construction, or re-assertion of many points of Catholic doctrine or rite, which were felt to have been obscured, or weakened, or omitted at the time of the 'Reformation.' To prove and illustrate this assertion at length, by the adduction of particular instances, would carry us beyond the limits of our present purpose.

"It will suffice here to observe, that the subsequent history of the Church, to which we allude, has ever been bringing out more and more to view that peculiar Catholicism (neither Roman nor Protestant), which was aimed after, in spite of his personal weaknesses and errors, by Archbishop Cranmer, and desired by the Church herself, which, with a weakness much resembling that of her Primate, submitted, at the dictation of the Crown, to the three changes which we have now been considering. The peculiarity of 'the English Reformation' consisted not only in the fact that the Hierarchy was preserved, and that whole Churches instead of mere associations of individual separatists were the subjects of it; but also in the existence of a real wish on the part of the Hierarchy, without any abdication of dogmatical authority, to correct whatever might be contrary to Scripture, or to the early Church, in the English, and generally in the Latin Church, as it then existed, by the model of earlier and purer ages. At the same time, a purpose which was so weak, both externally and internally, as to be able to do no more than modify the Erastian tyranny of the Crown, and the mistaken sympathies of the Primate for a 'Reformation' abroad, which was really in principle and in spirit heretical, has justly been severely disciplined, and fitted for the accomplishment of God's ulterior purposes of mercy as a captive under bondage to those evil influences, to which it was originally subjected by its own fault."

"III. OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

"Though King Henry VIII., and his daughter Queen Elizabeth, disclaimed all intention of arrogating to themselves those powers which belonged essentially and exclusively to the Clergy and to the Bishops in spiritual matters, and though the submission of the Clergy to their claims was still further limited by that express reservation which has been mentioned above, still, the admission of the Supremacy placed the Spirituality in a degree of subjection to the Civil Government far beyond what any orthodox and religious Emperors in the Primitive Church would have desired, or the '*Catholic Fathers and antient Bishops*' would ever have conceded. Though the Church was not absolutely committed in theory to any false doctrine, yet, practically, there ensued an Erastian spirit and policy on the part of the Government, and a culpable regard for civil rulers in matters of religion on the part of the Hierarchy.

"The people, in the mean time, seeing their Kings tampering with religion and with the Church, and following the foreign Reformers, as it seemed, though only so far as it suited their own policy; and seeing their Bishops again following the Crown in such things; and finding that neither the Crown nor the Bishops would consent to carry out consist-

ently the 'Reformation' which they had begun, according to the pattern of the 'Reformation' abroad, became more and more resolved to imitate the example set them by their superiors, and to take the matter into their own hands. So at length they rose up in the name of the foreign 'Reformers,' and especially of Calvin, both against their Bishops and their Kings, and taught Bishops for the future, by a bloody lesson, to resist Princes when they war upon God, if they would have Princes, to be strengthened by God to defend them and their Churches; and Princes, on the other hand, to submit to God and to the Bishop in things spiritual, if they would have their subjects to submit to them in things temporal.

"But in the mean time the dynasty and line of Henry VIII, which had done the evil, was by God's just judgment removed; and a new race of Kings from Scotland, descended in the female line from Henry VII, succeeded to the throne of England, and attempted to use those exorbitant powers claimed by their predecessors for their own evil ends, for good; to defend and support the successors of those Bishops, whose weakness had submitted to the violence of former Kings; and to repress the madness of the Sectarian democrats rising now equally against the Altar and the Throne. The issue of this struggle was,

"That the sins of former Kings and Bishops were justly punished by the prevalence of the Calvinistic and democratical 'Reformation,' which, after a civil war, overturned the Throne, and cruelly persecuted the Church for 20 years; while the noble and religious efforts of the Kings and Bishops of that time were rewarded with crowns of martyrdom; and their relics were preserved to the Church, as pledges of her continued existence in persecution, and as germs of a future development of Catholicism in better times.

["Among 8000 Priests who were driven from their Churches at that period by the persecutions of Calvinism, there was one, a Russian of noble descent, who had been sent by Boris Godounoff, with two brothers, to receive an education in the University of Oxford, and who, after the death of his brothers by a fever, had married and become a Priest in the English Church. His name was Alphery Nikephor. It is reported of him that he was twice sent to during the times of the Pretenders by some party or faction in Russia, and 'invited to return and become a Pretender to the throne; but that he refused.']

"On the restoration of the Monarchy, the Crown seemed to re-enter upon the exercise of all its former power in regard to the Church; and used that power so as to make the nation in general submit, at least in outward appearance, to its discipline, and conform to its worship; so that the Church seemed to be politically re-established both in England and in Scotland. A few years afterwards, James II., moved perhaps by the excesses of that popular anarchy of Protestantism, both civil and religious, which in his father's days had punished the sins of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth, and not rightly understanding the lesson of his father's martyrdom, sought, by open breach of his own promises and oaths, and by abuse of his exaggerated supremacy, to re-subject the Church to the dominion of Rome. He was passively resisted by the Church, which prayed for him at the same time: He was actively resisted by the fermenting mass of Democracy and Calvinism, which had been so recently triumphant for 20 years, and the leaders of which now declared themselves *the friends and protectors of the Church* against the illegal tyranny of

a Popish king,—*of that same Church, which they had themselves so recently overthrown as Popish ; and against the son of that same King, whom, for his attachment to the Church, they had martyred as a Papist !*

“So the Calvinists and the Democrats became the patrons and defenders of the Church, inasmuch as she had seemed to own in common with them the names of ‘Reformation’ and ‘Protestantism;’ though *her* ‘Reformation’ had hitherto stunk in their nostrils, as being contrary to the true principles of the ‘Reformation’ of the world at large ; and though the Protestantism of her Bishops and Kings had conducted them to martyrdom under the accusation of Popery. They defended the Church by a popular insurrection ; inviting a Dutch Calvinistic Prince to come over and head them against his own father-in-law ; and giving to him, or assisting him to take to himself the Crown, when he was come. From this period of the Revolution of 1688, the history of the relations of the Church to the Royal Supremacy, and generally to the Civil Government, divides ; two different branches of the Church, in Scotland and in England, following different lines of conduct :

“1. In Scotland, the Bishops, though they had passively resisted James II in his arbitrary attempts against the liberty of their Churches, shewed, notwithstanding, the most devoted fidelity to him when dethroned and in exile ; and they continued to shew the same fidelity to his descendants after him, even till the last heirs of his line were extinct. On the other hand, they refused to acknowledge the *legitimacy* of the Revolution, even though it depended solely upon their answer, whether they should be supported or persecuted by the new dynasty. Thus they virtually rejected the false friendship, both religious and political, of Sectarian Protestantism ; and reversed the conduct of those former British Bishops, who had improperly submitted to the demands of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth.

“In return, the Civil Government drove them from their churches ; dispossessed them of all their secular property (which was transferred, together with the name of the Church to the Presbyterian Calvinists) ; passed laws against the public, and even the private celebration of the offices of their Religion ; so that for a great part of the last century it was forbidden under pain of fines, imprisonment, and transportation, even to celebrate the Liturgy in a private house with more than four persons present. By these means the Government aiding the violence of the Sectaries, who had already murdered two Archbishops in Scotland, succeeded in forcing away nearly the whole population of that country, even those who were otherwise well disposed, into heresy and schism.

“Nevertheless the Church herself could not be destroyed ; but gained spiritually in character and position, and also in some important restorations of primitive and Catholic truth in her Offices, what she lost in outward and worldly advantages : And at length, towards the end of the last century, on the extinction of the line of James II., when she could now add the recognition of the *legitimacy* of the existing Government to her long-continued patient submission to the power it had exercised *de facto*, she obtained also the further benefit of toleration from the State ; and was enabled to build chapels, and to celebrate her worship, without fear ; though her antient endowments and privileges still remained in the possession of that hostile sect of the Presbyterian Calvinists, to which they had been transferred by Act of Parliament shortly after the Revolution.

"II. The history of the Church in England from the time of the Revolution of 1688 is widely different. There also, as in Scotland, many of the Bishops, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, and several hundreds of the Clergy, were ejected from their churches by the new Government, because they could offer it no more than a passive submission. But there were others of the English Bishops who accepted for themselves and for their Church the protection of the Protestant and democratical Revolution; and acknowledged as their *lawful* King the Prince whom a Revolutionary Convention had invited, on his own demand, to the throne. These Bishops, at the command of the new Government, consecrated others to the Sees of such as had been ejected; and the great mass of the Clergy and people, though reluctantly and with many misgivings, at length submitted.

"The evil spirit of Calvinism, or Protestantism, which by twenty years of open violence had given martyrs and confessors to the Church, but had failed to destroy it, now seemed by a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, and by a simulated friendship and sympathy for the Church, under the equivocal names of Reformation and Protestantism, against the equally indefinite evil of Popery, to have attained its object. The Church of England seemed not only to have acknowledged her identity in religion with her worst enemies, and to have stained her honour by accepting their Rebellion as her protection, but also to have placed herself in absolute subjection to the same enemies; as their spirit naturally ruled in the new Government which they had created, and exercised over the captive Church all those excessive powers, which should never have been conceded even to good and Christian Kings.

"One of the first things which the new Government did was to affix a new name to the religion of the Church, requiring her Chief Prelates for the future to administer to every Sovereign of the new dynasty an oath to preserve '*the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law*,' ostensibly as a safe-guard to the previously existing Church and religion against arbitrary power, which might be exercised in favour of Rome, but really to consecrate by that language, and to fix for ever, the submission of the Church to the religious and political Protestantism of the Rebellions of the years 1648 and 1688.

"In the next place, it was attempted, and that on several distinct occasions, to consummate the success which had been obtained, by establishing a formal recognition and intercommunion between the Calvinistic sect, which the new Government had set up in the place of the suffering but undegraded Church in Scotland, and the prostrate Establishment of England. It was urged, that what had taken place already amounted virtually to a recognition of an essential unity in religion between the different forms of Protestantism; that the Church, which had in England been defended against Popery by the recent Revolution, was one of those '*forms*;' and that therefore religious charity, as well as State policy, required the mutual recognition of those two '*forms*,' which had been the one of them continued, the other recently created, in the two kingdoms.

"If the Church had consented by a Synodical Act to the proposition of the Government, she would, no doubt, have consummated that apostasy, of which she had been brought to the very verge. For a Church which Communicates with a Sect, becomes herself a party to the principle of Sectarianism by the act. Authority cannot recognize revolt

against itself, without ceasing to be authority, even in human societies, and in human governments. But the mercy of God interfered yet once more, to save the captive that was bound and prostrate, and powerless to save herself, and to prepare the means of future good in the midst of the greatest evil. The number of those, both of the clergy and laity, who had been ensnared rather than led willingly into the false ecclesiastical position in which they were then placed, was so very great, that even the Parliament itself, which met next after the Revolutionary Convention, was unwilling to assist the Crown in attempting to make any religious changes otherwise than in the Constitutional way, that is, by referring the matter in the first instance to the Convocation of the Clergy; and demanded that this should be done, according to all former precedents. The matter being brought before the Convocation, the subserviency and latitudinarianism of the Court Bishops was defeated by the opposition of the Clergy of the second Order, who in English Convocations had for centuries enjoyed the privilege of sitting and voting in a separate Chamber. And besides this, the Bishops in Scotland, with all their Clergy, who were still numerous, and a great number of English Bishops, with hundreds of Clergy ejected by the Civil Government, were standing by, awaiting the result; and would have been joined by all who understood the true nature of their religion, if the changes desired by the State had been effected. As it was, the attempts of the Civil Government were defeated; and it has ever since been obliged to content itself with pursuing its design by secret and inward influence, encouraging and rewarding in the members of the English Church such principles and conduct, as seem to favour, and to acquiesce in, the co-existence of the two Establishments, and discountenancing by all the means in its power, all manifestations of the peculiar and distinctive principles of the true and Apostolic Church and Religion.

“Fifteen years ago, this policy, which the State had so long pursued, and the continued co-existence under its recognition of the two contrary Religious Establishments, had to all appearance brought the Church to such a state of inanition and latitudinarianism, that she might by a strong Government, perhaps, have been induced to consent to that, which it had been in vain attempted to force upon her at the time of the Revolution. But in the mean time the Government itself had ceased to have that strength and unity of will, which was necessary, in order to compress the enmity of the discordant Sects of Protestantism into a subtle and systematic policy against the Church. The Oligarchy which had brought about the Revolution found itself at length forced by the development of their own democratical or liberal principles among the people, to remodel the constitution of the Lower House of Parliament, to suit the disposition of the age. The Protestant sectaries of all Denominations, and even the Papists in the year following, were admitted to a full share of the Imperial power by the efforts of that same ‘Whig’ party, which, together with Sectarian Protestantism, had made the Revolution of 1688, and called the present dynasty to the throne *purely*, as was then said, *to defend the Church of England, as an exclusive Establishment, against Popery*. And no sooner were the Sects thus admitted, than they immediately joined their forces with those of the Papists under the common names of political and religious liberality and equality, against the privileges and property, the establishment, and even the existence of the Church. The

outward appearance of the Church at the time was such, as to promise an easy victory, attacked as she was at once by all her enemies, often favoured, and even assisted, in their assaults by the feeble Ministers of the Crown, who depended upon them for support. From this active union in the Parliament of the Protestant Sects and the Papists against the Church, and from the increasing spiritual independence necessarily allowed and implied to exist in the Church by the indifference or hostility of the Government, which so long only as it identified itself with it, and recognized no other form of Religion, could claim with any shew of consistency the right to oppress it, has resulted that religious movement in favour of a return to the original principles of the Church, as distinct from the State, which now agitates the whole of England; and which will necessarily, in due time, find political assertors and promoters in the 'Tory' or 'Conservative' party, who will find it their interest to return to their original principles."

"IV. NUMBER OF DIOCESES AND BISHOPS IN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION.

"The Bishops and Churches of British origin, following in great measure, though with some particular exceptions, the Rite of the English Church, may be classed under three heads, namely, I. *The Scottish Church*: II. *The distinct but now united Churches of England and Ireland*, and the *Colonial Churches* in the British Colonies, whose Bishops are subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan: III. *The Anglo-American Church of the United States of America*.

"I. *The Scottish Church*: This Church has in all seven Bishops, six in Scotland itself, [A seventh See has since been added or restored.] and one of Scottish Consecration on the Continent, who resides at Paris. [Since dead.] It is outwardly the smallest; but in spiritual position, and in some Ecclesiastical advantages, the most important branch of the three. The number of its members is not much more than a twentieth of the population of Scotland; the great majority belonging either to the Established sect of the Presbyterians, or to the other similar Calvinistic bodies which have at different times separated from the Established sect. On the other hand, it is free from all interference of the Civil Government in its internal concerns; and enjoys at present full toleration. Its Bishops meet in Synods; and can make what Canons they please for their Church. Though the great majority of the nation are alienated from them, and violently sectarian in their feelings, the native Scottish Clergy and those of the Laity who remain faithful are more united in belief and in the recognition of the principles of Catholicism and Orthodoxy, than are the members of the Church of England, which has been so long subject to the sinister influence of a Government based on democratical Protestantism.

"II. *The Church of England, with the Colonial Churches subject to it*: With these, as has been remarked above, we must join *the Church of Ireland*, which, though in itself quite a distinct Church, with a Hierarchy of separate descent, is nevertheless now very nearly identical with the Church of England, and equally subject to the Civil Government; which for the last century and a half has permitted no Convocations or Synods of the Clergy to act either in England, or in Ireland; and has dictated, at the recommendation of the Civil Minister, to the Chapters of the English Cathedrals the ecclesiastics whom it would have elected to vacant Bishoprics; while in Ireland the Bishops are nominated directly by the Crown.

In England there are two Archbishops and 24 Bishops [25, 1848.], who are all Peers of Parliament ; and, besides these, one other Bishop of the separate Lordship of the Isle of Man, who enjoys a similar dignity in the Legislative Council or Parliament of that petty Principality. There are also the separate Lordships of Jersey and Guernsey, or the Channel Islands, in the Legislature of each of which the Church is similarly represented, though those Islands have only Deans, and not Bishops of their own. In Ireland there are at present two Archbishops and 14 [11] Bishops, of whom four, however, will have no successors ; making 40 [eventually] in all for the United Church of England and Ireland. To these there still remain to be added the Bishops of the different Colonies, who are at present 17 [21, 1848.] in number. Of these, there are 3 [4, 1848.] in India and Ceylon ; 4 [6, 1848.] in Australia and New Zealand ; 4 in the West Indies ; 4 [5, 1848.] in British North America ; [one at the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa ;] and one at Gibraltar. If we add these to the former number of 43, [40] we shall have 60 [61] for the whole number of those Bishops who are subject to the controul of the Civil Government ; and who have retained in England the great bulk of the population nominally within the pale of their Church, but at the expense of a weak and almost fatal subserviency to the Revolution of 1688 ; through which she became a mere slave of worldly policy ; and had been degraded to a very low point of ignorance, latitudinarianism, and general Protestantism, when, upon the admission of the Protestant Sectaries and the Papists into Parliament in 1828 and 1829, the present re-action began.

“ III. Lastly, there are as many as twenty Bishops among the sectaries and republicans of the *United States of America* : [Now, in 1848, there are thirty-one American dioceses, besides two missionary Bishops abroad at Shanghai in China, and at Constantinople.] and their Communion appears to be increasing rapidly. They are, like all other religious ‘Persuasions’ in the United States, free from any controul of the Civil Government, but are, notwithstanding, in some respects in a lower and more Protestanized state than the Church of England ; having been derived from it at a period of its greatest inanition and deterioration ; after it had lain for a whole century passive under the influence of that Government and Dynasty which was based upon the Revolution of 1688. And besides this, the American Church has not had the benefit of having inherited old forms and institutions, such as in England have served all along, more or less, to preserve truth, and to invite reformation, even when individuals or society had departed most widely from their spirit.

“ From the preceding statement it appears that the whole Episcopate of the different Churches of British origin, taken together, amounts at the present time to 87 [Now, in 1848, to 101.] : to which number, however, fresh Bishops will in all probability be added in every succeeding year. The number of Priests and Deacons in the United Church of England and Ireland is about 17,000 ; in the Church of the United States of America, about 1500 ; in Scotland, not more than 100.”

“ V. HOW FAR PROTESTANTISM MAY BE IMPUTED TO THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

“ Among the suspicions or accusations urged against the Anglican Church, there are two most frequently to be met with, and most important ; I. That she has not, strictly speaking, any living belief or doctrine at all, but is a mere Act-of-Parliament religion : II. That though to assert this

be going rather too far, still the Anglican Church has plainly so departed from the Catholic and Apostolic Faith, as now to have a community of essence and principle with the Sects of Protestantism. Concerning the charge of Erastianism something has been said already. [See Diss. III.] It remains therefore now for us to consider the question of the Protestantism of the Anglican Church. In doing which, we shall *first*, in this present Dissertation, state to what extent, and upon what grounds, Protestantism may fairly be imputed to the Anglican Church: Then, *secondly*, in the next Dissertation, taking the other side of the same question, we shall mention what judgment or witness has been given on this subject by the two great Branches of the Reformation, *i. e.*, Calvinism and Lutheranism, respectively: And *thirdly*, we shall show from the internal history of the Anglican Church herself, how there has been going on within her, during the last three centuries, a continuous series of *reconstructive developments*, one question being moved after another, and some fresh portion of that truth which had been damaged, or obscured, being continually recovered and defended against the spirit of Protestantism.

“And *first*, if we look merely on the outward features of the Anglican Church, it would be something like effrontery to deny that she is on the Protestant side, or even to deny that she belongs to the worse half of the Reformation, the Calvinistic, rather than to the Lutheran; seeing that the English rejectas ‘Popish,’ with signs of the utmost aversion, many things which the less fanatical Lutherans of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Germany, have retained as *adiaphora*, and as profitable for decency or for instruction. The Anglicans very commonly worship and Communicate with the Protestants of the Continent, both Lutherans and Calvinists; while they would never think of worshipping in the churches either of the Roman-Catholic Latins, or of the Greeks; nor would be willing to Communicate there, if they could. Nor is this done only by individuals of the laity, when they may chance to be abroad, and without clergy of their own; but in England itself both Priests and Bishops give freely the Communion to any Lutheran or Calvinist strangers, who may desire to receive it. Our Sovereigns themselves, since the Revolution of 1688, being first Calvinists from Holland, and then Lutherans from Germany, and having obtained the Crown by their profession of foreign Protestantism, were never, on coming to England, admitted as proselytes to the Communion of the Anglican Church, nor even received imposition of Episcopal hands in Confirmation before they obtained the Sacraments, but Communicated at once, and as a matter of course. And these were accounted to be not merely members, but even temporal Heads or Supreme Governors of the Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of all England and Metropolitan, assisted by the other Bishops, administers an oath to every Sovereign at his or her accession to defend ‘*the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law.*’ And not the Sovereign only, but other Dignitaries, and Members of the two Houses of Parliament, swear that they renounce as idolatrous and impious the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the adoration of the Transubstantiated Bread, in terms horrible to the ears of piety. These oaths, it is true, exist only in England, and date but from the Revolution of 1688: but there are other facts of scarcely less weight to show that from the very age of the Reformation the Anglicans have all along made one common body with the innovators of the Continent. To begin from the egg: It is related that a house at Cambridge to

which they who first favoured the 'new Learning' there used to resort, went by the name of '*Little Germany*.' We know that Archbishop Cranmer both in the reign of Henry VIII. and in that of Edward VI. held frequent and friendly correspondence with different Divines of the Lutherans; and even invited several of them, and of the Reformed, into England; and placed Peter Martyr and Bucer in the Professorial chairs of Theology at Oxford and at Cambridge. Then there are many parts of the XXXIX Articles (which were first drawn up by the same Archbishop Cranmer), taken almost word for word from the 'Confession of Augsburg.' Many omissions and alterations were made by him in the English Ritual or Prayer-book so as to suit the advice and opinions of the followers of Bucer and Martyr, not to say also of Calvin. Afterwards, under Elizabeth, when there were two parties; one seeking to bring back with them from their exile on the Continent, and to import into England, the Calvinistic Discipline and worship, as a purer Reformation; the other set against what they had witnessed abroad, and opposed to any further admission of innovations in England; both these two parties, notwithstanding, openly and plainly agreed in extolling, as a whole, that Reformation, of which Luther, Calvin, and Zuingle had been the leaders; and, next after them, in venerating as the patrons of 'the Gospel' Archbishop Cranmer and other like Divines, and those lay noblemen who took the side of the Preachers. Above all, they worshipped Queen Elizabeth. Nor, again, was there any other cause for which relations of close amity were entered into with divers of the lesser Princes of Germany, and assistance sent to insurgents in Switzerland, France, the Low Countries, and Scotland, than this, that the Sovereigns of England should undertake the defence of a certain common 'Protestant religion' against their common enemies. If from such more general considerations we come to consider the chief doctrinal controversies of that time, we find the Bishops and Divines of Queen Elizabeth, not two or three of them only, but all, or nearly all, as with one consent, avowing that they agreed, or believed themselves to agree, with the Lutherans and Calvinists on the great points of '*Justification*,' and of '*the Church*;' while on the Sacrament of the Eucharist they leaned so decidedly to the opinions of the Swiss, that, writing to Zurich, they congratulated themselves 'that all England (so they speak of their Preachers) does now agree in the right doctrine; nor are the inventions of *Transubstantiation* or of *Consubstantiation* (which was the Lutheran dogma) anywhere any longer defended.' Also in the less momentous controversies about vestments and ritual usages, which however shew the inner spirit and feeling no less than weightier matters, the Bishops were with difficulty restrained by the Queen from yielding every thing to the Calvinists, and substituting the senseless disorder of a set of ranters, as if more agreeable to 'the Gospel,' for their own English ritual, which had been mutilated indeed, but was still grave and decent. What is perhaps the strongest thing of all is this, that in the Convocations or Synods of the Clergy themselves, though they did indeed pray for grace '*ever firmly to retain the Apostolic and truly Catholic faith*,' they professed nevertheless at the same time to have '*seriously and with good reason renounced the Papal tyranny, and the superstitions which had formerly overrun England, according to the rule of our holy Reformation*.' Which expressions, though they might imply some peculiarity and excellence of 'the Anglican Reformation' in itself, yet can scarcely be denied to imply also that 'the Anglican Refor-

mation' was associated with, and had followed upon the whole, the great Lutheran and Calvinistic 'Reformation' of the Continent. Nor were these things done only just at the time, or while the rupture between the English Crown and the Roman Pontiff was yet fresh; but long afterwards also, under James I. and Charles I., not even those Bishops who had in fact receded furthest from Protestantism, and who were murdered by the Calvinists as Papists, had ever ceased to defend the Reformation and Protestantism. So deeply ingrained was that evil in the Anglican Church. And still later, in the eighteenth century, when first the Scottish, and afterwards the American Churches, had been cast off or severed from the Civil Government, so as to have full liberty in merely spiritual things, with persecutions, this gave occasion to a most striking proof that the whole British Communion was infected with Protestantism to its very core. Far from casting off the titles of their past political servitude as disgraceful badges of degradation, and returning to the older titles of 'true' 'Orthodox' 'Catholic,' and 'Apostolic,' the Scottish and American Churches, as if glorying in their shame, took voluntarily to themselves the titles of the 'Protestant-Episcopal,' the 'Episcopal,' and sometimes, without perceiving that they were coupling together contradictory terms, the 'Reformed Catholic Church.' But if any one say that in such questions we should look to facts, rather than to words and names, we will mention in the last place as the crowning sign, over and above all that have been adduced hitherto, this fact, that the Anglican or British Church agrees with the other sects of the Protestants, or rather goes beyond them all, in this, that she has not preserved so much as a shadow of the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical discipline; but offers the Sacraments promiscuously to all comers; so that whatever any one believes or disbelieves, whatever are his sins of commission or of habit, nay, though he be not even nominally a member of the Church, but belong to any other British or foreign sect of heretics or schismatics, it is still open to him, unresisted, and without causing any scandal to public feeling, to take passive Communion, as if in virtue of some admitted right and principle. And this evil, after having existed more or less for the last three centuries, by abuse or connivance, perhaps, at first, at any rate without public notice, has at length become so inveterate, that quite recently, when the Archbishop of Canterbury had concluded a treaty with a Lutheo-Calvinist Sovereign for the erection of a Protestant Bishopric at Jerusalem upon terms which involved this principle, the other Bishops, his colleagues, either consented, or at least did not care enough about the matter to offer any active opposition. So that the practice of passive Communion, which before might be viewed as an abuse, and the recognition of all Protestant Christendom as a unity, seems now to have obtained the form of a law."

"VI. SIGNS THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING THE ABOVE, THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IS NOT SIMPLY, OR IN HER ESSENCE, PROTESTANT.

"Testimonies from without.

"It may be asked, what can we possibly have to set against such clear decisive proofs of Protestantism? In answer to this question, we shall first allege the witness of Lutheranism and Calvinism (that is, of the whole of 'Protestantism,' or the 'Reformation,' properly so called) con-

cerning the Anglican Church. This is the strongest and most legitimate testimony that can be desired or thought of *from without*. And to this shall be added afterwards testimonies from *within*; i. e., from the internal history of the Anglican Church.

"Now with Lutheranism in the beginning the Anglican Church did not come practically into contact; but at the death of Edward VI., and at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, she seemed to identify herself rather with the party of the *Swiss* 'Reformers:' and her Divines, even when enforcing obedience to the Queen's commands and to the civil laws upon some details of ritual, confessed by their Swiss friends to be things indifferent, still professed openly their unity in 'the Gospel,' that is, in the substance of religion, with the Calvinistic 'Reformation.' Nevertheless, the Calvinistic 'Reformation,' far from owning for itself any such union or identity with the Anglican Church, attacked it with the most distinct and persevering hatred. The Calvinist Preachers who fled from France, and who were received with open arms as brethren, and teachers, and confessors, by the Anglican Clergy and people of the Channel Islands, of Jersey and Guernsey, by the connivance of Queen Elizabeth's Governor, and in spite of her express prohibition, *extirpated* Anglicanism from those Islands, and re-reformed them after the Genevan model. Passing from thence, as well as from other quarters, into England, Calvinism, after struggling for some time to gain the mastery *within* the Church, broke out into open separation and into civil war; which ceased not, till they had slain the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King, ejected all the Anglican Clergy, proscribed the Anglican ritual, and gutted and 'purified,' as they fancied, the very fabrics themselves, into which they installed their own Preachers. In like manner also in Scotland, twice, and in North America, once, the Anglican Church was overthrown, plundered, and proscribed by Calvinism. So that, after these testimonies of history, it is very difficult for any one to conceive or pretend that Calvinism has ever recognized any radical unity of religion or principle between itself and the Anglican Church.

"As for Lutheranism, the elder and more moderate half of the Reformation, it did not come into practical and popular contact with the Anglican Church till towards the middle of the 18th century; when its fundamental doctrine, of 'Justification by Faith only,' was preached by Wesley (who had it from the German Böhler) within the Anglican Church herself, and at her very centre, the University of Oxford, of which Wesley was a distinguished member. It was then preached under circumstances the most favourable for facilitating its reception, if it had really been the virtual doctrine of Anglicanism. The Established Church was at the very lowest point of that inanition and degradation, to which it sank under the influences of the Revolution of 1688. There was the utmost need of a revival. The Preacher had the most admirable qualifications for such a mission; and his addresses produced an unprecedented effect upon vast multitudes of hearers. Sin abounding, as it did, it was clear that *if* there were any possibility of salvation for sinners, it must be *either* by *restoration*, i. e., by *Confession*, *Penance*, and *Absolution*, (if the Catholic doctrine of Baptismal regeneration was true), or else by the acceptance of a Justification by Faith only, apart from Baptism, and posterior to it, and by a *New Birth*, which is the *beginning* of Christianity for them that are sinners as children of Adam, and have not as yet received the Gospel. It was clear

that the Anglican Church was far from admitting (practically, that is,) the first alternative; and, therefore, there was reason to infer that the verbal recognition of Baptismal 'regeneration' remaining in her Offices was a mere dead and barren inconsistency, the like to which, in many instances, might be found in Lutheranism also; and that her true sense (which needed only to be brought out, and which the sight of millions of perishing souls ought surely to bring out) was that post-baptismal 'Justification by Faith only' and 'New Birth,' which John Wesley, after Luther, preached. Unlike the Calvinizing party at its first appearance within the Church of England, Wesley was at first a zealous 'Conformist,' an Anglican beyond the Anglicans of his age in all those ritual matters which had offended the spirit of Calvinism: and even to the last he disclaimed all power or intention of supplanting the regular Clergy, or of separating from the Church. Still less was he disposed to innovate upon the external traditions then received among the English (which were generally the traditions of Calvinism rather than of Lutheranism) by introducing any of the distinctive peculiarities of Lutheran worship, (as Altars, Crucifixes, Lights, &c.): Probably, indeed, he was not himself even conscious that he was the Apostle of Lutheranism in England. Yet with all this, the result was, that he and his doctrine were disowned and rejected by the Anglican Church. He became, in spite of himself, the founder of a vast sect (numbering now half a million adherents), and of a new Clergy or order of *Preachers* derived from him, just as the Lutheran '*Pastors*' of the Continent were derived from Luther. Nay, to make the parallel more complete, as Luther had Calvin for his contemporary, agreeing with him in the main as to Justification, but differing as to Predestination, &c., and impressing his own distinctive tenets upon one-half of their common 'Reformation,' so Wesley also had a similar contemporary, fellow-labourer, and rival, in Whitefield, who, taking the Calvinistic side on the doctrines of Election and Grace, impressed a Calvinistic character upon a large part of Wesley's movement, or 'Reformation.' And as Luther gave not only 'Preachers,' but 'Superintendents' and 'Bishops,' to his side of the 'Reformation' (as for instance in Denmark), so Wesley in his old age consecrated for the 'Methodists' of America a 'Bishop,' from whom that Body have perpetuated a succession of similar 'Bishops,' and are still called distinctively '*Episcopalian Methodists*.' Thus, when the nature of the Anglican Church was tested by Lutheranism springing up within her, and attempting to identify itself with her religion, (and this too with nothing hostile but everything most attractive in its temper and attitude), the result was precisely similar to that which had been produced before, when the nature of the same Church had been tested by contact with Calvinism: when her Bishops thought themselves to be agreed with the Swiss Reformers concerning 'the Gospel,' but the disciples of those Swiss Reformers proclaimed the deepest principles of Popery to be still lurking even under the minutest parts of her semi-Catholic semi-Zuinglianized Ritual.

"But the testimony of Calvinism and of Lutheranism concerning the Anglican Church is, as has been said above, when taken together, the testimony of the whole of 'Protestantism,' of the whole of 'the Reformation;' which must at least be supposed to have a true consciousness of its own nature; and to know how to distinguish what is identical with itself from what is opposed to itself in principle and in spirit."

"Signs from the internal history of the Anglican Church.

"Having mentioned these testimonies from *without*, we may now proceed to notice others of a different kind *within* the Anglican Church herself, that is, to trace that course of life and action, by which she has exhibited her true character since the accession of Queen Elizabeth: how one question after another has been stirred and decided either by the writings of her Bishops and Divines, or by formal acts; and how at each step some portion or other of that truth which had been obscured by the weakness of Cranmer, and by a superficial imitation of the foreign 'Reformation,' was recovered and re-asserted to the Church, often, indirectly, through the action of the Protestantizing party, which in trying to force the Church to develop 'the Reformation' forwards in their sense, occasioned her to re-develop that truth, which she had never distinctly abandoned, backwards, in a contrary sense. We can here do no more than give a short series of instances or specimens in chronological order."

[The rest of this Dissertation, which was written for readers supposed to be ignorant of our Ecclesiastical history, and perhaps even of the names of our Divines, instead of being printed in full, shall be given in a somewhat abridged form.]

"I. First, we may notice the character, life, and great influence of *Bishop Andrews*; who does not seem, like others, to have re-constructed Orthodoxy more or less from the level of Calvinism, but rather to have handed down entire an Orthodox Catholic spirit and Theology from the times of his forefathers; thanking God for having been bred up 'among contemporaries of the same mind;' confessing the mutilated and degraded state of the Anglican Church; praying 'for the restoration of those things that were wanting in her,' and for 'the strengthening of that which was ready to die;' praying also for the whole Church, both Eastern and Western; using for his own private devotions in Greek and Latin the Prayers chiefly of the Eastern Church; and leaving them at his death in MS., 'worn through by his fingers, and blotted by his tears.'

"II. Next shall be mentioned a contemporary of Bishop Andrews, who rendered to the Church services of a very different kind, but of no less value. *Richard Hooker*, educated by Calvinizing instructors, and retaining to the last traces of their influence, still, by his piety and learning, rose higher and higher from out of the smoke and dust by which he was surrounded; and so reasoned against the growing party of the Puritans, on their own principles, or at least on principles that they could understand, that he seems more than any one man to have headed and bent inward again, that divergence from Orthodoxy, which had begun; and to have prevented the Church from going on, and committing herself to all the consequences of a Calvinistic 'Reformation.'

"III. At first there had been no question raised in England about the *Episcopate*, on the preservation of which the foreign 'Reformers' even felicitated their English correspondents as upon 'a singular advantage.' But when, after a time, the English Puritans had found out that it was not in any particular vestments or usages, taken alone, but rather in the *Episcopate* itself that was involved the danger of a radical divergence between the Anglican Church and the other 'Churches of the Reformation,' and so had begun to contend against the existence of the Hierarchy, the Divine right and authority of that Hierarchy (which had seemed to

sleep), was so brought out and vindicated by *Bancroft*, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and the third from Parker, that from that time forth there could no longer be any doubt respecting the doctrine of the Church of England on this subject. And hence there followed immediately two results; *first*, that the English Divines began to be much more guarded and sparing in identifying themselves with the Reformation as a whole; nor did they dissemble any longer their opinion that the foreigners were both in divers other matters to be exhorted to return to the rule of antiquity, and especially in this matter of the Hierarchy, by dispensing with which they had made human Churches instead of Divine; and *secondly*, that the foreigners, *i. e.* the Lutherans and Calvinists, on the other hand, seeing that they were indirectly indeed, but none the less truly on that account, condemned, rather than criticized, by the acts of the Anglican Church, laying aside their former civil language about the Anglican Hierarchy, declared themselves openly to be of the same mind with the English Puritans. And this open public divergence between the Anglicans and 'the foreign Reformation' having once begun, it went on ever increasing; the two sides drawing off further and further from each other; the foreigners working out all the consequences of their anti-hierarchical principle, the Anglicans re-developing, on the other hand, from their assertion or re-assertion of the hierarchical principle; and so constantly coming back nearer and nearer to the Greek and Latin Catholicism: while the foreigners viewed the Anglican Church with increasing suspicion, as a sort of mixed and double nature; and complained that she had both retained many relics and seeds of 'Popery,' and seemed to be aiming rather after the censure and overthrow, than after the development of 'the Reformation.'

"iv. A.D. 1603, the Church of England by a Synodal act put forth Canons, by which all *Puritans, i. e. Calvinists*, or others, who should refuse her doctrine, worship, or discipline, were declared *excommunicate, ipso facto*: The *Royal Supremacy* was explained and *limited* according to the precedents of the Jewish Kings and the Christian Emperors: The use of the ancient *canonical Vestments* was confirmed, and required. At the same time the Church decreed concerning herself '*that she was both Apostolical and Evangelical: and that no other separate congregations or societies within her dioceses either were, or could be called, Churches*.' So that by this excommunication of the Calvinizers at home all unity of principle with the whole Lutheran and Calvinistic Reformation was plainly enough disavowed. What is more, a few years afterwards, A.D. 1606, another Synod decreed that the Episcopal Hierarchy *not only in England, but throughout the whole Church of God, was Apostolic, and of Divine right*; and that such as formed congregations either apart from the Bishops, or in opposition to them, or intruded upon Priestly functions and ministrations without Episcopal ordination, *were to be reckoned to be of the Company of Korah*.

"v. In the year 1626 a remarkable controversy was moved by the Puritans, and decided against them, in the case of Dr R. Montague, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and of Norwich. He had publicly taught that the true Church is not merely an invisible but also a *visible* society: that no *truly-œcumenical* Council had ever erred: that *Orders* and *Abso-lution*, and the rest, were to be called and esteemed '*Sacraments*,' as well as Baptism and the Eucharist. On these, and other like charges, he was accused to the Lower House of Parliament, which was then Calvinistic,

as if he had offended, not only against the Anglican Church, but even against the laws of the kingdom. From its judgment he appealed to the King, who referred the case to five Bishops: and these not only acquitted him, but plainly declared that he had preached no more than that which was the doctrine of all of them, and of their Church; the nobles of the Court also standing by, and testifying, that they also, and the King himself, were of the same mind.

“VI. But it was not till Laud, the seventh from Cranmer, filled the Chair of Canterbury, that all those signs and sproutings of reviving Orthodoxy which have hitherto been noticed, produced their full effect, so as to draw upon the Anglican Church the eyes of all the neighbouring peoples and States, Romish as well as Protestant. Without pretending to enter into much detail upon the history of this great Prelate [which ought to be well known to the British reader] we may direct attention to the fact, that it was he who finally freed the Church from the deepest danger with which she was ever threatened from Calvinism. We do not allude now to the early controversies about externals; nor to that which ensued about the Episcopate itself. These had both been settled already, so far, at least, as the Church was concerned. But in the mean time there had been growing up within the Church, and among the Bishops and Clergy themselves, a Calvinistic Theology on the abstruse points of Election, Predestination, and Grace; a Theology, which had rooted itself so much the more deeply, because no controversy at all had hitherto been moved about it; these points having attracted in England at first but little attention. But now, in the time of James I., that school had become so powerful, that there was imminent danger lest the Calvinistic dogmas should be adopted by a Synodal act; as had indeed been attempted before the death of Queen Elizabeth. In Ireland this had already been done: and in England, many of the Bishops, with Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, at their head, a great number of the Presbyters, nearly all the citizens of the towns, and the Commons House of Parliament, were of that way. James I. himself had been bred up in Calvinism in Scotland; and though his taste for learning drew him ever nearer and nearer to orthodoxy, he had still favour enough left for Calvinism to send Anglican Bishops in his own name to take part in the pseudo-synod of Dordrecht. Such was the state of things, when Laud, being as yet only a Priest in the University of Oxford, began to contend against the dominant School of Theology; for doing which he met at first with great ill-will and opposition. But presently things were so wonderfully changed, that he was elected Chancellor of the University, as the Champion of orthodoxy, by the free suffrages of its members. He was called up to Court; and became Bishop of London: He confirmed King James in his tendencies to orthodoxy; neutralized the influence of the Calvinizing Archbishop Abbot; inspired the Prince Charles and many of the nobility with zeal or favour for orthodoxy, both by his example, and by his instructions: And some years afterwards, when Charles had succeeded to the Crown, and Laud himself had become Primate, he exerted himself with such success, that he recalled not only the Court, but both the Universities, and nearly the whole body of the Clergy, from following modern teachers to the study of the Catholic Fathers and Councils. For the Church of Ireland he did more than merely to preserve it, as he did that of England, from an imminent danger of Calvinism: For after it had already synodically admitted those errors, he seized it as it

were by the hand, and dragged it forcibly back to orthodoxy. Nor were those corrections and restorations less worthy of notice, which he accomplished in matters of discipline, and ritual. We owe to him the revision, translation, and restoration of the *Order for the Coronation of our Kings*; and particularly one addition, which he made himself to that Office, and which consists of an Admonition to the Sovereign at his Coronation, that *he who receives from the Altar of God, by the hands of His Priests, the Insignia of temporal dignity, ought to be careful not to infringe upon the rights of the Clergy*. In like manner, the *Order for Consecrating Churches and Cemeteries*, which had been much neglected, and left, for the form of doing it, to the discretion of each particular Bishop, was by him restored to some sort of decent uniformity, by the adoption of a *Form* used by Bishop Andrews, who has been mentioned above. He restored Fonts, Chancels, and Altars, with the antient vessels and vestments for the Eucharist; and revived the custom of consecrating them, as had been practised in the primitive Church. He gave new Statutes to some of the Cathedrals, in which he bound the members of the Quoir to do outward reverence towards the Altar and to one another. He gave new Statutes to the University of Oxford, in which it was laid down as a primary duty ‘*to maintain and promote the Catholic faith and religion*.’ Crucifixes, and Crosses, Oblations stamped with the Sign of the Cross, Statues and Pictures, to the honour of God and of His Saints, and for the instruction of mens minds, were by him in many places restored; and, after being restored, or preserved, were defended against the sacrilegious violence of the fanatics; whom he kept in check by legal penalties. He attempted too by discipline to reform the corrupt morals of that age, pursuing scandalous offenders unremittingly, till he compelled them to submit to penance, especially people of rank who sinned with a high hand, and who contemned the discipline of the Church. But among all his great labours and services, the chief perhaps was what he effected towards restoring the *Altar* to its due place and veneration. Things had gone so far in England, that the very names of Priest, Sacrifice, and Altar, were well nigh forgotten, and the things signified by them quite unknown to most men, when Laud restored the Quoirs and Chancels of the churches; ordered the old Altars, wherever they had escaped, to be preserved, and held in due reverence; set up new ones of stone or marble; or, if stone were wanting, brought back the moveable wooden tables, which were set after the fashion of the Calvinists in the middle of the churches, to the East ends of the Quoirs; decked them with Crosses and Lights; forbade them to be any more removed from their places; and lastly, fenced them in with a light railing, to defend them from being profaned by the Calvinized people, who had lost all reverence for holy things. He revived the orthodox doctrine concerning the Eucharistic Oblation, and the Real Presence; and recalled men’s minds from vain preachings to the veneration of the Mysteries. The Hierarchy which James I. had, a few years before, restored in Scotland, he so animated by his example and his spirit, that they not only decreed the adoption of a Ritual like that of the Church of England, but even went further; and corrected, in some degree, the chief of those omissions and mutilations which Laud confessed were to be blamed in the English Liturgy; so that the Calvinists complained that the Scotch Book was worse than the English, and translated nearly word for word from the Roman Mass: all which they laid to the charge of the English Archbishop, who, they said, ‘*was so bad a Papist, that the Pope of*

Rome himself could not have been worse for the Reformed Kirks, if he had sat in that see. In the mean time, the fame spread not in England only, or in Western Europe, but even through the Levant, that by the influence of this Archbishop the British Churches were being heaved up from under the inundation of Calvinism, were being purified or reformed, and so were gradually returning to the primitive religion. The Pope of Rome thinking that this might be turned to his own ends, made the offer of a Cardinal's Hat to Laud if he would come over to his views; while on the other hand, from the East, Paisius, then Patriarch of Jerusalem, sent him his Seal, with expressions of admiration, and of good will for the restoration of peace between the Churches. There is extant a Notice by a minister or ambassador of some Roman-Catholic Prince, describing the state of religious matters at that time in England. 'There were,' the writer says, 'two parties; one that of the King and the Archbishop, who were doing their utmost to overcome Puritanism, and who used their authority with such effect, that the outward appearance of the Anglican Church was coming daily nearer to Catholicism: that they had with them the Bishops, the Universities, nearly the whole body of the Clergy, the best part of the nobility, and vast multitudes of the country people: The other party was that of the Calvinists or Puritans, whose Preachers carried it all their own way in the towns, and in the capital; and with these, besides the citizens, there was a certain portion of the nobility, who looked to making some advantage to themselves from civil discord; and the Commons House of Parliament; which was all for democracy: And that it was doubtful how things would end.' How things did in fact end, we know; namely, that by God's just Providence it was permitted that the Parliamentary rebels should get the upper hand in the civil war which ensued, and overthrow both the altar and the throne, Laud himself being murdered and the Church Ritual proscribed on the same day. The efforts of his generous struggles re-appeared, in part at least, at the Restoration. Calvinism was, by its very victory, completely separated from the Church. And the death of Laud was in some sense necessary to the completion of his work; his remains, or rather his Relics, being buried by his own desire under or near the Altar of the Chapel in St John Baptist's College, Oxford, of which he had once been President: That so he, who had first recovered Altars from their desecration, or rather restored them after their abolition, should afterwards on his martyrdom renew also by that precedent the Catholic custom of associating with them the Relics of Martyrs; his own Relics being set there as a seed, to spring up and blossom from the dust after many years: By whose prayers and merits may the Lord have mercy upon us, smite the rock of our hearts, give us tears of repentance, anoint our eyes, and heal our leprosy.

"VII. A.D. 1648, the same heretics who had murdered their Archbishop, murdered also their King. So the pastor preceded his spiritual son; and earthly Royalty bore the cross after the humility of the priesthood: the Anglican Church, at the moment of her greatest depression in earthly matters, shone in the eyes of angels with a double Martyrdom. And, Calvinistic as she may seem to be in many outward accidents, she is the only Church in the world, which has had a King and a Metropolitan Martyred by the Calvinists. The history of Charles I. is well known: but there is one point which we must not omit here to notice; that is, that both he and his father, James I., defended the Church not only by the acts of

their government, but also personally, by their writings : so that in these well-intentioned and paternal Sovereigns we have the best and most authoritative possible of all witnesses as to the true sense in which the Royal Supremacy yielded by the Church of England to their predecessors, was to be understood. Many, no doubt, have a strong suspicion, which is not without grounds of probability, that the Anglican Bishops not only under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, but also under Charles I., without excepting even Laud himself, attributed to Kings what belonged only to God, and to His Apostles : nor can we pretend to deny that the powers exercised by James I. and Charles I., and inherited by them from Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, were in fact far too great. Still, there is a wide difference between *their* spirit, which used the weakness of Cranmer and Parker as its instrument for sacrilege and wickedness, and the spirit of these later Sovereigns their successors, who, with a good zeal for the Church, *followed* Laud in his life, and in his death. Charles, it is certain, when he had been completely overthrown in the civil wars, and was consenting to make every possible concession to the rebels, not only in civil, but even in ecclesiastical matters, persisted to the last in making one exception, in favour of the Apostolical Episcopate. This he held to be beyond the sphere of his competency to concede, being grounded not on the will of Kings, but on Divine right : so that he could neither abolish that Order, nor preclude it from afterwards re-considering in a free Synod whatever he or the people should in the mean time provisionally decree, or yield, on matters of religion. The victorious army of the Parliamentary rebels, on the other hand, offered him to the last his life, and even his throne, on this single condition, that he should, by his royal authority, take away the Episcopate from the Church. When they found that he was not to be moved, they declared him to be guilty of *treason*, as having conspired against the people, and against the *Church* ; and after a mock trial they condemned him to death. The King, upon the scaffold, addressed his murderers in a speech full of reason and majesty, testifying that he laid down his life not only for the Church, but also for the *true liberties* of the people. At the same time he warned them in a tone of prophecy, that there would never be peace again in England, nor any end of civil discord and factions, till they all repented, and, making public confession of past national sins, restored those things which are God's to God, by re-establishing the oppressed and distracted Church to her just rights *in a free National Synod*. The relics of this royal Martyr, after having lain hid for two centuries, were recently, in our own days, discovered and brought to light. It is related by them that made the discovery, that the form, and even the features of the King, were entire : the beard had grown after death : and there was a sort of lustrous film over the eyes : as if to look into the eyes and consciences of the bystanders, and of the generation to which they belonged, and to ask them, whether we have yet made that acknowledgement of our sins, and that reparation, which he prescribed ? If not, whether we mean ever to make it, and to repent ? God, of His infinite mercy, for the prayers of the same Martyr, and of all His Saints, grant that we may.

“VIIII. In that state of depression and persecution to which the Church was reduced after the death of Archbishop Laud, and in which she remained for nearly twenty years, there was much to make the ejected Clergy, and all who remained faithful, to look closer into the past history

of their Church, and to draw wisdom from penitence and humiliation. It is true that the chief of those doctrines of orthodoxy which had been obscured by the 'Reformers,' had already by others, who came after them, been recovered and defended : but still, a deeply ingrained party-spirit, dating from the time when the English Church had first taken the side of 'the Reformation' against Rome, together with political causes, and the ordinary weaknesses of men, had caused even those of the Anglicans who had fought for truth against the Calvinists (retreating backwards, as they were pressed, to higher and higher ground,) still, nevertheless, to speak all the time harshly and narrowly upon many points of controversy. Whether it was that they feared to alienate altogether the minds of the more moderate Calvinizers, if they exposed to them the whole truth without caution, or, as was rather the case, that their own eyes were still misty from the smoke of the Reformation,—however this was, the persecution and overthrow of the Church during the great Rebellion, brought them down from their former controversial tone against Popery to a tone of more humility and piety ; gave them sharper eyes to look into their own previous errors and deficiencies ; made them shrink back and recede more openly from those Calvinists, who were their avowed and furious enemies ; and disposed them to reconsider, with more of fairness and moderation, such points as still remained in controversy between themselves and the Romanists.

"IX. Out of a long list of Divines, who by their piety and learning, with persecutions, made up in some sense to the Church for the calamities of that century, we may select for mention two names, those of *Forbes*, first Bishop of Edinburgh, (who died in 1634,) and *Thorndike*, after the Restoration Canon of Westminster ; who distinguished themselves above all their contemporaries by the acuteness and moderation with which they reviewed existing controversies, and by the services which they thus rendered towards the future restoration of unity.

"The way in which *Forbes* pursued truth especially is remarkable. A native of Aberdeen, not trained under an orthodox tradition, but bred up among the Calvinists, or Calvinizing Church-people, of Scotland, he set himself to work not only to read, but to travel abroad ; visiting foreign Universities, and conversing with the most learned Professors ; hearing them, and asking them questions ; uniting the utmost diligence with the utmost candour, moderation, and fearlessness. Thus he was self-formed as a Theologian : and, what is remarkable, he was formed chiefly by conference with *Protestant* Divines ; from whose admissions and inconsistencies he collected that same Orthodoxy, which might no doubt have been obtained in a more summary way from the Holy Fathers, or from the present Greek and Latin Churches. But in that case his writings could never have had that weight, which they must now have with all candid and serious Protestants. As it is, we may perhaps put together three names ; and say, that the Anglican Church has had an *Andrews*, for *continuity* ; a *Hooker*, to *arrest a downward course* of Reformation ; and a *Forbes*, for *reconstruction and restoration of unity*. Bishop *Forbes*' writings were not published till 1658, 24 years after his death.

"*Thorndike*, who lived later, was one of what may be called the 'Laudian School' of Divines ; and had studied only by books in England. But both these two men came to the same results in this respect, that on the *Primacy of the Roman See* ; the *number of Seven Sacraments* ; the *Oblation*

of Christ's Sacrifice in the Liturgy ; the Transselementation or Transubstantiation of the Gifts ; the Adoration of Christ's Body and Blood, as present on the Altar ; on Sacramental Confession ; on Purgatory ; the Invocation of the Saints ; and the outward reverencing of Relics and Images, they wrote in a spirit of peace ; making many concessions to the Roman side of the controversy, and interpreting the Anglican XXXIX Articles in the most moderate sense of which they were fairly capable ; so as to shew a possibility of future reconciliation with the Romans, and still more, perhaps, with the Greeks.

" Nor were such writers as Thorndike diverging from the real doctrine of their Church ; but they were legitimately developing and explaining it. They were not abandoning that position which Laud had maintained, but were building upon those very same foundations, which he had either laid or strengthened. Only, some points, which he had handled perhaps stiffly and economically, so as not absolutely to condemn all the Reformed, they (having nothing now any longer to hope from the Reformed) openly and purposely treated with an eye rather to reconciliation with the Roman and Greek Churches. And if there were any lesser points on which Laud had left error or prejudice in possession, or on which he had left a void unfilled-up, (as a man intent upon certain capital points may naturally overlook or neglect many things), in such cases they learnedly and reverently corrected what needed correction. But however this was, the public voice and conscience has ever associated these men with Laud ; and has declared them not to have been deserters from him, or from that Church for which he died, but men worthy to be ranked among her most learned and illustrious Teachers and Divines.

" x. Nor was it by writings only, but by deeds also, that it was shewn, what a power of life was involved in the very fact that the Church had produced Martyrs. For on the Restoration of King Charles II, when it was decreed even by the civil law to honour the memory of the late King as that of a Martyr, the Archbishop Juxon, who had succeeded to the Chair of Laud, and whose duty it was, prescribed for use in that year in all the churches of England a Prayer, in which God was entreated to be gracious to his Church '*for the sake of the prayers and merits of the late Royal Martyr, and of all others His Saints,*' who, as the same prayer has it, '*do continually intercede for us, who are still on earth, and in danger from the flesh.*' Nor did this seem to the Archbishop to be at all inconsistent with the true doctrine of the Church of England.

" xi. We must confess indeed, with pain, that this great recovery of Orthodoxy, which we have described, produced after the Restoration of the Monarchy no such striking public effects as it ought to have produced, nor so permanently raised the character of the Church as one might have expected. In fact, it is manifest that our Church is at this present day, in many respects, in a worse and lower state, than she was under Charles II. Nor does this confession apply only to the times *after* the *Revolution* ; when the Church in Scotland, though undegraded, was oppressed and well-nigh destroyed by long-continued persecutions ; while in England it was preserved, corrupted and degraded, to be the slave of profligate oligarchical factions : But even before the Revolution, *from the very time of the Restoration*, the Anglican Church had passed from a state of open persecution into one, which was far worse, of disguised servitude. For it was not by a deep popular repentance that the King was restored ; but by certain party-leaders, who were tired of confusions ; and

who had such a Prince to deal with, as was little better than an infidel, and ready, in order to compass a political end, to betray the Church to her enemies. Besides this, there was a very deep-rooted error in the Church herself owing to the long neglect of Discipline; so that the Clergy seemed not to feel the impropriety of receiving a whole nation of sectaries to be members of their Church by a mere hollow political conformity, without any sincere repentance, or any Ecclesiastical Absolution in the case either of individuals, or of the whole body.

“At the same time, there were some signs which might inspire hope that the good seed sown in the preceding reign, and during the troubles, would sooner or later spring up, and bear fruit. Especially, we should notice the behaviour of the Synod or Convocation of the Clergy soon after the return of Charles II. For that King having been petitioned by the Calvinistic sectaries who filled the land to command the Bishops to hold a Conference with them, with the view of listening to their complaints against the Church, and of conceding all that *could* be conceded to satisfy their demands; and the King having granted the Conference desired; the Bishops were so far from yielding to the demands of the Calvinists, that they took the opportunity to make alterations and improvements *in a contrary sense*; answering them plainly, that the prescription ‘*of the whole Catholic Church*’ was to be followed, rather than modern novelties; defending their customs of *Praying towards the East*, of using the *Sign of the Cross*, and other like ceremonies, by the authority of *Catholic tradition*; and lastly, by a number of delicate and economical but significant changes, correcting or palliating certain imperfections in their Ritual; so that the Calvinists, being utterly disappointed of their expectations, complained to the King, that the Bishops *had departed further from them than ever*; and *had made the new Book of Common Prayer* which they had put forth *worse than the old one*; earnestly entreating, at the same time, that the use of the said Book should not be enjoined by law. However, neither in this were their demands listened to.

“XII. At length, A.D. 1688, when King James II. had been driven from his throne, that part of the British Church which was in Scotland, instead of submitting to be enslaved by a Calvinistic Dutch Prince, and by the new Government of the Revolution, asserted her rightful liberty; and chose rather to preserve the integrity of her religion and a good conscience, with persecutions, than to obtain security and Establishment by unworthy compliances. Before, she had refused to obey James II. in his unjust commands; and now, she refused to desert that same King, when he was unjustly driven from his throne. She refused to own that for legitimate which was illegitimate; or to Communicate, at the bidding of secular masters, with heresy and rebellion. And inasmuch as the Church of England from that time fell, unquestionably, under the yoke of the Revolutionary Government, and has remained ever since a captive in chains, it cannot be doubted that it is the Scottish Church alone, which at the present day has inherited, and represents, the tradition and spirit of the Church of Laud and Forbes; however the present obscurity and degradation of the Church of England may be borne with and excused by good men, who look forward to see a change, whenever it may please God to move the hearts of our princes or our people to a true repentance and reformation.

“XIII. But, as regards the Scottish Church, besides that she thus avoided the snare into which the English Church fell, and freed herself from that

yoke of secular bondage which had been worn, more or less, by the whole Anglican Communion since the time of Henry VIII.; she has also in various other ways since the Revolution, down to the present time, manifested a spirit of life and orthodoxy. Not to mention individual writers and divines, who have defended the integrity of that theology which they had received from the seventeenth century, there are Synodal acts of the Scottish Church herself, and acts of her Bishops accepted or not disavowed by her, which deserve notice. Especially we must mention their correction and improvement of the Anglican Liturgy, which they restored to its original order and further improved, by the insertion of the formal *Oblation*, and of the *Invocation*, as in the Eastern Liturgies. The orthodox doctrine on the subjects of the *Catholic Church*, the *Sacraments*, the *Communion and Intercession of the Saints*, *Prayer for the Departed*, &c., which in England had, since the Revolution, come to be very commonly questioned or denied, was by the Scottish Church very distinctly defended: so that she not only retrograded nothing from the position taken up by Laud, but even added to its strength, by Synodically expressing her sentiments on some points recovered from Protestantism, which before had rested only on the name and authority of the English Martyrs and Confessors: For instance, on the three following points; that the Scottish Church has in recent times openly declared,—

‘That the *First English Prayer-Book*, rather than the one actually in use in England, is her standard and model both for doctrine and for Ritual propriety, as well in respect of other Offices as of the Liturgy:

‘That whatever was prescribed in the First Book, but has since been omitted, is *not* to be blamed on that account or rejected; *nor* is any inference to be drawn against such things from the apparent leaning of the XXXIX Articles of the English Church; but *rather* all such things are to be defended, and, as there may be opportunity, to be restored, (as the Scottish Church has in fact already restored some things): and lastly,

‘That the XXXIX Articles of the English Church themselves, if any where in their wording they seem to favour novelty, are not to be interpreted by the omissions and mutilations of the existing Prayer-Book, nor are to be alleged to defend those omissions and mutilations; but are to be *so* taken and interpreted, as to be consistent with the doctrine and spirit of the First Prayer-Book: inasmuch as neither at first by the English, nor since by the Scottish Church, have they ever been adopted in any other sense.

“xiv. Moreover, the Bishops of the same Scottish Church, together with certain English Bishops of their Communion and Consecration, (for the Scottish Church at that time did not Communicate with the English Establishment,) between the years 1716 and 1725, held a *Correspondence with the Eastern Patriarchs and the Russian Synod*, under the favour of Peter the Great, for the restoration of unity. And though they did not open or conduct this Correspondence altogether upon right or safe principles; and though, upon Peter’s death, the matter fell to the ground, and has never since been taken up again; still, many admissions or concessions were then made on both sides, which are of no slight value towards facilitating any future attempt of the same kind.

“xv. Lastly, we must not omit to mention, that near the close of the last century, it was the Scottish Church which *Consecrated the first Bishop for the United States of North America*, on the recognition of their independence: and though other Bishops were consecrated shortly after in

England, the present American Episcopate is derived, by a joint succession, from the Scottish no less than from the Anglican Church. And it is the Scottish form for the Consecration of the Eucharist rather than the Anglican which has been adopted in the American Prayer-Book, at least, so far as the *Oblation* and the *Invocation*, with the *Prayer following them*, are concerned.

“xvi. Meanwhile the Established Church of England, disgraced and weakened as she was, continued to give some signs of life even after the Revolution. Nor was it only the Scottish or Non-juring Church, in her Correspondence with the Eastern, that *disclaimed* for herself *all identity of principle with the Lutherans and Calvinists*, but the English Church also had evinced a similar feeling before, and that too at a most critical moment, immediately after the Revolution, when there was on the throne a Calvinistic Princee from Holland, who desired to make the Anglican Establishment Communicate with the newly-founded Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland, and when the Bishops were mostly men whom the Court had intruded into sees after ejecting by violence the true Pastors. However, the firm opposition of the Clergy of the Second Order in the Convocation, and the presence of all the ejected Bishops and their Clergy, who were numerous, and who were regarded with favour and sympathy, as Confessors, by a vast multitude of the Conforming Clergy and laity, had such weight, that the Government *was unable to effect any change*. And this was the cause that the majority of well-intentioned people, who would otherwise have joined the ejected Bishops, continued to adhere to the Established Church, and to make the best of their bad position ; so that, eventually, the schism itself died out ; even the ejected Bishops and Clergy consenting to Communicate with the adherents of the Revolution, when they saw there was no longer any danger of essential changes being made in their religion.

“xvii. But since we have now come down to times which are not far remote from our own, and the history of which suggests to many minds a very strong suspicion that the Anglican Church, if not before, yet then at least, died away, and merged into mere Protestantism, it will be worth while to mention the names and merits of some few Divines, who distinguished themselves, even after the Revolution, in the Established Church of England, as champions of orthodoxy.

“One of the most eminent of these was *George Bull*, afterwards Bishop of St David’s ; whose *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, and of the reputation of the holy Fathers of the Anti-Nicene period against the insinuations of the Jesuit Petavius, as well as against those of Protestant heretics, obtained for him the thanks of the Assembly of the Gallican Roman-Catholic Clergy ; a compliment unprecedented since the breach between the Churches. The same Divine published also a *Harmony of St Paul and St James* on the subject of Faith and Works, in which he shewed so clearly the agreement of the Apostles, and proved so solidly that the Anglican Church believes Justification *after Baptism* to be *not* by faith only, but also by works, that he has obtained among the Roman-Catholics greatly to his honour, though erroneously, the credit ‘*of having changed on this point the belief of the Anglican Church.*’

“xviii. Here, though out of place (for he died before the Revolution), yet on account of the growing authority attached to his Works, we may mention *Pearson*, Bishop of Chester, perhaps the most learned and judicious writer of his age. His *Vindication of the Genuine Epistles of St Ignatius*

is known to the learned throughout the world ; and needs only to be named. But besides this great service rendered to the Universal Church, he rendered another, no less essential, to the particular Church of England, by composing a dogmatical Treatise on the *Creed* or *Symbol* of our Faith, which has been adopted by the Anglican Church since the Revolution, as a text-book for all students of Divinity, and candidates for Holy Orders ; so that the knowledge of it is required by the Bishops. In this Treatise, though he certainly expresses the opinion that the Greek Fathers differed only in expression and not in sense from the '*Pilique*' of the modern Latins, he yet distinctly admits that the interpolation of the Creed is unjustifiable ; and that its restoration to the Canonical form must be an indispensable preliminary to the reconciliation of the Churches. But to return to the order of chronology :

"xix. About the same time with Bull, died William Beverege, Bishop of St Asaph, whose '*Pandects of the Canons of the Universal Church, and especially of the Eastern,*' are well known. In this Work he not only did the part of a very learned Editor by his valuable notes and dissertations, but also exerted himself with the utmost zeal to vindicate for the decrees of the holy Councils their due authority. In defence of the *Apostolical Canons* he wrote a separate book against the French Calvinist Blondel, showing that those laws having been received by the whole Church from the earliest times, they can never be abrogated, but must remain in force to the end of the world : and that no particular Church, still less private individuals, can have any right to neglect them. The stated *Fasts* of the Church also, the *Unction with holy Chrism*, and many other things, which were fiercely attacked by the Calvinists, and which had been disused or neglected by the Anglican Church herself, he defended powerfully by testimonies from the most antient orthodox Fathers ; so as to point out to his own Church clearly enough the road to a true reformation, to be made according to the rule of antiquity, in place of those blind and wilful disorders of the 16th century, which were mis-called 'Reformation.'

"xx. Not many years after the deaths of Bull and Beverege there appeared a Work on '*The Penitential Discipline of the early Church,*' by a Presbyter named Nathaniel Marshall ; a writer, whose merits, and services to the Church, far exceed any reputation he obtained for them in his day. For he chose for the subject of his labours precisely that which had been all along most neglected by English Divines ; and which yet was of the very deepest practical importance ; and the neglect of which was the true secret of the comparative failure of all those efforts, however otherwise laudable, which had been made for the support or recovery of Orthodoxy. The day has not even yet come, that Marshall's Work has produced that practical effect, which is still to be hoped for from it. The Anglican Church, as a body, seems, like individuals, to shrink most from probing that one of her own spiritual sores, which is deepest, and, while she yearly professes to desire a reformation, to become yearly more and more hardened in resolving to defer the attempt till she shall have 'a convenient opportunity.' Even the gigantic schism caused by the preaching of Wesley in the last century, a schism which is based solely on the popular sense of a want of something not supplied by the Church, and supposed to be '*New Birth,*' when it really is *Confession, Penance, and Absolution*,—even this tremendous effect and punishment of their remissness, has failed apparently to make the Anglican Clergy feel that the duty of attempt-

ing to restore Discipline is one which cannot be neglected without endangering the very existence of their Church, I will not say, as a divine, but even as a human society.

“XXI. In the early part of the 18th century, the century next after the Revolution, and at a time when scepticism as well as profligacy abounded among the highest classes of society, there flourished *Joseph Butler*, a proselyte in his youth to the Church, and afterwards Bishop of Durham. In his ‘*Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed*’ he traced the parallel existing between the two orders of Grace, or Revelation, and Nature, with such clearness and subtlety, that he left the sceptic no other alternative than that of either quarrelling with nature itself (in which the very same difficulties exist), or else admitting Revelation : showing that the very fact, that Revealed Religion offers the same difficulties as are offered by nature, is an argument, that they are both from one and the same Author : (for those free-thinkers against whom he reasoned professed to admit that the world was made by God.) The same Bishop published also a number of *Sermons* on subjects connecting Moral Philosophy with Religion, so as to occupy a sort of middle place between the best of the old Philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and the Fathers of the Church. His writings, which were too thoughtful for the age in which they appeared, are now text-books of Moral Philosophy for students of the higher class at the English Universities. As a Bishop too he exerted himself, so far as those wretched times would bear, to instil into the minds of his clergy and people this great truth (of which Anglicans are generally very unconscious), that as for the individual, so also for the society or body of the Church, the soul and the body must go together in divine worship : that the bodily outward worship is not only an assistance, but the necessary vehicle and expression of that which is inward and spiritual. Here also it was not that any immediate effect was produced ; but a great principle, contrary to the opinion and practice of the age, was clearly stated and enforced ; and a seed was sown, which at some future time, under the growing influence of his name, may be expected to fructify. [The allusion is to a *Charge* delivered to the clergy of Durham.]

“XXII. After Butler we may name a most learned Presbyterian, *Joseph Bingham* ; whose ‘*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*,’ having been translated into Latin by a German Lutheran, are well known everywhere ; and need no description to recommend them to a Russian reader. The value and importance of this Work within the Anglican Church, for turning the minds of students in a spirit of reverence towards antiquity, and especially towards the Eastern Church, cannot well be exaggerated.

“XXIII. Lastly, shall be named *Thomas Wilson*, Bishop of the Sodor Isles and of the Isle of Man, who flourished about the middle of the 18th century, and had so great a reputation for piety and discipline, that Cardinal Fleury, the French Minister, is related, in time of war between France and England, to have forbidden the French cruisers to make any descent upon the Isle of Man, merely to testify his reverence for the character of its Bishop.

“XXIV. If it be desired that some one name should still be added to bring down the chain of witnesses to our own day, it may be allowed to a member of St Mary Magdalene College, in the University of Oxford, to mention the venerable President of his own Society, *Dr Routh* ; whose Work, the ‘*Reliquiæ Sacrae*,’ dedicated to the Bishops of the Scottish Church,

as well as a lesser publication, the '*Opuscula &c.*' is known and appreciated, as I am happy to find, by some of the first Divines of the Russian Church, as it is also by the learned in the West of Europe.

"We have thus instanced, as specimens, in chronological series a few of those many acts, decisions, names, and writings, in which we trace the continuous struggle underneath the surface of the Anglican Church of an un-Protestant or rather anti-Protestant life, spirit, principle, or tendency; nay more, in which we see a series of progressive developments or re-developments of Orthodoxy, manifesting themselves under the greatest possible disadvantages, with varying outward success, incomplete as yet, and as to their final issue perhaps undetermined, but still abundantly sufficing to distinguish the Anglican Church from all the sects of Protestantism; the history of every one of which presents merely a series of downward developments of decomposition and negation. If it be said by any one, that, after all, names and writings of individuals, and even particular acts, prove nothing for the character of a whole society or Church: that a series of latitudinarian and heretical writings and acts might be exhibited out of the history of the early Church, or of the present Roman Communion; and then the inference might be drawn, that the early Church or the present Roman Communion had evolved from themselves such and such a spirit or development,—the answer is obvious; namely, that in the supposed case, both the Roman Communion for itself and even the conscience of its enemies would testify that such writers and such acts were *not* hers, nor of her spirit, but against it; while the force of that series of Anglican acts and names, which has been adduced, lies in this, that not only Anglicans themselves, but even the Dissenters or Sectaries, their most bitter enemies, all around them, have ever testified with one voice, and still testify, that these acts do indeed belong to the Anglican Church herself; and that these names are those of some of her greatest authorities and Fathers."

"Mixed Testimonies.

"In conclusion of this whole Dissertation, as a sort of mixed testimony at once from *without* and from *within*, may be adduced that of a number of learned and celebrated men, who at different times have come over as Proselytes to the Communion of the Anglican Church.

"Such was *Saravia*, the friend of Hooker, who being a contemporary of the Reformers, pointed out from the first their radical errors; exhorted Anglicans to retain their peculiarities, and those capabilities of orthodoxy which were preserved among them; and contributed to draw up the mind of Hooker himself towards a higher standard of doctrine than that in which he had been educated. Nor were others wanting, who like *Saravia* differed from the Calvinists on account of their having abolished the Christian Priesthood and Sacrifice. Such was *King James I.*; who congratulated himself on having escaped from the Calvinism of his native country, and declared that he was a hearty proselyte to the Church of England; in defence of which he afterwards wrote with no little learning. Such were several other learned men, as the elder *Vossius*, and *Isaac Casaubon*; who were protected by the same King; and the latter of whom after having joined the Anglican Church, defended her on the ground of her not having committed herself to the errors of 'the foreign Reformation.'

"Then we may mention *Antonio de Dominis* Archbishop of Spalatro, who, without any retraction or abjuration, became Dean of Windsor (also in the time of James I.) ; and witnessed of the Anglican Church, that *in herself, and in the mere letter of her formularies, she might be accepted and defended, without prejudice to Catholicism ; although she was at that time subject to the ascendancy of a Calvinizing party, with the Archbishop of Canterbury Abbot at its head, which interpreted everything another way.* The learned Work of this Prelate published in England under the title '*De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*' is well known. It shews a writer of independent mind at any rate : one who was no servile adherent of any party. Nor does it appear, though he was much harassed by the Puritans in England, and ultimately returned to Italy, that he ever receded from the opinion he had expressed concerning the Anglican Church.

"About the end of King James' reign, died abroad one of the greatest and most learned men of his age, *Hugo Grotius* ; a man who from the dregs of Calvinistic Protestantism had gradually worked himself so near to orthodoxy, that the Jesuit Petavius was in confident expectation of his joining the Roman Church, and is related to have said Mass for his soul after his death. Yet Grotius, as a matter of fact, upon his death-bed advised his wife to leave the Communion of the Calvinists and to embrace not that of the Roman, but that of the *Anglican Church.* Again, after the Great Rebellion, in the time of Charles II., a learned Minister from among the French Calvinists named *Colomies*, perceiving the nullity of *Protestant Ordinations*, came to England, and was there ordained a Priest in the Anglican Church, and became Librarian to Archbishop Sancroft.

"Lastly, in the early part of the eighteenth century, one of the most remarkable of all Proselytes that have ever come over to the Church of England was *John Ernest Grabe.* He was a native of Königsberg, the birth-place also of another no less illustrious renounee of Lutheranism, *Adam Zuerlikaff*, with whose history that of Grabe presents several striking points of similarity. Grabe was bred up for the Lutheran ministry, but gradually became too learned and too orthodox, to be able to continue in any sectarian Communion with a good conscience. Yet he did not quit, till he had carried his difficulties and objections before the Authorities of the Lutheran Community. At length, after having cast his eyes in various other directions, he came to England, and renouncing Lutheranism altogether, was admitted as a proselyte to the Anglican Church ; of which he afterwards became a distinguished ornament by his piety and learning, as well as by his published Works. He did not however dissemble his sense of the deficiencies of the Anglican Church, as it then existed ; as may be seen from a list written by him, and headed '*Desiderata.*' With such views and feelings it is not wonderful that he felt more attachment for the party of the Nonjuring Divines, and for the dis-established Scottish Church, than for the Established Church of England ; or that, when dying, he desired to have the ministrations of one of the Nonjuring Clergy, who Anointed him with Oil, and received a commission to bestow alms, and to make Commemorations for him in the Liturgy, after his death."

" VII. OF THE FORMAL DOCTRINE OF THE BRITISH CHURCH ; AND OF
ERRONEOUS OPINIONS PREVALENT AMONG HER MEMBERS.

"If a member of any religious Society, of whatever origin, be asked What is the formal doctrine of his Church or Sect ? he will naturally and

rightly reply, That it is all that has been distinctly received or adopted at or since the origin of the community in question, and nothing else. If this question be asked respecting the British Church, the answer will depend in some degree upon the point of time, at which the person asked supposes that Church to have originated. If he conceives it to have been '*founded*' in the 16th century, he will reply, that its formal doctrine consists of all that was distinctly retained, decreed, or adopted at that time, or has been adopted since, and of nothing else. And this is no doubt the view of all the enemies of our Church, and of many of her more Protestantized members. But if any one supposes that the British Church is of Apostolic origin, and has preserved a continuity of essence and life from her first foundation, the answer will be very different. It will then be, that her formal doctrine consists of all that the Catholic and Apostolic Church has received or decreed from the beginning; and of all that the Latin or Western Church, as part of the whole, or she herself again, as a lesser part, has ever decreed or received; except so far as any thing received at one time may have been distinctly changed, abolished, or denied, by some later act or decree. Thus, for instance, according to the first view the *principle of Monasticism* would have been condemned by the Anglican Church, because Henry VIII., as a matter of fact, suppressed the Monasteries then existing; and the principle of Monasticism is no where taught in the XXXIX Articles, nor in the Ritual adopted by the Convocation and the Parliament under Elizabeth. According to the other view the principle of Monasticism would be the formal doctrine of the Anglican Church now as ever, because it had been received and taught by the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church, and by the Anglican Church herself before the 16th century, and has never since been by the Anglican Church expressly rejected or condemned. Which of the two views is that of the Anglican Church herself, and upon which, consequently, we must proceed in replying to the question which stands at the head of this Dissertation, is sufficiently evident (to mention nothing else) from the Canon of 1571, made by the same Convocation which imposed the subscription of the Articles; a Canon which has already been mentioned above. [See Dissertation II. p. 155.]

"Our question then is this, How far has the doctrine of the Catholic Church as united down to the middle of the 9th or the 11th century, or the doctrine of the modern Latin, or of the Greek Church, been expressly denied or limited on any points by any modern decisions of the Anglican Church made during the last three centuries? And how far has the Anglican Church, during the same period, added any new decisions of her own on questions undetermined hitherto by the Catholic Church, or by the modern Greek or Latin Churches? The true answer to this question is to be obtained by a critical examination of the modern doctrine and decrees of the Anglican Church, that is, as one may say compendiously, by an examination of the XXXIX Articles.

"Now, several of these Articles, at first sight, do certainly seem to censure and reject doctrines or practices of the Universal Church, to say nothing of the modern Roman Church. Such are Articles xiv, '*Which they call works of supererogation*;' xix, '*As all other Churches, so also the Church of Rome has erred in faith*;' xxii, '*The Romish doctrine on five comprehensive subjects, is a fond thing*;' xxv, '*Those five commonly called sacraments, are . . . such as have grown of the corrupt following of the*

Apostles,' and 'were not ordained to be gazed upon or carried about,' as they are now gazed upon and carried about; xxviii, 'Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance . . . has occasioned many superstitions;' and, It 'was not by Christ's ordinance, reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped,' as is now the use of the Romanists; xxxi, '*Wherefore* the sacrifices of masses, *in the which* it was commonly said &c. . . were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits;' xxxii, '*Therefore* it is lawful for bishops, priests, and deacons, to marry.'

"These Articles may easily be supposed to condemn and reject absolutely and sweepingly,—xiv, the doctrine of Counsels of Perfection; xix, the Indefectibility or Infallibility of the Œcumenical Church; xxii, Prayers for the Departed, Canonical Indulgences, all outward reverencing of material objects, and of Relics, and all Addresses to Saints or Angels; xxv, the ascribing Grace, or even the retaining or using at all of Five out of the Seven Sacraments; xxvii, the belief of the change of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist; the adoring Christ as present on the Altar; the reserving and carrying the Communion to the Sick; xxxi, the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Oblation at all, especially if joined with Prayers for the benefit of the Departed; as well as xxxii, all legislation on the subject of Clerical Marriages.

"But such a view and interpretation of these Articles is utterly untenable; nor would any man but the most fanaticised Protestant among the Anglicans, or the most bitter and reckless enemy of the Anglican Church, attempt seriously to maintain it. Candid and learned men even among our adversaries, as Davenport (who wrote a treatise on the interpretation of the XXXIX Articles) and Bossuet (in examining the Oath against Transubstantiation &c. imposed by the English Parliament) have acknowledged plainly enough that such passages as those enumerated above do not contain any distinct theological propositions at all, but mere imputations, it may be mistaken or calumnious imputations, as to questions of fact and practice among the anti-reforming party. To illustrate this clearly: Suppose one Anglican now were to say to another,—'*What you* call merit is inconsistent with faith in the Atonement. *Your party* put the Church and the Sacraments into the place of Christ. The Communion, *as you would view and celebrate it*, is the same thing as the Popish Mass, and derogatory to the unity of Christ's oblation of Himself on the Cross. *Your doctrine* of praying for the dead, of paying outward respect to things and persons, and of apostrophizing angels and spirits, is a fond thing, contrary to the Word of God.' Any one of the least candour and understanding would see that such language (which is in fact abundantly used at the present day by Anglicans against one another, and is nearly identical with that of the XXXIX Articles against Rome), is mere party vituperation, and contains no distinct theological propositions whatever. There *may be* good grounds for strong feeling and for censure, or there may not: It may be true that the opinions and practices of the party blamed deserve all the blame imputed to them: But in order to ascertain whether this be so, it is absolutely necessary to make the parties explain themselves more distinctly; by asking the accuser to state, in formal propositions, what it is precisely which he censures or denies; and then by asking the accused whether he owns and defends those opinions and practices which are imputed to him. If all the answer we can get to the first demand should be, '*Don't ask me. I hate him. I deny whatever he believes, and*

condemn whatever he does. There can be nothing good about him.' We should know what to think of the temper of one at least of the disputants; but we should be no nearer to a true knowledge of the case than we were before. As a matter of fact, it will, I believe, generally, if not always be found, and upon nearly every one of the above points, *first*, that the doctrine or practice understood by any Anglican to be imputed to Rome is really erroneous; and then, *secondly*, that the real Roman doctrine or practice, as owned and stated by the Romans for themselves, is a *very different thing indeed*, either altogether, or in some very essential points, from that which is imputed to them, and condemned as theirs by the Anglican. If this assertion be true, as any one may easily satisfy himself that it is, by actual experiment, this of itself shows that further conferences and explanations are necessary; and that the letter of the XXXIX Articles will not suffice of itself to fix error either upon the Roman or upon the Anglican Church.

"A more plausible accusation, and one more difficult to answer, is that which attacks not the letter of the XXXIX Articles, but their spirit and practical tendency; which is sufficiently obvious of itself, and needs not even that sad commentary, which we see around us in the actual state of opinion and practice within the Anglican Communion. 'Heresy,' it may be urged, 'consists generally in a spirit and tendency, rather than in distinct categorical denials of truth, or in a perfectly consistent system of error. Luther and Calvin themselves, nay, even Voltaire, were far from being consistent in their errors; and if one were to put together their admissions or inconsistencies, one might, with a little trouble, prove nearly all that system, which they attacked, out of their writings. And so it is with the doctrine of the Anglican Church. Not those of her Articles only which have been mentioned above, and which perhaps do *not* in the letter of them contain any distinct propositions, but very many of the rest also, *which are more or less evidently true in the letter of them, and as they may be taken by an orthodox mind*, are palpably ambiguous or defective in the way of omission, *so as practically*, under the circumstances of the 16th century, to have been mere assertions of heresy. Take, for instance, *the Sixth Article*, propounded as it was without limitation or caution, at the moment that the printing press was multiplying Bibles, and Luther was proclaiming aloud that in this Book was the 'Gospel' to be derived from thence by private reading or preaching, independently of the tradition and authority of the Catholic Church. Any one can see what must be the practical effect of such an Article.'

"This accusation has in it only too much truth; but still, not every fault is wilful, or deadly, and irremediable in a Church, any more than in an individual. So far as a fault was admitted, it has drawn down the most terrible punishments on the Church which admitted it. But it is by the final development alone that we can judge of the extent and depth of the fault. And if, while we see the sects of Lutheranism and Calvinism to have developed their original error with more and more consistency downward to its extreme consequences, we can point to a contrary history in the reconstructive struggles and tendencies of the Anglican Church, such as that of which we have given some notices in the last preceding Dissertation, this is of itself a strong presumption that the Anglican Church, however greatly she may have erred, did not wilfully commit herself to a fatal and irrecoverable apostasy. And this is quite enough for our present purpose."

[What the actual state of her doctrine is, as viewed on the more favourable side, has been set forth with sufficient fulness in the volume entitled a '*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*,' published by Messrs Rivingtons, London, and sent by Bishop Luscombe in 1846 to the Russian Synod. To this volume the reader is referred.]

"But while the formal doctrine of the Anglican Church is thus still in some sense indeterminate, at least on many important points, and needs further Synodical decisions for its ascertainment; and while there are strong grounds for hoping that the Anglican Church is capable of self-reformation in a way in which the sects of Protestantism are not capable of it, it is still due to truth and candour, and also necessary to the completeness of these Notices, to give some idea of the darker view which may be taken of the same subject.

"It is undeniable, then, that the changes made in the time of Elizabeth have in the main had a bad and heretical sense put upon them, partly by the policy of civil rulers, and partly by the passions and prejudices of the people: and the voices of the Crown and Parliament lawyers, and of the popular Preachers, have prevailed over the repeatedly expressed will of the Church to do, and teach, and interpret every thing according to the consent of 'the Catholic Fathers and antient Bishops.' The result has been, that though the majority of the English nation are nominally and politically members of the Church, which they call *the National Establishment*, there prevails the utmost ignorance even upon the first principles of Ecclesiastical Religion; and nearly every variety of Protestant errors may be found more or less diffused among our people; forming, by their strange mixture with contrary truth derived from the Church herself, such a chaos of inconsistencies, and such a Babel of ambiguous or equivocal language, as is enough not only to perplex, but utterly to confound a native, much more a stranger.

"Without referring in detail to past history, I will here set down, as briefly as may be, an acknowledgment of the chief of those errors which prevail among the members of the English Church; not to blame the present generation of my own people, nor even the past; but because the Apostle has bidden us to confess our sins one to another, that we may know the better how to pray for one another, and to assist in healing those that are sick. And also, that by freely confessing what is too generally amiss in individuals, I may avoid the appearance of striving in Russia to represent the state of religion among us as being other than it really is; and that the general sins of our people, committed *against* their Church, may not be so confidently charged, as they now commonly are by foreigners, upon that Church herself, *against* which they are committed.

"I. Many individuals in the Church of England (*not* in the Churches of Scotland or America) are more or less deeply infected with the opinion, that that 'Form of Christianity,' or at least of 'Protestant Christianity,' has the greatest claim to be followed and upheld, which happens to be maintained by the Civil Government, or, as their phrase is, 'to be Established.'

"II. There are very many people in the Church of England (and also in the Churches of America) who dislike and suspect the very name of '*Tradition*;' and think that the Book of the Holy Scriptures is a Divine '*Revelation*' addressing itself immediately to all men who can read: And this opinion they call 'the fundamental principle of Protestantism,' and of 'pure,' 'Scriptural,' 'Evangelical,' or 'Reformed Christianity.'

"III. In consequence of their being possessed with this opinion, the same people venerate the memory of Luther and Calvin, and of other individuals, whom they call 'Reformers;' in as much as those individuals seem to have been the first to proclaim and recommend the opinion or principle which lies at the root of their 'Reformation,' or rather of their new Dispensation of Divine Truth. The acts of 'Reformers,' Civil Governments, and mobs, by which this principle was established over part of Europe, they call collectively 'the Reformation:' the general system which resulted, (and which consisted of very various and inconsistent mixtures of the remains of the Apostolical Church and Religion, with the admitted, but incompletely-developed principle of decomposition), they call 'the Protestant, or Reformed, or Evangelical Religion;' the professors of that Religion 'Protestants;' and the aggregate of their sects, associations, or communities, 'the Protestant, or 'Reformed, or Evangelical Church.'

"IV. There are also very many, who, though differing so far from the above as to believe in the Divine origin of the Episcopate, and to boast of the preservation of the Hierarchy in England, as of a peculiar advantage and ornament of their 'Reformed,' or 'Protestant,' or 'Established Church,' which they therefore also call 'Apostolical,' still do not really believe the whole unity of the body of the true Church to have been originally formed, and to be still perpetuated, by the Sacramental tradition and ministry of the Apostolical Episcopate; but rather suppose it to form itself spontaneously (or at least, to have been so in great part '*re-formed*') by the reading and preaching of individuals, out of the Holy Scriptures. And hence it comes, that nearly all such, together with their own 'Apostolical Church,' admit divers sects of heresy or schism to be, in substance at least, 'true Churches;' and Communicate with them accordingly; and give the Sacraments themselves freely to any persons calling themselves 'Protestants,' who may come from them.

"V. It is very commonly said by members of the English Church, simply and absolutely, that there are only two Sacraments: But that the number of the Evangelical and Ecclesiastical Sacraments can rightly be defined to be seven, they altogether deny, and have 'exploded' any such definition as 'Popery.'

"VI. That there is in the Eucharist any Sacrifice or Oblation beside such a one as may be offered *after Communion*, is a thing which the English, too generally, are either altogether ignorant of, or confidently deny. And if any confess it, still they commonly refine away their own admission, saying, that such a Sacrifice as there is in the Eucharist 'is not a true nor proper Sacrifice,' or, 'is not propitiatory,' or, at any rate, benefits only the living, and not also the dead; and that, whether there be any or not, it is no essential part of the Liturgical Office. Indeed many of them scarcely admit so much as the name of an Altar, unless it be in some vague or metaphorical sense: and they are for ever alleging that there were in the primitive Church no 'Altars,' no 'Sacrificing Priests,' but only Ministers, Pastors, or Preachers.

"VII. It is very commonly denied that the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord: nor is it usual to call them by those names after consecration: To do so is held to be 'Popery'; or at the least to be 'dangerous,' and 'objectionable.'

“VIII. The English in general are far from believing that Christians who fall into any ‘deadly’ or excommunicable sin after Baptism, have any need of making Confession to the Church, or obtaining Priestly Absolution, before they can again Communicate: But the common practice is to exhort all sinners indiscriminately, whatever their offences may have been, to excommunicate themselves by internal self-condemnation, to do penance internally, and absolve themselves thereupon, as soon as their own consciences allow them to do so, by an act of inward Faith.

“IX. They contend that it is either contrary to Holy Scripture, or at least useless, and superfluous, and ‘objectionable,’ to offer prayers and oblations for the Faithful Departed.

“X. To observe the Fasts appointed by the Church by any distinctions between flesh, or fish, and vegetable diet, nay, even to fast in any way, even on the very morning of receiving the Holy Communion, is altogether neglected, and is ‘exploded’ as a thing ‘superstitious’ and ‘Popish.’

“XI. To speak to the Spirits of Saints or to Angels, and to ask them to pray with us and for us in Christ, unless they are so sensibly present as to be visible to the eyes of the flesh, is most bitterly and passionately asserted to be ‘apostacy,’ ‘idolatry,’ or ‘demonolatry,’ and a plain ‘deification of creatures,’ or of ‘dead men.’

“XII. In like manner, to shew our reverence or affection by any outward sign or gesture before the remains or representations of holy men is asserted to be ‘idolatry:’ while to adore Christ as present on the mystical Altar is misconstrued, by a more than Egyptian blindness, into a deification of the sensible creatures of Bread and Wine.

“There are also, it must be admitted, very serious errors of opinion prevalent respecting matters of Discipline and Ritual, such as the following:—

“I. That a sort of right seems to be claimed for what is called ‘a Particular or National Church,’ (other than the plea of forced submission in non-essential matters to civil Rulers,) to make whatever changes it thinks fit in all that relates to Rite and Discipline, even in direct contravention of Canons made by a wider Synodical Authority, by which it has before, perhaps for many ages, been bound.

“II. That in Baptism Trine Immersion, or Affusion, is thought to be unnecessary; as are also several other most antient and holy usages.

“III. That in the Consecration of the Eucharist many neither know nor think anything of the Great Oblation, or of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, which ought to follow after it.

“IV. That they are careless about mixing Water with the Eucharistic Cup, or are even opposed to doing so.

“V. That whereas many things are disjoined, broken up, and thrown out of their proper places in the English Eucharistical Office with an evident intention of favouring Zuinglianism, though the Church has expressly declared that no doctrinal inference is to be drawn from these defects, or from certain omissions in other Offices, the people commonly do draw such doctrinal inferences in favour of error, as might be expected.

“VI. That they think it unnecessary or improper to reserve the Eucharist for the sick; but right and proper to Consecrate, and to Communicate with the sick, at any moment at which they may be summoned.

“VII. That in Confirmation they think the use of Holy Chrism to be unnecessary, and are careless about its restoration, or worse than careless.

"VIII. That they will not anoint the Sick with oil.

"IX. That they think it needless, or even improper for the Church to supply any distinct or full directions either to the Clergy or to the laity concerning the circumstances under which Confession to the Priest may be necessary, or concerning the manner of giving or deferring Private Absolution, or imposing secret or open penance.

"X. Perhaps the greatest of all the prevalent errors is this, that they suppose it to be tolerable, or even right, that members of the Church, both Clergy and laity, and even strangers, should be allowed to take the Sacraments *passively*, on their own responsibility, without ever being 'examined, absolved, or found worthy' by Ecclesiastical authority.

"XI. That they think it needless or improper to have in the Public Offices any distinct prayers for the Souls of the Faithful Departed.

"XII. That they think Deacons, Priests, and even Bishops, may marry after Ordination, and as often as they please, in despite of the laws of the Church to the contrary; and that the Church has no right to restrain them.

"XIII. That the Institute of the Monastic Life is held too often in hatred and contempt; and the pillage and destruction of all Religious Houses by the Crown three centuries ago, is celebrated as a necessary or important part of 'the Reformation.'

"XIV. That they will not use either Lights or Incense in the celebration of Divine Service; nor use themselves in common, nor even tolerate in others the use of the Sign of our Salvation: that they revile the custom of praying towards the East, for the strange reason, that it obliges the Priest to turn his back upon those whom he precedes and leads, but whom he is *not* supposed to address, or to worship: and, lastly, that they will not even use in ordinary life, or in the church, those Ecclesiastical garments and vestments, which the very Canons of their own Church enjoin, but hold them in suspicion and aversion as marks of 'Popery.'

"In conclusion, it is necessary to remark that, in making the above statement of prevalent errors of opinion, respect has been had chiefly to the present state of what is called the Establishment of England, or to the Church of England such as she has been since the Revolution of 1688. The Churches of America are quite free from *one* great doctrinal error prevalent in the English Church, namely, that which attributes to Civil Rulers supreme authority in matters of religion: They are also superior to the Anglican Church in one important point of Rite, namely, that in their Liturgy they have restored both the Oblation and the Invocation of the Holy Spirit. In other respects the statement made respecting the English Church is equally applicable to them.

"The Scottish Church, on the contrary, is so superior both to the English and to the American Churches, in the clearness of her doctrine, and in the general agreement in that doctrine of her *native* members, that the preceding statement ought not to be taken to apply at all to her, except so far as it may incidentally appear from other sources, that her members on any particular points are infected with the same errors as are prevalent in the other branches of the Anglican Communion."

"VIII. OF THE ANGLICAN DISCIPLINE, OR ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.

"All parties of Anglicans agree in confessing that their existing Church Law, that is, within 'the Established Church' and its dependencies, is a mere chaos of confusion; that Discipline has long been utterly

collapsed, or rather is null ; so that whosoever pleases can take all the outward privileges of Church-membership to himself at his own discretion, and the Church scarcely exists (except by the single act of giving *admission* by Baptism) as a real Society at all : In all other respects it is like a house or room without doors, or with doors constantly standing wide open, so that not men only, but every thing that moves, can go into or out of it at will. Wherefore, all confess (what it would be effrontery to deny,) that there is need of some great practical change. But if any one asks, without respect to practice, *What* is in theory and principle that Discipline, which ought to be framed, or at least digested, re-enacted, and restored ? the answer will vary, as in the similar case of doctrine, according to the view which may be taken by the speaker of the *origin* of the Anglican Church.

“Whoever thinks it to be only a new creation of the 16th century, will regret as an inconsistency that our Church Law still consists of a medley of old Œcumenical, National, and Provincial Canons and Customs, Bulls, and Decretals, genuine or otherwise, of Popes, Legatine Constitutions, Civil Laws, Royal Injunctions, and Protestant Acts of Parliament. Such an one will say, that all this (except, perhaps, the Acts of Parliament,) should be swept away as rubbish, and superseded by a new code, which, from whatever sources framed or digested, should be enacted and received by the authority of the existing Church and State, without reference, either as to the whole or as to any part of it, to any anterior authority. And in favour of this view such a person might observe that the Anglo-American Church, which is unconnected with any Civil Government, and which legislates with great freedom and energy for herself, has actually proceeded upon the same principle. Whatever particular coincidences may be discoverable between any of her recent Canons, and others on the same subjects of the Anglican, or of the Latin, or of the Œcumenical Church, she has never shewn the slightest sense of her owing any obedience whatever to any other laws, than those of her own enactment : And whatever actual continuity, by her essence and derivation, she may have with the whole Apostolic Church, through the Mother Churches of Scotland and England, she has practically, so far as Church Law is concerned, disavowed all duties and consequences which might be involved in such continuity, and has claimed a right to start *de novo* from the year 1789, when a certain self-originated compact, consisting of ‘Organic Articles,’ which she calls her ‘Constitution,’ (happily confessed to be changeable) were agreed to at a certain meeting. In like manner, many would say, in England, the enactment of the English Prayer-book and of the XXXIX Articles, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, was the adoption of our ‘Church-Constitution,’ the ‘foundation’ of our ‘Reformed Church ;’ which had thenceforward before her an open field for legislation, and was *bound* by no anterior precedents or Canons whatever ; though of course she *might*, in legislating, make use of what materials she pleased. This is one view ; and, it must be confessed, the commonest and the most popular, even among those who do not consider themselves to have a mere Parliamentary religion.

“On the other hand, those who feel what is involved in the Catholicity, Apostolicity, and continuity of the true Church, and of the Churches of England, Scotland, and America, would rather argue thus : That our Church, whatever may be the state of existing *practice*, is bound in *principle*

to obey all laws once received, which were imposed by a wider authority than her own, and which have never been changed or repealed by the same, or by a still higher authority : and that if in any thing she has departed, by neglect, or presumption, or from submission to civil rulers, from any such laws, she is bound to return to her obedience. Indeed, it may be urged, *if* only the fact of coherence and continuity with the Apostolic Church, and the duty of cohering, and of forming *one* Society with it, be once admitted, the application of the principle seems necessary and self-evident. It is only what every community *whatever*, civil as well as religious, assumes *in its own sphere*. A particular ‘Diocesan Convention’ in America, which refused to obey the canons of the ‘General Convention,’ to which, either by the general terms of the ‘Constitution,’ or by particular reception, it had made itself a party, would be *ipso facto* breaking the unity of the American Church, dissolving its connection with that unity, and renouncing its adherence to the Constitution of 1789. In like manner, if any particular Province or Diocese in England refused to yield conformity to the existing laws of the Established Church of England as a whole, such Province or Diocese would be *ipso facto* separating from the Church of England. And so, therefore, *if* there is any such thing as ‘*the visible Church of Christ*,’ as ‘*one Catholic and Apostolic Church throughout the world*,’ any particular, national, provincial, or diocesan Church, which either refuses in principle to be bound by any more general legislation than its own, or in practice, after having admitted that legislation, flies off, neglects, and contemns it, is *ipso facto* breaking with the Universal Church, is ‘dissolving its connection,’ and renouncing its adherence to the ‘Constitution’ given to her on the day of Pentecost.

“But, clear as this is in theory, there are commonly in the minds of such Anglicans, as upon the whole take this side rather than the former, certain other prejudices, which involve their view in great difficulty and inconsistency. These are chiefly three : *First*, they think that ‘a National Church,’ that is, any part of the true Apostolical Church, (which may be anywhere established and protected by civil Rulers) not only may allowably submit for a time to unjust commands, or to irregular legislation of such Rulers for the sake of avoiding greater evils, but that she even acquires a positive *right*, in virtue of her union with the State, to disregard all superior Ecclesiastical legislation whatever. *Secondly*, they think that, even where there is no union with the State, a Church which is ‘National’ in respect of race or language, or which thinks or calls herself ‘National,’ has the same privilege of disobedience and anarchy. *Lastly*, not the least pernicious, though the oldest and most respectable of their prejudices, is one that they have received from the Lawyers. These hold, that particular custom becomes a sort of secondary law, which may be pleaded against law, so as to set aside all law, and so as to introduce hopeless and perpetually-increasing diversity, anarchy, and degradation. This idea, as applied to Ecclesiastical law, is derived from the times of Roman-Catholic ascendancy, when it was to a certain extent reasonable, or at least far more tolerable, than it is now ; for *then* it was only the Pope, who *dispensed*, either formally, or virtually, in favour of uncanonical acts or customs ; and that too, whether rightly or wrongly, in virtue of a power *claiming to be equal or even superior to that which framed canons themselves* ; or, at the very least, to be *the representative pro tempore of the authority which framed them* : But now that the Papal autocracy has been set aside, the

retention of the claim to dispense with all law, or to set up particular usage against all law, the judge being every local authority, Ecclesiastical or Civil, and even every individual for himself, is nothing else than to abrogate all pretence of law, and all hope of future unity or approximation to unity, for the visible Church.

"Speaking practically, the existing state of Ecclesiastical Law in England may be sufficiently understood by reference to a Digest published in the last century by *Dr Edmund Gibson*, then Arch-Deacon of Middlesex, and afterwards Bishop of London, under the title of '*Codex Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.' It is digested into *Titles* and *Sections* according to subjects, much after the manner of the antient Nomocanons.

"What would be the true Nomocanon of the Anglican Established Church, if she were ever to be blessed with a real 'Reformation' can be of course only matter of speculation. But we cannot be very far wrong in saying, that its basis would consist of the *Apostolical Canons*, the *Canons of the first six Ecumenical Councils*, or rather of the first four (for the fifth and sixth made no Canons), with those of the *Provincial Councils recognized by them*; of other Canons not inconsistent with the above; and lastly, of *Civil Laws*, harmonizing in their general spirit and principle with the Ecclesiastical legislation of Justinian."

"IX. OF ANGLICANISM AS A RITE, OR PRACTICAL TRADITION.

"Of Personal Worship.

"Members of the Anglican Church are commonly taught to say private Prayers at rising in the morning, and at going to rest at night, though they will seldom say them, at least outwardly, if they be in company with others. All know at least the Lord's Prayer; and nearly all the Creed. They pray kneeling. They do not make the Sign of the Cross either at beginning or ending their Prayers, or on entering or leaving the Church; nor do they even know how to make it. Nor do they turn in preference in any particular direction, as towards the East: nor do they use or wear Crucifixes, or Crosses: nor set up Pictures, Images, or Crosses in their dwellings; nor light tapers; nor use or keep Holy Water; nor use Beads; nor do they recite the Angelical Salutation."

"Of Family Observances.

"*Family Prayer* also is very common among the middle and upper classes of society. The Prayers are chosen at the discretion of the head of the family. Sometimes they consist of portions from the Morning and Evening Prayer of the Church; sometimes of modern compositions of individuals, resembling rather those in use among the foreign Protestants and the Dissenters, though they are seldom extemporaneous effusions. The order is commonly this: The members of the family being assembled, kneel at chairs, leaning forward, about the different sides of the room, while the reader (who may sometimes be of the other sex, even though men-servants of the household are present) also kneeling, reads the Prayers from a book placed on the table in the middle of the room. Sometimes the reading of a Chapter from the Bible, with or without an Exposition, is prefixed: and sometimes those present, when the Church-Prayers are used, join audibly, at least in responding '*Amen*,' and in the *Lord's Prayer*.

"A frequent exercise of piety for individuals, and for young people during their education, is to read daily the same *Psalms* and *Lessons* which would

be read that day in the church, if they were present at Mattins or Vespers, either in whole or in part. This, of course, implies that the individual or family is rather of the High-Church than of the Low-Church feeling or tradition. But the custom, though not unfrequent, is shown to be far from general by this fact, that it is very rare to meet with a copy of the Bible containing all the lessons of the yearly course of the Church, most of those that are sold for common use being expurgated, *i. e.*, being deprived of the books called Apocryphal.

"They commonly say a grace at meals, or rather at their chief meal, which is dinner. The head of the family says it, or if a clergyman be present, he is asked to say it, and that equally whether he be a Priest or a Deacon. There are two Forms in common use, one of which consists of a short prayer to God to bless the table (that is, the creatures upon it,) *before*, and a short thanksgiving *after* the meal. The other, avoiding any direct blessing of the food, is nearly the same both before and after, and consists of a wish or ejaculation, rather than a prayer, for the receivers, that 'the Lord may make them truly thankful,' *before*, 'for what they are about to receive,' *after*, 'for what they have received.' Originally, no doubt, the latter form was peculiar to the Puritans, and was purposely so worded as to avoid the blessing or 'conjuring,' as they termed it, 'of the creatures,' which they held to be 'Popery.' But now all recollection of that dispute has died out, and the two forms are used indifferently by High-Church Anglicans; though the first is not so often heard as the latter, and is scarcely ever heard at all at the tables of those called 'Evangelicals.' At their other meals always, and often even at dinner, (*e. g.*, when travelling, or alone), the Anglicans eat and drink without either saying any words, or making the sign of the Cross.

"Their custom is not to make any difference in their diet on different days, except that on the First day of Lent and on Good-Friday, as also on any particular Fast, such as is sometimes appointed by the Crown, they eat salt fish instead of meat (or together with meat) for their dinner. Days of fasting and abstinence are, it is true, prescribed by the Anglican Church; but in printing the Calendar in the Prayer-books commonly used the prescribed mention of them before Festivals is omitted; and as these books are printed by the Queen's printer and by the Universities, it may be readily understood from this fact, what is the dominant tradition on the subject of Fasting. Even on the very morning on which they are about to receive the Holy Communion they breakfast as usual, lay people and Clergy alike. And indeed, owing to the long-standing and complete neglect of any such usages, the Communion is now generally administered in Anglican churches so late in the day, that people who are unused to keep any fasts, especially if old, or weakly, or delicate, or obliged, as the preacher is, to go through some labour before, might be considerably inconvenienced if they attempted to go to the Holy Communion fasting. Such being the custom, it does not seem to be noticed as any impropriety or inconvenience, that a Priest may be called upon on any day and at any hour (when he has just risen from a dinner party, for instance) not indeed to carry the Holy Communion to the sick, (for they do not reserve it) but to consecrate and receive himself with the sick person: or that the neighbours of any sick person may be suddenly called upon in like manner, in order to make up the prescribed number for a Communion. The same that has been said of Fasting previously to

celebrating or receiving the Holy Communion applies equally to another subject, for which it will be enough to refer to Levit. xxii. 3, xv. 18, xix. 15, and 1 Sam. xxi. 4.

"Anglicans, who desire to follow their religion, have usually a strong feeling (derived from the recitation in their churches of the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue,) that the Lord's Day, which they consider to be the 'seventh day of the week,' or 'a seventh,' or 'one day in seven, which is the same thing,' is to be kept holy by abstaining as far as possible from all work, and even from many innocent amusements, (*e.g.* from playing at chess or drafts, or playing on the piano), by preserving a grave and serious demeanour, and going to the Church Service once at least, or more generally, if they are at all strict, twice. As the full Communion Service is rarely celebrated, and then only those stay to the end who are actually about to Communicate, they do not regard the Liturgy, as such, with any special veneration, nor have any idea that it is more a duty to assist at it, (or rather at that portion of it which is said after Morning-Prayer,) than at the Vespers: So that it may often happen, that people who can go to Church only once will go 'in the afternoon' by preference, especially as there is then also generally a Sermon. They often call the Sunday 'the Christian Sabbath,' sometimes 'the Sabbath,' simply; and of those other festivals which are still popularly observed, as Christmas-day, and it may be, Ascension-day, &c., they have no other idea than they are to be kept 'like Sunday;' and having no idea of Fasts, with which to contrast Festivals, and attaching besides (though in a less degree than the Sectaries around them, or than the Scotch Presbyterians), somewhat of a Judaical Sabbatarian idea to the Sunday, they keep all Festivals alike, rather as days of religious observance, than as distinct Holy-days or Festivals."

"Of Public Worship.

"By the *rule* of the Anglican Church the Offices called *Morning* and *Evening Prayer* are appointed to be said daily in all the Parish Churches and Chapels; and every individual of the Clergy is required to say the same daily, either publicly or in private. Also by the *rule* the *Liturgy* should be celebrated, and the Holy Communion received every Sunday and Festival, at the least, in all Churches, Colleges, and other places, when there are a number of Clergy living together; (and the Festivals are thirty in number, including those of all the Apostles, and not only of the Two Chiefs): And all members of the Church, indifferently, are commanded to receive the Holy Communion at the least three times in the year (of which Easter to be one); which injunction implies, no doubt, that the opportunity shall be offered them much more frequently. Also there is a Rubric appointing that the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for each Sunday shall be used at the Liturgy on all the other six days of the same week, unless others be specially appointed: And this again would seem to contemplate the probability of there being in some places at least, even daily celebrations. However this may be, the practical tradition during the last century, and the early part of the present, has been for the Clergy never to read the daily services either in public or in private, except on Sundays, Christmas-day, Good-Friday, and perhaps Ash-Wednesday. Only in the Cathedral of each Diocese, and in a few Collegiate Churches and Chapels, where the service is not read but chanted, the

Morning and Evening Prayer have always been sung daily. Also in towns and cities there has been occasionally a small endowment left on the express condition that the clerk, who receives the stipend, shall read one or both of the Services every day, or on the Wednesday and the Friday, on which days there is sometimes an 'Evening Lecture.'

"In the same way, the Clergy are required by the letter of their Canons to wear the antient costume of their order, consisting of a Gown and Cassock, almost exactly identical with the *Riasa* and *Podriaznik* of the Russian Clergy: But the practical tradition is, that they should dress like the Lutheran and Calvinist Ministers or Preachers of the Continent, that is, after the ordinary fashion of laymen, only in black, and with a white cravat: And the habit of their order they wear only on certain occasions of ceremony; the gown (alone) very frequently in going to the church and in returning from it on the Sunday, and both the gown and cassock perhaps in preaching."

"Of the Church Offices for Daily Worship."

"In the first place, it must be understood that all the antient Offices common to the Greek and Latin Churches, of Lesser and Greater Vespers, Compline, Nocturn, Mattins, (including the Laud Psalms), and the four Canonical Hours, have been utterly disused and swept away. The present '*Morning and Evening Prayer*' do not really answer to any of those older Offices, though in name and association they may, in a general way, be paralleled with the Mattins and the Vespers. They are in structure precisely similar the one to the other, or rather identical, the only distinction being this, that the *Psalms* and *Lessons* are different, and that the two fixed *Hymns* after the two *Lessons*, and two out of the three *Collects*, are different at Morning Prayer from those prescribed for the Evening. Also the Morning Prayer has an Invitatory Psalm, which would be out of place in the Evening. The Morning or Evening Prayer, if read alone, takes about half an hour; if sung, from three quarters to a full hour.

"As to the order of these two Offices, we may remark that the beginnings both of the Ecclesiastical *Year* and of the Ecclesiastical *Day* in England have been accommodated to civil use and to modern ideas. The Ecclesiastical like the Civil *Year* begins on the first day of January; and the *Day* begins from 'Morning Prayer.' In the Bible it is 'the Evening and the Morning' which together make up the day. And so it is still in the Greek and Latin Churches. But in the Anglican Church it is 'the Morning and the Evening.' And whenever there are proper Prayers and Lessons appointed for any day, they are for the 'Morning and Evening Prayer' of that day, but never for the *preceding* Evening. This change has produced one marked difference between the religious observances of Anglicans and those of other Christians; namely, that while the Anglican churches are empty, or even locked up on the Vigils of Sundays and Festivals, they are well attended on the Evenings of those days themselves: And whereas the Eastern Christians throng their churches on the Vigils of Sundays and Festivals, and make no great point of attending the ordinary Short Vespers on those days themselves, but rather indulge in recreation towards the evening, the Anglicans often, on the contrary, if they are devout, will not even have a hot dinner cooked on Sunday evening; and think anything like recreation, amusement, visiting, or even hospitality, absolutely sinful on that day, which

they pass in great gravity from the midnight preceeding till they retire to rest, scarcely allowing themselves to read the lighter literature of the day ; which no doubt may well enough be dispensed with. Ladies may not sew or knit, even for amusement, on that day : It is practically however allowed to write letters : and gentlemen read the newspapers ; nor is there, perhaps, much prospect of their laying them aside for the Homilies of St Chrysostom or St Gregory, which might suit the day better.

“ However, there are even yet some slight traces of the older Ecclesiastical manner of beginning both the Year and the Day. The Calendar of the Church, and her reckoning of sacred seasons, begins from Advent ; that is, from the Sunday nearest to the Feast of St Andrew on the 30th of November : The days next before many Festivals are called Eves or Vigils, and are appointed to be kept as Fasts in the Calendar ; and the Collect (*i. e.* a short Prayer) for every Sunday or Holy-day, is appointed to be said first at Vespers overnight, and not only at the Morning and Evening Prayer of the day itself. In some few churches, as Cathedrals, and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, where the Service is sung, the vestiges of the antient Ecclesiastical custom are still more noticeable. On an Eve the bells sound differently, as for a Festival : the music and singing are the same as for the Day itself : and every member of the Community, together with the Superiors, who on common week-days leave the service to be chanted by others, attend in their surplices, and sing, or are supposed to sing, the service themselves.”

“ *The Litany.*

“ On Wednesdays and Fridays, as well as on Sundays, the Morning Prayer is immediately followed by a separable Office, called the ‘*Litany* ;’ an Office, of the structure of which an Eastern may form some idea, if he supposes the Greek *Liteia* to be appended as a suffix to the *Great Ectenia*, and a number of Petitions of deprecation and obtestation to be prefixed before it. Thus the Ectenia, which stands in the middle, loses its character of filial boldness, and the Office, as a whole, has a penitential character. It is not now said like the Latin *Procession*, to which it answers ; but it is recited by the clergy and people on their knees, the Priest and a Clerk singing the Deacon’s part, and the people or the Quoir responding. The Litany may occupy something under a quarter of an hour, if read ; or about twenty minutes, if sung. It is used also on other occasions, at the discretion of the Bishop.”

“ *The Communion Office or Liturgy.*

“ From what has been already said it will have been perceived that the *Liturgy* or ‘*Communion-Office*’ has entirely lost that pre-eminence which it formerly held among the Services of the Church. The very idea of celebrating Mattins and Vespers (it should have been Vespers and Mattins) without any Liturgy following, which is the ordinary daily custom in the Anglican Church, would seem absurd and almost unintelligible both to Greeks and to Latins, especially to the former : while the fact, that it should so seem to them, would be almost equally absurd or unintelligible for Anglicans. This being so, it will not excite surprise to be told, that even the idea of the Liturgy, taken as a whole, has been almost lost. The very name of ‘*the Mass*,’ which it antiently bore throughout the Latin Church, is odious to the blind and fanatical prejudices of the

English people, who call their own mutilated Mass, or *Liturgy*, only by the name of 'the Communion-Service,' as if there was to be no previous Oblation. The name that is given to it in the Service-books fully justifies this vulgar error, being 'The Order for the *administration* of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion.' This 'Communion-Service' is commonly thought and spoken of as divided into two distinct Services, the '*First*,' and the '*Second Service*;' a division which is even marked in the Prayer-Books commonly used, by the '*Second Service*,' together with all the *Occasional Offices*, being printed in smaller type. The *First Part* comprehends two short introductory *Prayers*, the recitation of the *Decalogue* with a *Response* after each Commandment, a *Prayer for the King*, the *Collect*, *Epistle* and *Gospel*, the *Nicene Creed*, the *Sermon*, which is considered to be an inseparable adjunct, or rather, to be the very essence itself both of Morning and of Evening Service (that is, of every '*full Service*,' to speak popularly), and the *Blessing*: Besides which, they sometimes sing 'a *Sanctus*' before the Introductory *Prayers*, and two or three stanzas of a metrical version of some Psalm, or of a Hymn, before the Sermon, while the Preacher divests himself of his surplice. By the letter of the rule the Priest should return after the Sermon to the Altar, and say there another Prayer, that is, in fact, should continue as far as is possible without actually Consecrating, although there be no Communion: but in practice this is not done: and the whole 'Morning Service' on ordinary Sundays, when this first part only of the Communion-Service follows immediately after the Litany, terminates with the *Sermon* and the *Blessing*."

"The '*Second Service*.'

"The *latter part* of the Communion-Service is used only on certain Sundays, and on Christmas-day, when notice has been given of a Communion beforehand. The frequency or infrequency of such 'Communion-days' has varied much in different localities; but, upon the whole, the most general custom or tradition in country parishes has been, to have *four* Communion-days in the year; sometimes four, besides Christmas-day. Then, in town parishes, and wherever the clergy were more zealous than usual, one might find monthly Communions; or even monthly, besides others extra-numerary on some of the greater Festivals. What tends much to fix and deepen the popular idea that this '*Second Part*' of the Liturgy is a separate and extraordinary Service of itself, besides its infrequency, is this, that when it is actually used, a *Blessing* is given all the same after the *Sermon* (though not ordered in the Book): the Priest disappears into the vestry, or sits down: and all those who are not about actually to Communicate leave the Church; (though this again is nowhere directed by the rubrics.) Not only those who are habitually careless livers, but those equally who are devout and frequent Communicants, and the young people who have been Baptized but not yet Confirmed, are expelled the church by this strange tradition. And though the former part of the *Communion Service*, and the *Mattins* and *Litany* before it, may have been chanted, as is customary in Cathedrals and in some other churches, and in some College-chapels, all the rest is simply read. The effect thus produced is very mixed, and singular. All ideas of festal celebration, of '*Eucharistia*' or Thanksgiving, all filial boldness and holy joy (so far as external impressions are concerned) are entirely lost. Neither is there any thing to suggest the idea of an Obla-

tion. On the other hand, the clearance of the church in a community in which no discipline whatever is exercised, and the sight of a few, doubtless the most devout, worshippers remaining after a multitude has been expelled, suggests of itself many good and profitable associations connected with discipline. And these are still further deepened by the majesty and orthodox spirit of the words themselves of the Prayers and of the Consecration, which not all the mutilations and transpositions they have undergone to favour Zuinglianism have been able to efface. In spite of ritual improprieties, in spite even of very horrible profanations often arising from ignorance, carelessness, or misbelief, it is to the popular apprehension, indeed to the apprehension of everybody who witnesses it, a most *solemn* and serious Service. And it is not wonderful that uninstructed peasants, who may have often the remembrance of sins unconfessed and unabsolved on their consciences, should regard the invitation to Communicate at such a Service as something fearful, rather than attractive; an awful *duty* of servants, rather than a free, though heavenly and inconceivable, privilege of sons.

“Of the Structure of the above Services: First, of Morning and Evening Prayer.

“The substance of the *Morning and Evening Prayer* consists of the usual Latin Introduction ‘*Domine Labia, &c.*’ ‘*Gloria Patri, &c.*’ one sixtieth part of the Psalter, *i. e.*, ordinarily, about *three Psalms*, being equivalent to one *Antiphone*, or the third part of one *Cathisma*; (besides Psalm xcvi. *Venite Eruitemus*: called the Invitatory Psalm, at *Morning Prayer*); two *Lessons* or Chapters, the *First* from the Old, the *Second* from the New Testament; two *Hymns*, one after each of the two Lessons, *viz.* at Morning Prayer the *Te Deum*: or the *Benedicite*: and the *Benedictus*: at Evening Prayer *Magnificat*: and *Nunc dimittis*: (for which, however, if any one dislikes such use of these two Hymns, or is a lover of variety, there are *Psalms* which he may substitute for each, at his discretion). The *First Lessons* at Morning and Evening Prayer are both from one and the same part of the Old Testament, whatever that part is which is being read at any season. The *Second Lessons* are, in the Morning a Chapter from one of the four Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles, in the Evening a Chapter from the Epistles. These *Psalms, Lessons*, and *Hymns*, are followed by the *Apostles’ Creed*; and that by some short *Prayers*; *viz.*, the *Dominus Vobiscum*: the *Kyrie, &c.*: thrice, after the Roman manner; the *Lord’s Prayer*; six pairs of *Versicles and Responds* (equivalent in their contents to a brief Ectenia); three *Collects*, the *First for the Day*, which varies weekly, (besides Proper Collects on Festivals), the other two unvarying, for *Peace*, and for the *time of Day*, that is, at Morning Prayer one suitable for the beginning, and at Evening Prayer one suitable for the close of the Day.

“Such is the *substance* of these two Offices, and indeed the whole of them, as they originally appeared in the First English Prayer-Book: but they have since received two additions, *viz.* I. an Introductory *Prefix*; and II. a *Suffix* or Appendix at the end. Of these

“The *Prefix* is in spirit of a highly Calvinistic nature, though the mere words (unlike those of the Introduction in the Geneva Directory) are perfectly orthodox. It opens with some *Sentences* to be read by the Priest to the congregation, chiefly from the Old Testament, announcing to the ‘*wicked man*’ the possibility of repentance and pardon: So that

in the first words of her daily Offices the Church seems to deny her own existence, and to address all her children alike as aliens, as heathens, as excommunicate, as 'wicked men' under the Law. To put this in a strong light, it is enough to imagine the use of such an Introduction to an Office for daily Mattins and Even-song to be addressed to a congregation of newly-Baptised and devout worshippers. Next after these *Sentences* there is an *Address* to the Congregation, exhorting them to a Confession of sins, and instructing them concerning the nature and end of Public Worship. Then a '*General Confession*' of sins (a very good one in the wording of it) to be said by all together, Clergy and people, or by the people after the Priest, on their knees: And this is followed by an '*Absolution*,' or rather by a Declaration out of the Scriptures that God absolves all true penitents. Lastly, the *Lord's Prayer* is said aloud by the Priest and the people together; which was antiently also no doubt (though then said secretly) part of the preparatory devotions of the Faithful on entering the church.

"The Penitential character of this Introductory Prefix is very little in unison with the antient and true Introduction '*Domine labia, &c.*' '*Gloria &c.*' and '*Venite Exultemus.*' which follows: And the inappropriateness of the daily devotions of 'the Bride of the Lamb' opening with Preachings of repentance to aliens, or with Sermons to believers, or indeed with any mere addresses to men, is self-evident. But, as if to make the confusion hopeless, common practice superadds to the above penitential Introduction an Ante-prefix of the singing of part of some metrical Psalm or the playing of a 'Voluntary' out of a musical box called an Organ, which commences apropos to nothing, unless it be to 'play the Minister into the Reading-desk,' as a similar 'Voluntary' at the end is called 'playing the congregation out of church.' However this may be, 'the Voluntary' or Psalm in question being followed immediately, as it is, by the Sentences to 'the wicked man,' &c., and that Introduction again by '*O! come let us sing.*' not sung but read, no other effect can be produced by the whole than one of utter discord. Nevertheless the 'Voluntary' or first Singing being a mere unauthorized custom, borrowed, by royal permission, from Calvinism, may anywhere be put an end to even by the individual Curate: And even the Penitential Introduction itself might, by a very slight change in the manner of performing the Service, be made to lose much of its objectionable character. For instance, if it were said at the entrance of the church or porch (the place of penitents and imperfect members of the Church) so as to show clearly that it was no part of the Office itself, the Confession being said by those present in the porch, or by one of them, and the Absolution or Declaration being read by the Priest who should meet them there in his ordinary gown and cassock, before he robed to begin the Service; the Lord's Prayer also being said again, as it used to be of old, not aloud, but as a private prayer of preparation. Such a Prefix in a very depraved and fallen age might even have some sense and propriety. It would be like what is still said outside the Doors in several of the Eastern Churches before the commencement of the Service, to enable those who think they need a prayer of purification to enter the church with the faithful.

"The *Suffix* at the end of the Morning and Evening Prayer consists of five fixed Prayers, (mostly repetitions and amplifications of the petitions of the short *Versicles and Responds*, viz., the first Prayer for the *Sovereign*; then one for the *Royal Family*; then the third for the *Clergy*; after which may be inserted one or more of the variable *Prayers for different occa-*

sions, e. g., at the '*Pour Seasons*' for the *Ordinations of Clergy*; during the *Season* for the *Parliament*; in time of war, plague, drought, or famine, a suitable Prayer for each; on mornings when the Litany is not said a *Prayer for all conditions of men*: after which again is commonly inserted a *General Thanksgiving*, with other particular *Thanksgivings*, as need may be, answering to the above *Occasional Prayers*: Then, the fourth of the five fixed Prayers of the Suffix, which is entitled '*a Prayer of St Chrysostom*,' being in fact the Third Prayer appointed to be said secretly by the Priest (during the Third Antiphone), at the commencement of the Liturgy of St Basil and St Chrysostom. The fifth Prayer is '*The Grace of our Lord &c.*' from 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

"And these last two Prayers, that '*of St Chrysostom*' and '*The Grace of our Lord &c.*' are used to conclude not only the Morning and Evening Prayer, but also the Litany, and many other Occasional Offices, and Forms of Family Prayer. '*The Grace of our Lord &c.*' is used much after the manner of the *Blessing* at the end of the '*Communion-service*,' except that having the words '*be with us all*,' and not '*with you all*,' at the end, it is supposed to imply no *Priestly* act, but may be read indifferently by a Deacon or a layman; whereas a Deacon, concluding the service alone (as may often happen) with the first part of the *Communion-service* and a Sermon, is not warranted by custom in pronouncing the *Priestly Benediction*, but substitutes this concluding Prayer '*The Grace of our Lord, &c.*' as a *quasi-Benediction* in its stead.

"Between the '*Third Collect*' for the time of day and the Suffix there is a Rubric directing that '*In Quoirs and places where they sing the Service, here followeth the Anthem.*' This '*Anthem*' in practice is by no means, what the name might imply, an '*Antiphone*,' or series of '*Antiphones*,' sung twice over, once by each Quoir; but any musical composition, or morsel of a composition, chosen according to the caprice of an individual, and served up as a treat to the ears of those present. '*The Anthem*' has nothing fixed either as to its subject, its length or brevity, its simplicity or variety of composition. So that, if only the present negligence were corrected, this Rubric seems to offer an opportunity of supplying, in some degree at least, one great defect in the Anglican ritual, that is, its almost total want of Singings, and Hymns, and variable poetical adjuncts to bring out the spiritual sense, associations, and lessons of the Scriptures read, or of the seasons, mysteries, or lives commemorated, and to excite due and corresponding feelings in the people. To put this clearly: There is nothing whatever to prevent the Anglicans from inserting into their Ritual at this place, if they pleased, the whole variable Singings of the Greek or of the Latin Church for every day in the year, or composing some analogous system and cycle of Singings of their own.

"With regard to the middle or main part of the Morning and Evening Prayer it may be noticed, that the Psalter is divided into sixty portions, two for every one of the thirty days of the month; those for the thirtieth, when there are thirty-one days, being said also on the thirty-first. Thus the Psalter is recited *monthly*, instead of weekly, as formerly. There are besides for six particular days select or '*proper*' Psalms, which on those days are not added to, but supplant the others. In the two '*First Lessons*' (i. e. the First at Morning and the First at Evening Prayer) of the daily course the greater part of the Old Testament (including the Ecclesiastical Books called Apocrypha (except only the Maccabees), is read

through annually, beginning from Genesis ch. i. at Morning Prayer on January 1, and ending with the last chapter of Isaiah (which book is read out of course, last, so as to coincide with the season of Advent) at Evening Prayer on December 31. On Sundays and Festivals these *First Lessons* of the ordinary daily course are supplanted by other *Proper Lessons* also chosen from the Old Testament, apparently with the view of giving as complete a course of yearly instruction as possible to the great body of the laity, who cannot come to church except on Sundays. This course of 'Proper Lessons' follows the order of the Ecclesiastical Calendar, and begins from the 'First Sunday in Advent' with the Book of Isaiah, which is read till the Sunday before Septuagesima, when Genesis takes its place; and so on with the chief Chapters of the other Historical Books and of the Prophets in order, to 'The 21st Sunday after Trinity;' after which the Proper First Lessons for the five or fewer remaining 'Sundays after Trinity' are from Proverbs. Those for the Festivals, or other Days of Observance, are chosen for their special bearing upon the subject of the day; and in these cases there are sometimes 'Proper Second Lessons' also. The Proper First Lessons for the Festivals of the lesser Apostles, the Evangelists, &c., are commonly taken from Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, or Job. Thus in the Anglican Church the Old Testament is more completely read through (and that doubly) by them that follow the prescribed course, than has, perhaps, ever been customary in any other Church from the beginning. As for the ordinary Second Lessons, they are taken, for the *Mornings* from the Gospels and the Acts, which are thus read through once in four months, or three times in the year, St Matthew being begun January 2 (January 1, the Circumcision, having a Proper Second Lesson, is left blank in the ordinary course), and the last chapter of Acts being read May 2; when St Matthew is recommenced; and so on. In the *Evenings* the Second Lessons are from the Epistles, which also, like the Gospels and Acts, are read through three times in the year, beginning the first time from Romans, on January 2, and ending with the Catholic Epistle of Jude, May 1; and so recommencing. These Second Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer are never supplanted by Proper Second Lessons; neither on the Sundays (on which there are no such Proper Second Lessons) nor on those few Festivals on which there are; these latter days being always left blank, and unprovided with Second Lessons in the Calendar for the ordinary course. The Apocalypse is not read in the ordinary course at all: only one or two Proper Second Lessons, are taken from it for certain days, and two Epistles, or rather substitutes for Epistles, for reading in the Liturgy, on St Michael's Day, and All Saints."

{ Besides the above Courses of Lessons ordinary and proper there are also the Epistles and Gospels which are read in the Liturgy, both those for the Seasons from Sunday to Sunday, from Advent to 'The 26th Sunday after Trinity;' and those for Festivals, beginning from St Andrew's Day, November 30, to All Saints, November 1. There are no particular Gospels to be read on Sundays in honour of the Resurrection, as the Eleven Gospels of the Resurrection are read week and week about on Sundays in the Eastern Church: nor are there Epistles and Gospels for every day in the year, so as to provide for the reading through of the New Testament in ordinary course once during the year at the Liturgy. On the contrary, a very full course of reading having been arranged for the Morning and

Evening Prayer, any week-day celebrations of the Liturgy (if there are any) are summarily provided for by that rubric which enjoins that the Epistle and Gospel for the Sunday shall serve for every day in the week following; except any one of them being a Festival, has an Epistle and Gospel of its own: for in this case the Proper Epistle and Gospel are not *added* to those of the ordinary course, but supplant them. It is remarkable that the Anglicans follow the primitive and Catholic practice of standing up, out of respect, when the Gospel is read in the Liturgy; but they do not show the same respect when it is read at other times; as, when a whole chapter is read for the Second Lesson at Morning Prayer, or during Family Worship, or when the Gospel is read during any of the Occasional Offices. At such times they sit. Not uncommonly however, with a good but somewhat mistaken idea of reverence, they will rise up and stand during the reading of the words of the Lord's Prayer, when it occurs in the Second Lesson, or even when it is recited by children in the Catechism; also sometimes they will do the same out of respect to the Creed, when it is recited in the Catechism; which last practice might not be amiss if it were meant as a spontaneous recognition and profession of their faith on the part of the by-standers, and not as a sort of worship paid to the letter of the Creed.]

"Of the structure of the *Litany* no more need be said than has been already said above, viz. that it resembles the Great *Ectenia* inclosed between a Prefix and a Suffix. It remains only to describe the order of

"The Liturgy, or Communion-Service.

"1. In this the first thing that would strike a member of the Eastern Church is, that, like the Morning and Evening Prayer and other Anglican Offices, it has *no beginning*; not merely no preparatory Incensings with secret Prayers; but no '*Benediction*;' not even the shorter Form '*Let us Pray*.' It begins abruptly, either by the Priest saying aloud at the Altar the *Lord's Prayer* (originally and properly, as at Morning and Evening Prayer, a secret prayer of preparation), or by '*a Sanctus*' or '*Voluntary*' from the Organ. Sometimes the Psalm whence the old Latin '*Introit*' was taken, or another Psalm, or part of a metrical Psalm or Hymn chosen at will, is sung: but this is rather viewed as an interposition between the Litany and the Communion-Service, than as the beginning of the latter.

"11. The next thing that he would miss would be the *Great Ectenia* or the public Prayers bidden by the Deacon, which still form so important a feature at the opening, middle, and conclusion of all the chief Services of the Eastern Church, but which had very generally disappeared from those of the Latin Church, or had been altered and disguised, long before the Anglican '*Reformation*.' It might fairly be remarked by an Anglican in answer to any blame of the omission in this particular place, that the *Greater Ectenia* is not wanted at the beginning of his '*Communion-Service*,' seeing that in fact it has been said just before (at least on all Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays) in the '*Litany*,' of which it forms the substance or middle part. This is indeed true. But still it might be rejoined, that the English '*Litany*,' as a whole, from its deeply penitential character, is a very inappropriate Prefix for the Great Christian Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, especially on Sundays and Festivals: that fit as it may be for days of penitence and humiliation, the Great Ectenia, which is in the middle of it, would be much more appropriate, if it were

taken out from between the other parts prefixed and suffixed, and restored to stand in its proper place alone, after an Introductory Blessing, at the beginning of the Liturgy.

“III. Next, he would notice the *Lord's Prayer*, and the accompanying *Collect*, which two, if it were not that the Lord's Prayer is to be said aloud, (although strangers and heathens, as in India, may as yet be present), he would be tempted to parallel with the first two (of those three) Prayers which the Priest says *secretly* within the Sanctuary during the singing of the First and Second Antiphones.

“IV. But then he would miss those two Antiphones themselves, (or Psalms CIII. and CXLVI. substituted for them on Sundays), which form so appropriate an Introduction to this Service of Thanksgiving and of the Spiritual Food and Banquet. In like manner also he would miss the ‘Third Priestly Prayer’ (that ‘*Prayer of St Chrysostom*,’ with which we conclude several of our Services) which is said secretly during the Third Antiphone, [Psalm xcvi., ‘*Venite exultemus* :’] or the Beatitudes (which on Sundays are substituted) ; unless indeed he looked on, and imagined that the ‘*Collect for the King*’ might have got into the place of that Prayer, and so have supplanted it.

“V. At the next step he would be struck by the parallel between the singing of the third Antiphone (or rather of the Beatitudes) with Responses (which are verses of Hymns for the day, Season, or Festival) sung after each Beatitude, in his own Church, and the reading of the Ten Commandments of the Law of Moses, also with Responses said or sung after each Commandment, in the Anglican Church. And perhaps here also he might think that if the Beatitudes were to take the place of the Old Law, at least upon High Festivals and Sundays, leaving, it might be, the present order for *Lent*, it would be an improvement.

“VI. But besides those Hymns for the Season or Festival which are interposed and sung after each verse of the Beatitudes, he would miss also the *Lesser Introit* and the short anthems called the ‘*Troparia*’ and ‘*Contakia*’ for the commemorations of the Day, and of the local Church, or Dedication, which are sung immediately after it. And finding that neither do any of these Singings occur elsewhere, (so as to answer to the *Proses* or *Hymns* of the Latins) while the Introductory ‘*Gloria in Excelsis* :’ of the Roman Mass has also disappeared, he will be tempted to remark, that *thus far*, that is, from the beginning of the ‘*Litany*’ to the end of the Decalogue with its Responses, there is not merely nothing to mark the Season or Festival, but not even any thing a whit more appropriate to the commencement of the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, than to the commencement of a solemn Office of Deprecation, Commination, or Penance, as on the First day of *Lent*.

“VII. He would not be surprised at the non-occurrence of the *Lesser Introit*, which is the signal in his Church for the Bishop, when present, to leave the Western Ambon or platform in the midst of his people, and go up with his Presbyters and Con-celebrants into the Altar ; because neither have the Latins this in their churches ; and the Anglican ‘*Re-forms*’ in such things have generally been developments of destruction, not of restoration. Also he would probably, and not incorrectly, have identified the ‘*Voluntary*’ or ‘*Sanctus*’ sung immediately after the *Litany* with that anthem or verse of a Psalm which the Latins call the ‘*Introit*,’ and which with them is followed by the ‘*Confiteor*,’ and a decent, reve-

rential Preparation for Access made by the Celebrant and Clergy below the steps of the Altar.

"VIII. Neither would he be surprised at the absence of the *Trisagion*, though he might wonder why they should not have retained even the Latin '*Kyrie Æc*:' which was probably imitated from it: Nor again, at the absence of any Rubric directing the Celebrant to go round to the East end of the Apse; because the Latins also have long been used to set their Altars at the extreme East end, and to leave no space to pass or stand behind.

"IX. The '*Collect for the King*' would strike him as peculiar; and though he could scarcely object to it in itself, he might be inclined to think that, when so many old things had been omitted or forgotten, there must have been some particular reason for this one thing being so well remembered, and added, though a novelty, and put so prominently forward, as if instead of all that had disappeared.

"X. '*The Collect*,' that is, the Collect for the Sunday or Festival, he would of course identify with that of the Latin Mass. He would remark that there was no '*Prokeimenon*' prescribed before the '*Epistle*,' nor any '*Alleluia*' before the Gospel: (though they do in fact often say or sing a substitute in English for the word '*Alleluia*'): but the *Epistle* and the *Gospel* themselves he would recognize as occurring in the same place in all Churches both of the East and of the West. Only, he would have expected some mention in the Rubrics of the customary Lights and Incense to accompany the Gospel, and of the Deacon to read it.

"XI. To find the *Creed* following immediately after the Gospel would seem strange, as it was meant to be sung as the Confession of the Faithful after the dismissal of all aliens, and even of the Catechumens. Still more would an Eastern be scandalized at finding the Creed to be here printed and recited with the *Interpolation*: but these things, he would know, are common also to the Romans, and therefore very naturally retained by the English Ritual.

"XII. After the Creed there follows the *Sermon*. And this order, although no longer common in his own Church, he would praise as good and primitive: the more so, because the Sermon was expected to be generally or often upon the Gospel of the Day, which it would thus by the Anglican order (if only the Creed were removed to its original and proper place, and so were out of the way), immediately follow.

"XIII. If he heard the usual *Collect* chosen at will by the Preacher, and the *Lord's Prayer*, pronounced out of the pulpit over the heads of the people before the Sermon, he would merely be struck by the singularity of the custom, in which he would see no particular sense or propriety. But if he heard what is called the *Bidding Prayer*, as in a University or Cathedral church, he would at once recognise the mutilated remains of those most antient Diaconal Prayers, which are '*bidden*' in his own Church from the Ambon after the Gospel and the Sermon (if the Sermon were then delivered); and which end with separate Prayers and Dismissals for each class of Penitents and Catechumens; till the church be cleared of all strangers, and only the faithful remain to assist at the more solemn parts of the Liturgy.

"XIV. He would miss the spreading of the *Antimise* or Corporal, and the short Diaconal '*Prayers of the Faithful*,' as well as those said secretly at the same time, by the Priest, and concluded as usual by '*Exclamations*.'

“xv. He would miss the singing of the Hymn which begins ‘*We who mystically represent the Cherubim, &c.*’ as well as the Priestly Prayer said at the same time, and followed by three upliftings of the hands, and three prostrations before the Altar (before going to the Prothesis). Instead of these he would notice the reading of certain Sentences during the ‘*Offertory* :’ which ‘*Offertory*’ he would suppose to be merely a name for something said or sung, as it is now in the Latin Church ; or else, if he knew that it was any thing more, it would appear to be a very inconvenient arrangement. For if The Oblation is really to be then taken and prepared from Oblations then brought or offered by the people, or in their name, this Preparation would cause an interruption in the Service, and could hardly fail to be made in a hurried and irreverent manner. So that he would think the arrangement of his own Church far better, by which the Offerings (*Prophoræ*) are brought by the people, or in their name, and The Oblation is prepared from them at the Prothesis, or Credence, before the commencement of the Liturgy. If he noticed also that *money* is now collected, and that this is taken not to the Prothesis but to the *Throne itself*, he would no doubt be shocked ; and would think of those Canons which forbid the offering of any thing else on the Throne but the Oblation of Bread and Wine, and the sweet Oil and Frankincense to be used in the service of the Altar.

“xvi. In the direction that the Priest ‘shall then place upon the Table’ (bringing it, that is, from the place where it has been Prepared), the Bread on the Paten or Disc, and the Wine as mixed in the Chalice for Consecration, he would recognise a shadow or relic of the ‘*Great Introit*,’ although there is no order for carrying them round from the Prothesis through the body of the church, and so entering by the Great Doors into the Sanctuary. And in this he would see some appearance of agreement with his own Church rather than with Rome, that the Holy Things are to be brought ready prepared, instead of their being prepared, and the Cup mixed, by the Priest at the Altar. He would expect to find mention of the Deacon, if present, bringing the Paten, and of the Incensing of the Altar and of the Gifts, both before and after their removal from the Prothesis, the removal of the Coverings from the Paten and Chalice, and the covering them both at once with the light Covering called the Aër, as well as of the Priest’s secret Prayer of Oblation at first setting the Gifts on the Altar : though with this last he might be disposed to parallel the last sentence of the ‘*Offertory*’ in the Scottish Liturgy ; which from this point we shall do well to follow rather than the English. The mere words of the two Forms are for the most part the same : but in the English the dislocations and transpositions made by Crammer, though skilfully enough devised to favour Zuinglianism, are in a ritualistic point of view mere senseless confusion, and make any further prosecution of our comparison impossible. In the Scottish Office, which up to this point is identical with the English, the original and proper order of the remaining parts has been restored, and some other improvements added besides. Continuing therefore according to this, we find next to observe, that

“xvii. An Eastern would here miss the ‘*Peace* :’ and the mutual salutations (the ‘*Osculum pacis*’) of the Clergy, as well as the Exclamation echoed by the Deacon from his place, to see to ‘*The Doors* :’

“xviii. And now, he would think, they ought to sing the Nicene Creed, which he noticed before to have got out of its place, when he found it fol-

lowing immediately after the Gospel, and before the Sermon, at which others besides the faithful might be present.

"xix. After the Creed he would have looked for a direction to remove the Aër or light covering from over the Paten and Chalice; and for the Benediction, *i. e.* '*The Grace of our Lord:*' for which, however, there is a substitute '*The Lord be with you:*' Indeed the Benediction itself, though not ordered, he might possibly hear pronounced in this place, over and above, if he were present at the celebration of the Scottish Liturgy; though in that case he would be not a little surprised to see all the congregation fall upon their knees, and to discover that this was meant as a '*Blessing*' to dismiss from the church every soul not about to Communicate. The congregation would rise and pour out of the church in a body, leaving him standing astonished, and needing not a few assurances, to persuade him that he *might* still remain, even though he were unable to Communicate.

"xx. The Exhortation, which in the English Office occurs *after* the church has been cleared (though this again is not in all churches exactly at the same time, but depends on custom) and which in the Scottish Office is placed *before the Offertory*, scarcely needs to be noticed. It would be entirely strange to the ears of an Eastern, and it is the only portion of the Scottish Liturgy in which he would think he recognized the same heretical spirit as dictated the omissions and dislocations of the English; the impression conveyed by the Exhortation as a whole being, that the congregation present are present for a Communion only, according to the Calvinistic notion, and not for the celebration of the Eucharist. At the same time the tone of this address is full of majesty and solemnity, and free from any shadow of Calvinism in its particular expressions. But to return from this digression:

"xxi. What follows next, namely, the Response '*And with thy spirit:*' and then '*Lift up your hearts, &c:*' he would recognize as common to all the antient Churches. Those of the '*Proper Prefaces*' which the English and Scottish Liturgies have retained from the Latin, though not occurring in his own ritual, would strike him as appropriate and holy insertions. The conclusion '*Therefore with angels &c:*' and '*Holy, Holy, Holy, &c:*' would please him, as identifying the Liturgy with his own, though he would miss the rubric instructing the people when to join in, namely, at the words '*Holy, holy, holy, &c:*' as also he would miss some words very needlessly and improperly omitted from the end.

"xxii. The whole of the Consecration-Prayer, (though the beginning is wanting in Eucharistic fullness), the correct order in which its three parts follow each other, (though he could not approve of the breaking of the bread here, but would say that we ought to imitate Christ, Who '*blessed*' first, and then '*broke*' afterwards), *our Lord's Words* first, then the *Great Oblation*, and then the *Invocation of the Holy Ghost*, would please him very much indeed, both for the unexpected strength and clearness of its orthodoxy, not admitting a suspicion of Calvinism, and also for its agreement with his own Liturgy in that point rather than with the Roman. An Eastern would also be pleased to find that it was true and perfect *Bread*, and not *Azyna*, which is Offered.

"xxiii. After the Consecration he would recognize the like to those *solemn Prayers* which follow in his own Liturgy, only with this difference, that the order is somewhat less regular and distinct. The Departed

Saints, from righteous Abel to this present, especially the Blessed Virgin, the Baptist, the Apostles, and the other Saints of the New Dispensation, are not mentioned *first* distinctly, with allusion to their prayers; nor is distinct prayer made for the rest and final happiness of the other Faithful Departed; but both the higher Saints and they are all summarily comprehended together with ourselves under the words '*we and all Thy whole Church.*' After this there follow words concerning the application of the benefits of the Sacrifice and of the Holy Communion to those present, which in the older Liturgies are an immediate suffix or appendix to the Consecration itself; and with much more propriety: For the Spiritual Bread is *made* to be received for Spiritual Food: and it is more natural to mention this its end immediately after, and in conjunction with, the *making*, than to interpose such mention afterwards between Prayers for the general application of the benefits of Christ's death and of that whole Service to '*all the whole Church*' (i. e. to the Departed also), and to '*the Church militant here on Earth.*'

"However, there is another view which may be taken of the above Prayers in the Scottish Liturgy, preceding those '*for the whole state of Christ's Church,*' and one which would make an Eastern vary the form of his objection. It is this: That the whole, thus far, is merely an amplified and exuberant form of those words beginning '*That they may be to those who partake of them, &c.*' which follow in the Eastern Liturgies immediately after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost; and that, notwithstanding the words '*and all Thy whole Church:*' this passage answers in no respect, neither in whole nor in part, neither directly nor indirectly, to the *Memento* of all the Saints and of the Departed Faithful, which is simply omitted, or postponed, to come in a mutilated form after the *Memento* of the Church on Earth. And this view is countenanced by the fact, that in the Scottish Office the *Bidding* before the next Prayer stands thus, '*Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church:*' omitting the concluding words '*militant here on earth,*' which form part of the same *Bidding* in the English Prayer-book, as if to shew that it is meant to include the Departed. And in truth there is mention made of the Saints and of the Departed at the end of that Prayer, *after the Memento* of the Church upon earth, and the living; and so there was originally in the same Prayer in the English Liturgy; and the limiting words '*militant here on earth,*' in the title or *Bidding*, were then only inserted when, together with other mutilations, all prayers for the dead were omitted: and the same limiting words have since become again more or less inappropriate even in the English Liturgy, in consequence of a partial restoration of the Commemoration of the Saints and the Departed having been reinserted at the end of the Prayer at the last revision, in 1662. The restoration in the Scottish Office is more complete; but it still stops short of that distinct mention of the Blessed Virgin, and those distinct petitions for the rest of the Departed Faithful, which its revisers wished to insert, and did indeed actually insert in this place, and which appear as so inserted in a MS. copy of their Liturgy, in Greek and Latin, now preserved in the Archives of the M. H. Synod.

"Supposing the whole to stand just as it was sent at the beginning of the last century to the Eastern Patriarchs, and into Russia, the only criticism an Eastern would be likely to make upon it is this: that the proper order of the two *Mementos*, that of the Saints and the Departed

generally, and that of the living, has been introverted : and that it is more natural to come down gradually from the super-celestial Altar and the Throne itself of the Lamb, and from the ‘innumerable company of Angels’ which surround it, through the higher citizens of ‘the New Jerusalem, the city of the living God,’ that is, through ‘the spirits of just men made perfect,’ from righteous Abel to Melchisedec, from the Blessed Virgin, the Baptist, and the Saints of the New Dispensation, and all those of the Faithful that have ‘*died before us*’ to the later Church now militant here in earth, and to ourselves, than to follow the contrary order.

“xxiv. The echo of the above Priestly Prayers by the Diaconal Prayers bidden without the Sanctuary (as well as the Priest’s short accompanying Prayer or Collect and Exclamation) is naturally absent from the Anglican and from the Scottish Liturgies, *because* it had long before ‘The Reformation’ disappeared (with that whole system of which it formed part) from the Latin Church.

“xxv. The saying of the *Lord’s Prayer* all together, which follows next, would strike him as identical with what he was used to in his own Church, (except, of course, that all is there *sung*). The absence of the two Priestly Prayers, or Collects, of access which follow he would scarcely notice, unless he were himself a Priest, and so had been used to say them.

“xxvi. But he could scarcely fail to miss the striking and most antient announcement ‘*Sancta Sanctis!*’ ‘*Holy things for the holy!*’ and the Response of Christian humility and devotion which is sung by the Quoirs, followed by the anthem called ‘*The Communion.*’

“xxvii. He would also be perplexed to find that there is no direction given here for ‘*the Breaking of the Bread* ;’ and would be led to surmise that when the Priest was directed above, during the recitation of the *Words of Institution*, before the Oblation, to ‘*break the Bread*,’ this meant not merely some small partial fracture (though neither could he approve of any such ceremony as that) ; but that he should break the Bread altogether, so as to be ready for the distribution, and so as to Consecrate not a Sacrament of unity in ‘*that one Bread*,’ but rather a Sacrament of individualism, and a striking type of the unhappy divisions of the *new Gospel*.’

“xxviii. The Invitation to ‘*Draw near*’ ‘*in charity*,’ ‘*with faith*’ and humility, would seem to correspond with the same Invitation in his own Church ; and he would suppose that those about to Communicate then actually moved out from the rest of the faithful, and gathered in a cluster before the Royal Doors (of the Sanctuary), there to ‘*kneel*’ as bidden (according to the Anglican and Latin custom), and to go through their preparatory Devotions of Access, while the rest of the Congregation stood around. But, as a matter of fact, the rest of the faithful would be now in their own houses ; and the actual Communicants, who alone would be in the church, by an equally un-rubrical custom, would have all along been on their knees, (in many places even at the most Encharistic parts of the Office, *e. g.*, at the *Preface*, and the ‘*Gloria in excelsis*,’ and always during the *Oblation* itself) ; as if they were assisting still at a Roman low Mass, and not Offering themselves also as ‘*faithful*,’ and as ‘*sons*,’ with their Bishop and his Clergy, or with the celebrating Priest.

“However, as in the case of their observing Sundays and other Festivals somewhat more like Jewish Sabbaths than days of joy and thanksgiving, so also with regard to this custom of kneeling, or supposing that they ought

to kneel at all prayers and devotions, there would be great danger in making any change. Unless the observance of *Fasts* were more generally restored, any relaxation of the Sabbatizing on Sunday would be simply to destroy that religious observance which is still left. And unless Discipline were so far restored as to enable Anglicans to understand the privilege as well as propriety of *standing* at certain times in Divine Service, to bid them not to kneel (kneeling being at any rate a posture of humility and devotion) would be only to invite them to become comparatively careless, and to 'stand at ease' during the highest acts of worship.

"xxix. The Preparatory Devotions of Access to the Holy Communion, that is, the *Confession*, the *Absolution*, the '*Comfortable Words*,' and the Collect '*We do not presume, &c.*,' are certainly different from those Preparatory Devotions which correspond to them in the Eastern Liturgy, '*I believe O Lord, &c.*,' '*Receive me now.*,' '*Let not O Lord, &c.*,' but which are said by Priests and Deacons separately (as also the whole Communion of the Clergy is separate, and before the Invitation,) within the veil, and are said only for the laity collectively without the Royal Doors, and aloud, after the Invitation. The Scottish form, on the contrary, is a general and joint preparation for the Clergy and laity in one Body, as if there were to be no distinction, and no screen, but one indiscriminate or conjoint Administration. This is in agreement with the rest of that system which has been inherited from the Roman or Latin Church, and is as yet un-reformed, of having open Altars, and Chancels filled with men and women of the laity; of having suppressed the Diaconate, with all the popular and congregational parts of Divine worship, and substituted either a Priest celebrating before a kneeling multitude of witnesses, as at Rome, or a Reader reading to, or for, a congregation kneeling (or, it may be, even *sitting*), as in England.

"Notwithstanding, however, the difference of the words, and the fusion of the Clergy and the people all together into one body, the *Preparatory Devotions of Access* in the Scottish Liturgy would strike an Eastern both as appropriate and solemn in themselves, and as adequately corresponding to his own; it may be, even as farther compensating for the omission noticed above under xxv.

"xxx. It has been already said that he would miss that variable *Hymn* for the *Season*, the *Day*, or the *Festival*, which is called the '*Communion*,' and the singing of which is prolonged till all have Communicated; though this in the East is seldom any long time. The entrance of the laity to Communicate within the Sanctuary, and their approach, men, women (and even Clergy, if not officiating) all mixed together, to the steps or railing before the Altar he would notice as quite Latin. And the words addressed to each Communicant, though divested in the Scottish Liturgy of Cranmer's Zuinglian substitute (retained *together with* them in the English Book) would seem to need some still further abbreviation, so as to bring them back to the shortest, and most convenient, and *original* form.

"xxxi. After the Communion, he would miss the directions to the Deacon for wiping with the sponge any crumbs which may remain on the Paten into the Chalice, and for putting their Coverings over both the Paten and the Chalice: Also, for the saying of a Prayer of Thanksgiving by the Priest, who then incenses the Altar; while the Quoirs sing without a certain anthem of Thanksgiving '*We have seen the true Light, &c.*,' and the Deacon receiving the Paten (and followed by the Priest himself with the Chalice)

carries it away to the Prothesis (where he, during the distribution of the '*Antidoron*,' or after the Service, consumes what remains), and the Quoirs sing a second short anthem, '*O let our mouth be filled with Thy praise, &c.*'

"XXXII. Instead of the Diaconal *Prayers of Thanksgiving* after Communion, which now follow in the Eastern Liturgy, he would recognize as corresponding to them (and to the Priestly Prayer mentioned above in XXXI) the Scottish and English '*Prayer of Thanksgiving*,' which is said for the Clergy and laity jointly, in like manner with their *Preparatory Devotions* mentioned above. This Prayer itself would no doubt strike him favourably : but he would be perplexed at the strangeness of that custom which makes all the Congregation to fall upon their knees while it is saying ; and even (most commonly) to remain kneeling while they join themselves audibly in the '*Gloria in Excelsis*;' or *Great Doxology* which follows immediately after it.

"XXXIII. The occurrence of the '*Gloria in Excelsis*;' as a concluding Thanksgiving in the Liturgy, would appear singular : and he would think that if the Anglicans merely wished to differ from the Roman Mass by placing that at the *end* which Rome places at the *beginning*, it might have answered their purpose as well, if they had restored it to its original place at the end of Mattins, (supposing them to have preserved Mattins) ; where it was sung in primitive times, and even perhaps in the days of Pliny and Trajan ; and whence, no doubt, it was detached by the Latins when they first prefixed it to the Liturgy or Mass, which was the next great Service following after Mattins. However, not to dwell on any such ritualistic considerations, an Eastern could not quarrel much with the '*Doxology*' in this place, especially as it throws something of a Eucharistical character, a gleam of holy joy and thanksgiving, over the conclusion of a Service otherwise severe and almost penitential, though holy and sublime in its expressions.

"XXXIV. The Prayer said in the midst of the people '*behind the Ambon*,' the singing of Psalm xxxiv, and the distribution at the same time of the '*Antidoron*' by the Priest, while the remainder of the Holy Things is consumed by the Deacon at the Prothesis, &c., are simply absent from the Scottish Liturgy.

"XXXV. The final *Blessing* or *Dismissal* answers exactly to that of the Eastern Liturgies and other Services, though it is not in the same form ; nor indeed is it identical with that of the Roman-Catholic Latins.

"The *Polychronion* sung by the Quoirs after all has never been usual in the West. Nor have we here any particular directions for the Deacon or the Priest to wipe and put away himself the holy vessels, with certain customary Prayers ; nor for other Post-Communion Thanksgivings and Devotions, which are also read for the people who have Communicated by a Reader, as in the Eastern Church.

"And thus much of the Anglican Liturgy, as common upon the whole to the English and Scottish Service-books, only following the Scottish Office, and not the English, for the order of the parts. It remains still to say a few words concerning the different order of the English Office :

"The chief of those dislocations noticeable in the present English Liturgy, which have been corrected in the Scottish, are as follows :—I. That (besides the *Exhortation* retained by the Scottish Liturgy) the Priest in the English Office invites the people to 'draw near, and take

this holy Sacrament' before there has been as yet any Celebration or Consecration whatever: II. That in like manner he says that solemn *Prayer for the Church*, which used to follow immediately after the Consecration before it, adding besides the words '*militant here on earth*:', as if expressly to exclude all idea of praying for the departed. And this Prayer is thrown back even before the Exhortation itself above-mentioned, [See xx.] '*Ye that mind to come to the holy Communion*:' III. That the *Devotions of Access* are divided into two parts (both of them to be said before the Consecration) with the *Preface* and the *Tersanctus* imbedded in the middle between them; and (what is even more marked still) the *Collect itself of humble Access* '*We do not presume to come to this Thy holy Table &c.*' is said by the Priest kneeling at the Lord's Table immediately before the '*Prayer of Consecration*,' in which there is no [explicit] *Oblation* nor *Invocation*, but whatever Consecration is intended is wrapped up, after the Roman manner, in the recitation of the *Words of Institution*: IV. That in giving the Communion the Priest, together with the catholic, says also a Zuinglian form of words, '*Take and eat this in remembrance, &c.*' V. That the *Lord's Prayer*, with a perverseness almost incredible, is placed just after Communion instead of before it, as if from fear lest any one should think that *This* was the '*bread*' prayed for: VI. That the *Prayer of Oblation of Christ's sacrifice*, and of this our reasonable service, for '*all the whole Church*' besides ourselves, which originally followed immediately after the Consecration, is now appointed to be said, as a Prayer of thanksgiving, after Communion. And lastly, VII. a *Declaration* is appended, which scarcely any body would be likely to distinguish from a Declaration of pure Zuinglianism formerly appended by Archbishop Cranmer at the same place; as it differs from that former *Declaration* only by the substitution of two words, (important words, no doubt), denying any '*Corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood*,' instead of any '*real or essential presence of Christ's Flesh and Blood*,' as it stood in Cranmer's *Declaration*; which, however, even then rested only on his personal authority.

"The spirit and intention of all the above transpositions and changes is unhappily only too obvious. And yet it is very common to find members of the English, nay, and even of the Scottish Church, contending that there is no difference in point of doctrine between the two Liturgies; and that it is indifferent which of the two be used; and even that the English form ought rather to be preferred, for the sake of uniformity."

"Of other Sacraments and Occasional Offices."

"Without entering into any detail upon the parts of each of the Occasional Offices as prescribed in the English Prayer-book, and which may there be found at length between the '*Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion*' and '*The Psalter*,' it will be enough to say generally, that this part of the Prayer-book represents the Latin '*Ritual-book*' in a very abridged form, as the first part of the Prayer-book, of *Morning and Evening Prayer*, &c., with *The Psalter*, represents the *Breviary* (all but the *Lessons*, which are read from the Bible), and the '*Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion*' the *Missal*. The '*Order for the Consecration of Bishops, and for the Ordination of Priests and Deacons*' is commonly appended last, i. e. after *The Psalter*, and answers to the *Ordinal*, or *Pontifical*. Some other Forms, as that for the *Coronation of Kings*, that for the *Consecration of Churches and Cemeteries*, &c., are only to be procured separately, being never

appended to the Prayer-book. We shall now mention each of these Offices; not as they may be read printed in a book, but as they would seem to offer any thing noticeable to an Eastern, if they were to be witnessed among us in actual use.

“1. When a *Birth* takes place in any family, if the child seem to be in danger they send for the ‘*Minister*’ to *Baptize* it: but if by any chance a ‘*Clergyman*’ cannot be found or obtained in time, the child is commonly suffered to die without baptism. If it lives, it is taken to the church, perhaps after a month, or earlier, when the Office for Baptism is inserted in the middle of ‘*Morning or Evening Prayer*’ (practically it is almost always in the Evening Prayer) after the *Second Lesson*. *Sponsors* are required, who by the rule should be members of the Church and Communicants, but are in fact often even members of other Denominations; and sometimes (as in the American and Scottish branches of the Anglican Communion) the natural parents are taken as the Sponsors without any sense of impropriety; the distinction and contrast, and in some sense opposition, between the natural procreation of children ‘conceived and born in sin, children of Adam and of wrath,’ and their spiritual regeneration from Christ and the Church, Who are represented by the Sponsors, not being at all understood. However, in point of fact, this impropriety of receiving natural parents as God-parents originated in a sort of compromise with the Puritans, who (rightly enough on their principles) objected to the having of God-parents altogether. Something of the same confusion may be noticed in the fact, that it is common among Anglicans for the Clergy themselves to Baptize publicly their own children; and this, far from appearing to be inappropriate or contrary to a right understanding and feeling, is generally considered to be even touchingly appropriate. In *Naming* the child there is no idea of any necessity of choosing the name of any Saint; nor, if it chance that the name of any Saint be given, do they think that the child Baptized is brought thereby under any spiritual patronage, or into any relation whatever towards the Saint whose name he ‘accidentally’ bears. Hence it is very common to find Family Names or Surnames given instead of Christian Names to children of the higher and middle classes, and new fanciful names invented, or old ones corrupted and varied at will, among the lower classes, without any opposition from the Clergy. By the rule the child or person baptized ought to be *dipped*, if not too weak to bear it: if too weak, the water ought to be *poured* upon him: but the practice is to *sprinkle* the water from the fingers. Some, however, *pour*; and even make a point of *pouring thrice*. The child is then *signed* on the forehead with the *Sign of the Cross*; concerning the manner of making which Sign there is no uniform practice or tradition among the Clergy. Each one makes it as he pleases, or as it may happen. This is the only occasion in the ordinary Offices of the Church where the use of the Sign of the Cross is prescribed; and its retention even here was the occasion of vehement and long-continued struggle against it from the Puritans, who saw in it (more than the event has realized) a germ capable of reproducing the whole of the old religion. There is no *white garment*; though, by an obsolete rubric, the woman, when she first comes to the church again, should ‘offer’ or restore her child’s white ‘*Chrism*.’ Nor are there *Lights*; nor any *Unction* with Oil; still less ‘Confirmation’ with holy *Chrism* after. Nor is there in the case of adults (still less in that of infants) any previous Form by which they are made *Catechumens*; nor any *Exorcisms*. Still less is there any such thing

as the *First Signing* with the Cross, and making the adult convert a '*Christian*,' before he is formally admitted to be a '*Catechumen*.' *Spiritual Affinity*, as between Sponsors and their God-children, &c., can scarcely be said to be known to exist: at any rate it is not supposed to constitute any impediment to the contraction of matrimony between the parties subsequently. There are still some remains of a domestic custom, which dates probably from times when public Baptism, whether at the two Great stated Festivals, or on other special occasions, was administered before the Liturgy, and when they who had been present did not eat till after the Liturgy was over. It is this, that they often have an ornamental Cake, called the '*Christening Cake*,' portions of which they even send to friends at a distance. In old times such '*Sweet Bread* or *Cake*,' or '*Feast Bread*,' was common on the mornings of all chief Festivals, especially those that had been preceded by Fasts and '*bread of affliction*,' that is, the plainest only and the most necessary food. Now the Anglicans have commonly both breakfasted and lunched, or even dined, before the Christening takes place; and the Cake appears only as an ornament or luxury after the third meal, the Dinner, at what is called the Dessert.

"II. A woman after *Child-birth* does not customarily go out elsewhere, till she has been to the church, to return thanks. There is no particular time of forty days prescribed; nor is the Baptism of the child now mentioned, as it was formerly, and that in a very touching manner, in the Prayer of Thanksgiving; nor is the child then brought to the church; nor is any Chrisom or white robe given or restored to the Vestry, with an offering for the use of it; although that also was directed by the Rubric. This Office, which is called '*The Churching of Women*,' is commonly interpolated into the Public Service either of Morning or Evening Prayer: the woman is not distinguishable from the rest of the congregation: and it is by no means even certain that the Clerk and the whole congregation will not repeat in alternate verses with the '*Minister*' the Psalm in which she is supposed to be returning thanks for having been delivered from the '*pains*' and '*sorrows*' of child-bearing. It is commonly at Evening Prayer; though certain words of the Psalm '*What reward shall I give unto the Lord?*' . . '*I will receive the Cup of Salvation*' . . would rather suggest that it should be before the Celebration of the Liturgy, and that the woman should then Communicate.

"III. *Confirmation*, which is administered only by Bishops, has been for ages delayed in the Western Church till such time as a child may have learned the most necessary instruction concerning that religion into which he was Baptized, *e. g.* the *Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments*, with the remaining portions of a short Catechism in which they are contained. So a child would rarely be ready to be Confirmed before the age of seven or eight years, when they also began to Confess them, but ought to be ready then, or soon after. And this appears to be still the theory of the Anglican Church, according to her Rubrics. But the practice is to defer Confirmation to the age of fourteen or fifteen years, or even later; and the Bishops are often unwilling to receive any applicant under the age of fifteen years. The idea at the bottom of this development, rather than reformation, of a Romish novelty, is no doubt this, that the development of the intellect and of the feelings is more or less a necessary condition to any person's receiving benefit from this '*Ordinance*,' or '*Rite*,' as it is termed: for they do not apply to it the name of

a Mystery or Sacrament. Indeed, in the authentic copies of the Prayer-book itself the ‘*Order of Confirmation, or Laying on of Hands upon those that are Baptized, and come to years of discretion :*’ (for such is the title) is in the Table of Contents made a mere adjunct of ‘*The Catechism for Children,*’ which looks like denying the Sacramental character of Confirmation, and leaving only a bare reception, after Instruction, to a First Communion, joined with an Episcopal Exhortation and Blessing, like that of the Lutherans and Calvinists: And the Form itself, using the word ‘*children,*’ and speaking of their ‘*ratifying the vows made for them in their infancy*’ by others, is clearly inapplicable (without change) to the case of adults who have recently been Baptized. Anglicans, accordingly, are apt to doubt or to deny the necessity of Confirmation (supposing, that is, that it can be had) in the case of such persons as have been baptized in riper years, and even in the case of others, who, though baptized in infancy, have, from some neglect or impediment, never been Confirmed till past the usual age, and have been admitted, without Confirmation, to the Holy Communion. One expression is commonly used by Anglicans, which, if they reasoned upon it, might bring them back to a better belief. It is this, that they are in the habit of speaking of ‘*the Apostolical Rite of Confirmation ;*’ whereas it is evident that, if it be indeed the same Rite with that used by the Apostles, its object must be ‘*the conferring of the Gift of the Holy Ghost,*’ and not merely a receiving of the professions of young people, who have been instructed in the Catechism.

“ But however this may be, a youth comes commonly to the age of fifteen or sixteen years among the Anglicans, before he is taken to the Bishop to be *Confirmed*. In all this time (though he may have been put to school, and may have been taken regularly to church, and may have learned the Catechism,) he will have received no instruction whatever as to the existence of any distinction between *venial* inevitable *sins* of infirmity and ‘*deadly*’ or *excommunicable sins*. It will never have been so much as suggested to him that there are sins very common in society all around him, the commission of any of which would cut him off at once from ‘*that state of*’ Church membership, and of ‘*salvation,*’ in which he was placed by his baptism. Still less will he have been instructed as to the possibility of restoration by Confession and Absolution (on repentance), in case he should unhappily fall, or have already fallen, into any such sins. Consequently neither before he is taken to be Confirmed will he be *examined*, whether he have kept himself free from such sins: but whatever may be really the case, he will be Confirmed in such state as he may be in: and the Bishop will thank God in Prayer for *having given him in Baptism remission of all his sins*, and will beseech Him to add to that baptismal salvation ‘*strength,*’ ‘*increase,*’ and ‘*continuance*’ in grace for the future: a Form, which might be suitable enough for young children, or for an adult who had that same morning been baptized; and which might be allowable perhaps even for such as had fallen, *if* they had previously been judged penitent, and *restored* by Absolution; though there would be always more or less of impropriety in such a disjunction of Confirmation from Baptism. The Anglican Bishops do not consecrate *Chrism*, nor think its application necessary in Confirmation: nor are sponsors required to be then present in practice, whatever they may be by the strict rule: nor are *Lights* used during the Office: nor are the candidates instructed to come *fasting*: nor is it at all common for the *Liturgy*

to be celebrated at the same time, so that the young people may make their *First Communion* immediately after. Nor is it a fixed custom for the girls and young women to dress for that occasion, or afterwards, when about to Communicate, in *white*, rather than in any other colour. Nearly all those who are Confirmed receive their First Communion within a short time afterwards, in their respective parishes: but it is by no means the general practice among the peasantry to continue to receive the Holy Communion at regular intervals. Many, especially of the young men, never receive it again till they think themselves in danger of death. One sign that the old belief concerning the nature of Confirmation is not quite extinct, may be noticed in the fact, that it is not at all uncommon to find persons who have passed the usual age without being Confirmed, applying afterwards, of themselves, to have the defect supplied.

“ iv. Members of the Anglican Church who have been Baptized and Confirmed are enjoined by her canons and rubrics to *Communicate* three times in every year at the least, (that is, probably, at the three Great Feasts or Seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost,) of which three times one is to be at or about the season of Easter: And if any persons do not Communicate even *once* in the year, that is, at Easter, such persons are to be denounced by name by the Curate (and also by certain lay officers, called Church-wardens) to the Bishop, who is required to ‘proceed against such persons according to the canon,’ *i. e.* to cite them into his Court; and in default of their appearing, or making any allowable defence, to pronounce them excommunicate, and cause the sentence of excommunication, with their names, to be read in the churches. This is the law of the Church, and even of the State, of England: for the Rubrics have also the force of civil Laws. But in practice nothing of this kind is ever done: But it is left quite free both for members of the Church to neglect to receive, and what is more, even for aliens to presume to take the Communion at their own will or discretion. A youth, then, after his Confirmation, continuing, as before, untaught concerning the degrees of sins, and the incompatibility of certain sins with Church-membership, continuing *unexamined*, and *unabsolved*, however much perchance he may need to *Confess*, and however capable he may be of being fitted for *Absolution*, will continue necessarily during his whole life to frequent, or abstain from, the Communion according as he is influenced by the workings of his own conscience, the example of his family and of society around him, the apparent requirements of circumstances, and the tone of those exhortations which he may hear from preachers. When left freely to himself, he will Communicate when he thinks himself fit, or penitent; that is, when he is under the influence of religious emotion, or feels drawn to it: and when he feels otherwise, he will abstain, or wish to abstain. The degree in which he will be influenced or constrained to Communicate by habit and by respect for the opinion or expectation of others will vary according to circumstances. The young peasant in the country will have the force of social influences rather against his Communicating at all: the son of a landed proprietor, or citizen, (if his father, or his mother and sisters are ordinarily religious), cannot well avoid Communicating once or twice a-year: the grown-up members of a Clergyman’s family will all Communicate, almost as a matter of course, whenever there is a Communion in their father’s church: while for a Clergyman (who is distinguishable by his black dress and white cravat),

to 'turn his back upon the Lord's Table' on any occasion when he happens to be present, and to find that the Communion is about to be celebrated, would probably excite remarks from those who witnessed it, or who heard of it afterwards. Students in the Universities are commonly *required* to Communicate once in each Term: but examination as to their fitness, or Absolution, if they need it, and are fit for it, are neither forced upon them, nor, practically speaking, so much as offered. Candidates for Orders, and Clergymen, are presumed to be always fit and ready, as a matter of course, either to Celebrate or to Communicate, and never to need any thing of the kind for themselves. Thus it must often happen that men are forced, or all but forced, to get over, as they best can, their scruples, or their disposition to abstain, and to Communicate, even though they would not, if they were perfectly free to choose. No doubt conscience must often tell men that something is wrong; that they need something; though from want of definite instruction (or perhaps even from positive prejudices against their remedy) they often cannot tell what it is. To such vague undefined feelings it was that Wesley appealed in the last century, when he preached to souls laden with unconfessed sin the necessity of some great change; of some new beginning; of some dispensation of Grace to them that were not at the time in a state of Grace; which he called 'New-Birth.' To the like feelings, no doubt, in great measure is it now owing, that there are such vast numbers of the lower classes in the country villages, especially of the *men*, and of those too who are not recklessly vicious, or destitute of religion, who yet, from some secret fear, go all their lives, from their Confirmation and First Communion to their last sickness, or to what they suppose may be such, without ever venturing again to approach the Sacraments. Such persons, on being asked the reason, almost invariably answer, that it is *because* 'they feel they are not fit.' It is indeed wonderful, when one reflects that Anglicans commonly have but little notion of the Real Presence, and are totally ignorant of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, that their churches and chancels are often filled with seats turned away from the Altar, in which even the most devout will *sit* quietly with their backs to the Mysteries waiting till their turn comes, or till the rest have Communicated after them, without a thought of there being any irreverence or impropriety,—when one considers also the tone and doctrine of too many of those Sermons, to hearing which they attach so much importance,—it is indeed wonderful, that the Holy Sacraments should still inspire such awe, as upon the whole they do; an awe not to be met with among the sects. Besides the natural workings of conscience under a sense of sin, there is also another cause for this reverence in the orthodox spirit breathed by the words themselves of the English Communion-Office, which retain their force, notwithstanding the sinister purpose with which their order has been dislocated. Especially striking are certain expressions in one of the Exhortations, taken from the Scripture, of '*unworthy*' Communicants '*eating and drinking their own damnation, not considering the Lord's Body;*' and the like; expressions, which not all the Sermons hitherto preached at them have succeeded in explaining away, so as to quiet the popular apprehensions.

"v. If any one desire to know more exactly how the case stands as to the true *theory* of the Anglican Church, whether she has really committed herself, or not, to the abolition of all *Examination*, *Confession*, and *Absol-*

lution as necessary pre-requisites, it will be enough to mention that her Rubrics still require every one of her members, who wishes to receive the Holy Communion, to give notice thereof to the Priest, at least some time the day before; which of itself implies that the Priest is to make use of the opportunity thus afforded him, so far as may be necessary, in order to secure that the person wishing to Communicate be worthy to be admitted. So accordingly this Rubric is explained and commented on by the most unexceptionable authorities, as, for instance, by Bishop Cosin, in his '*Speculum Ecclesie Anglicanæ*;' or '*Regni Angliæ sub Elizabethâ Religio Catholica*;' a Work which has been twice published with the very highest sanction of the Episcopate and the Crown. His words (cap. xiii) are these, 'The Eucharist is celebrated with us religiously, and with the greatest reverence: and . . . the Holy Communion is administered to those, who have been previously examined, (explorati), absolved, or found worthy.' [See also the volume entitled '*A Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*,' XXIX and XXX.] The common presumption the other way, that it is for every man to shrive himself, even after having fallen into 'deadly' or excommunicable sins, rests chiefly upon the fact, that the Anglican Church has done away with that rule or custom which enforced Confession as a pre-requisite in all cases before Communion. But it no more follows from this change that such people as have committed mortal sins can shrive themselves, than it follows in Russia from the fact that a Priest is required to Confess only four times a-year, that therefore, if he fall into mortal sin between any of those four seasons, he may go on Celebrating and Communicating in the mean time, as if nothing had happened. There is indeed something in one of the Exhortations which may be urged with more plausibility in favour of the popular notion: but neither is that argument really valid: for '*repentance*,' which is there spoken of as fitting a man for Communion even after murder and the like, by no means excludes whatever are the Ecclesiastical adjuncts and sacraments of true repentance. And when a little below, he only 'who cannot by this means' (viz. by self-examination, Confession to God, and reconciliation with his neighbour) 'quiet his own conscience, but needeth further comfort or counsel,' is invited to come and Confess, and seek Absolution, neither does this by any means prove, that every class of sinners mentioned before can, if it so happen, rightly 'quiet their own consciences,' and thereupon rightly and allowably abstain from Confessing themselves to have unquiet consciences, which 'need' the further comfort of Absolution. The fact that any sin incurs Excommunication by the Scripture and the Canons of the whole Church, is surely quite enough to make it impossible for any man rightly to 'quiet his own conscience' by any means, without the intervention of the Church, whose intention to cut him off he is, to say the least, only precariously eluding or escaping, so long as his sin is undiscovered.

"VI. Previously to a Marriage, the 'Banns' of the parties contracting are asked on three successive Sundays in the Parish church, unless a '*Licence*' be procured from the Bishop or Archbishop. There is no Betrothal beforehand. With regard to the Degrees of consanguinity or affinity, marriage was antiently forbidden to the seventh Degree; but the Fourth Council of Lateran, A.D. 1218, having relaxed this rule, so as to forbid only four Degrees, the modern Anglicans have relaxed still further, so as to forbid only three Degrees. Thus cousins of all Degrees, even first cousins, with us now intermarry freely: marriage with one's own grand-niece is not

held to be forbidden : (still less with one's grand-uncle's widow). With a wife's sister or brother's wife, a wife's niece or nephew's wife, it *is* forbidden by the laws of the Anglican Church. With a step-mother's sister, a wife's brother's wife, a wife's son's wife, a wife's nephew's wife, a son's wife's sister, or a daughter's husband's sister, a brother's wife's sister, or a sister's husband's sister, a nephew's wife's sister, or a niece's husband's sister, it is *not* forbidden. A father and his son will freely take a mother and her daughter, or two sisters : and two brothers, in like manner, will freely take two sisters, or a mother and her daughter. Marriages with a deceased *wife's sister*, though forbidden, as aforesaid, are by no means uncommon. Persons who contract such marriages do not lose consideration in society : and there has even been an organized agitation going on for some years past, to procure a repeal of this prohibition by Act of Parliament, which it is presumed the Clergy would follow. The result of this agitation is as yet by no means certain. If it should be successful, no doubt other prohibitions will be set aside also. *Spiritual affinity*, as has been said above, is not so much as known to exist. Neither is there any difficulty interposed by the Church in the way of *mixed marriages* with persons of other Denominations. Indeed it is not at all uncommon for marriages to be solemnised by the Clergy, though neither of the contracting parties be members of their Church. The law of the Church formerly (till 1662) required that parties contracting Matrimony should have been Baptised and Confirmed, (as is still required by the Lutherans of Sweden) ; and should be at the time in a state to receive the holy Communion ; and even that they should actually do so ; the Nuptial Benediction being given before the Liturgy, and completed (or 'confirmed' as Tertullian in the second century expresses it) by the Eucharist itself. And this is still *recommended* by the Anglican Rubrics : but, practically, it is never, or scarcely ever, so done. The ordinary celebration of Marriages in Parish churches is however required by the civil law to take place before the hour of noon. They have retained the use of the *Ring* in Marrying, though much objected against by the Puritans. The Ceremony is short ; and by the rule, consists of two parts, one of which should be performed in the body of the church (formerly at the porch or church door) ; and then they should move up to the Altar ; but practically, the body of the church being obstructed with boxes called '*pews*,' and with benches, this is found inconvenient ; and the whole is said at the railing before the Altar ; which afterwards perhaps, in many country churches, without any sense of irreverence, serves as a writing-table, upon which the new-married couple and the witnesses sign their names in the Parish Registers. Such is too often the 'Confirmation' now substituted for the Eucharist of the second century. The Bridegroom and the Bride who had come separately to the church, the Bridegroom with his friends and attendants, the Bride with her maidens, return together to the house of the Bride's parents, the church bells ringing in honour of their wedding. There are no *Lights* : nor *Crowns* : it is to be wished there were ; as the *absence of the Crown* would be a very useful stigma and check upon that anticipation of marriage which is too common among the lower orders : but the Bride is usually attired in white ; and veiled. After the wedding there is a '*Breakfast*' still called so from the custom of former times, when they did not break-fast before the Liturgy and the Communion. Even yet at the '*Breakfast*' there is a relic of the old wedding Festival in the '*Bride*-

cake,' which is in its origin the same Loaf or the representative of the same Loaf of which in the East the Bridegroom and the Bride ate together (drinking too from the same cup) during the Marriage-Service itself. From this Wedding-cake or 'Bride-cake' they still often send slices to all their relations and friends at a distance. Now, indeed, this is merely an unmeaning custom : but in former times it was equivalent to a message, that the parties sending it were now joint master and mistress of a house of their own, in which they hoped to see the person to whom the token was sent, to 'eat of their bread and salt.' After the celebration of the wedding, if it be between parties of the lower classes, the Bridegroom takes his Bride home, and installs her in his house, as was the custom of antiquity : only the nuptial bed is no longer blessed by the Priest. But if it be a wedding of the higher orders, they do not, perhaps, return to the roof of the Bride's Parents, to keep any Festival ; nor does the Bridegroom take his wife home : but they run away together, whithersoever it may happen, to spend what is called the 'Honeymoon.' Such is now the tradition of the higher classes ; a tradition which it is to be hoped may not spread (as most of such fashions do spread) through all the lower classes of society.

"The law of the Anglican Church still agrees with that of the Roman and of the Greek Churches in allowing no *Divorce a vinculo matrimonii*, except it be by a Declaration of nullity from the beginning. The Anglicans, therefore, have not those abominations so common among the Lutherans, of Divorces for 'incompatibility,' as it is called, of disposition. However, in cases of Adultery, the rich obtain civil permission, by a private Act of Parliament, for the *injured party to marry again* ; and the Clergy, as a matter of course, celebrate such marriages, however contrary they may be to the law of their Church. Nor is this all : but they also *re-marry* with the like facility the *divorced Adulteress to her paramour* ; an abuse which has not as yet even Acts of Parliament to plead in its favour, but rests only on logical consistency, and on a practical tradition of civil connivance.

"Marriages are celebrated on all days and at all seasons, *e.g.*, even in the Holy Week, or on the First Day of Lent ; though the Church Law still forbids their celebration during the stated Seasons of Fasting and Humiliation. Still, there are many remains of a better feeling on this point : and though scarcely any body would think it a duty to avoid fixing the Friday in any ordinary week, or the Wednesday, or any Eve or Vigil, or one of the Ember days, &c., for a wedding, still very many of the higher classes would have some notion that *Lent* had better be avoided. The lower classes would have no such scruples at all. By a recent change in the Statute Law Marriage may now be contracted as a mere civil engagement before a 'Registrar' ; and it does not seem at all clear that the Clergy will refuse to recognize such merely civil marriages between Members of their Church, or that they will *require* parties so married to shew penitence, or to seek to have their unions blessed by the Church, before they again admit them to the Holy Communion.

"VII. If any among them are *sick*, they do not 'send for the *Priests* of the Church,' (that is, for several Priests, if they may be had,) like the Easterns, to '*pray together over him, Anointing him with Oil*;' nor do they send for the individual Priest or Curate, as such, like the Latins, to pray over and Anoint him. But it is considered to be one part of the duty of the 'Minister' or 'Clergyman' (that is, of any Priest or Deacon

indifferently) to ‘*Visit the Sick*,’ especially those of the lower and middle classes, (seldom *men* of the higher), and to read ‘with them,’ or ‘to them,’ the remains of that Office which formerly accompanied the *Unction with Oil*, and which is still headed in the Prayer-book ‘*The Order for the Visitation of the Sick*.’ This Office is not, however, used only once in any one sickness, as a solemn and prevailing act of intercession on the part of the Church, for the recovery of bodily health, if it so please God, and for a special forgiveness of sins; but it is repeated more as an exercise of devotion for the sick, sometimes every week or fortnight during a long sickness. So that if a Clergyman ‘*Visits*’ in this way occasionally a certain number of poor old or sick people, he does, in fact, nearly the same as any grand-child or charitable neighbour might do, or ought to do, even daily, by reading Psalms and suitable meditations or devotions by the bed-side of the sick or aged. It is true, indeed, that the same Office contains directions to the *Priest to examine the conscience of the sick*, and to exhort them to make a particular and private *Confession*, if they have any mortal sin or ‘*weighty matter*’ on their consciences; and after receiving such *Confession*, to give *Absolution*, if there are the proper dispositions, by the same *Form* as is used in the Latin, and (since Peter Mogila) in the Russian Church. But the practical tradition is altogether opposed to the observance of any such Rubric, which is clearly not intended for frequent repetition, and which is commonly either neglected altogether, or, at the most, only read over the first time of ‘*Visiting*’ to people who, from want of any practical tradition on the subject of *Confession*, do not so much as understand what it means.

“VIII. Upon a *Death* taking place in any family, the eyes of the deceased are closed, and the body is washed, and laid out, clothed with a long white dress, and laid upon the bed, covered with a sheet, till it is put into the coffin; and then it is enveloped in a white shroud. There is no difference in laying out or vesting the body of a clergyman or a layman. They do not set *Lights* about the Coffin (except in the case of royal deaths) either in the chamber of death, or in the church; nor do they carry *Torches* with the funeral procession. Nor do they read the *Psalter* by the side of the deceased; nor send for the Priest to come to the house; nor say Prayers at all for the repose of the departed soul: consequently neither do friends or neighbours visit the house before the funeral to assist at such Offices. The only vestiges of these antient customs are the following: *first*, that they toll the church bell immediately on the occurrence of a death; a custom which has been abolished by the Calvinists of Scotland, and which plainly signifies *more* than a mere *announcement of the fact* to the Christian public: In some few places they have even preserved the custom of tolling the bell *also* when any one is perceived to be dying: *Then*, that they hire some person to sit in the chamber of death to ‘*watch*,’ as it is termed, by the dead; And *lastly*, that the common people will invite any one who chances to come to the house, even a stranger, ‘*to see their dead*,’ taking acceptance of this offer as a kindness or mark of attention, and being rather hurt if it is declined. It is manifest that this custom had meaning once, when it was equivalent to asking a friend or a neighbour charitably to join with the family in those Prayers, which were made beside the dead. They do not bury on the third day; but usually keep the dead in their houses for a full week before burying. At the time of the funeral the Priest does

not go to the house, but meets the corpse at the gate of the churchyard or cemetery, vested in the surplice, as at other times, (for there is no difference of Church-vestments to distinguish the brightest festival from occasions of penitence or mourning.) It is noticeable that at funerals of children and maidens the *Pall* is *white* instead of black; and the pall-bearers are young maidens dressed in *white*. The Body is borne into the church, and is set down there in the nave, while a Psalm and a Lesson are read: but there are no distinct *Prayers for the soul*; nor is there any idea of associating the Funeral Office with the celebration of the *Liturgy*; though in the first English Ritual provision was made for an 'Administration of the Holy Communion' to the survivors, which would involve incidentally the presence of the Body in the church (or porch) during the whole Celebration. And so it is related of Archbishop Crammer, that at the funeral of King Edward VI. he 'added the Celebration of the Holy Communion.' But as the idea no longer existed of there being any propriety in such a union of the celebration of the Liturgy with a Funeral *for the sake of the dead*, the administration of the Holy Communion to the survivors at that time was found to be inconvenient. At any rate, after having been once omitted, together with many other things, from the Ritual by Crammer himself, it has never since been restored: and now the Funeral Office is almost always performed alone; very commonly in the afternoon. They do not use *Incense* at Funerals, any more than on other occasions; though there are reasons of convenience, some have thought of health, which might have favoured the retention of the Incense in this Office. After the Psalm and the Lesson, (there being, as we have said, no Liturgy,) the Body is borne out of the church to the grave; and after it is let down, the Priest says one or two short Prayers, preceded by several prose Anthems which may also be sung. These Anthems embody the *Trisagion* twice repeated, in an altered form indeed, but still recognizable; and they are further remarkable as being (with three other *Sentences* at the beginning of this same Office) almost the only prose Singings now remaining in the Anglican Offices, to remind one of those '*Troparia*,' which form so marked a feature in the Services of the Eastern Church. The antient Canons forbidding to bury within the church have long been neglected; so that it is by no means uncommon, if the Funeral is that of a person of the higher classes, that the interment itself should be under the consecrated roof, or even within the 'Chancel.' Indeed in populous towns and cities, which have not yet been required by law to bury their dead in suburban Cemeteries, it is not unknown for the whole space under the flooring of a church or chapel to be one vast charnel-house for the richer or middle classes, to the detriment of the health of the living. One striking part of the Funeral Rite consists in *sprinkling earth* upon the coffin *three times*, as in the Eastern Church. It is not however usual for friends and bystanders to do the same, so as to join in the act of filling the grave: Nor is it usual for the friends and relatives themselves to carry the coffin to the grave; but it is carried on a bier by bearers, often servants or dependants of the family. When all is over, and they that have attended the funeral have returned together to the house, [It may be even *before* the Funeral,] it is customary to offer refreshments; a custom which, strange as this may appear, sometimes leads (in certain districts at least) to excesses very little in harmony with the occasion. This custom also, like others mentioned above, once had

its meaning and propriety. For when Christians buried their dead with Prayers and the Holy Liturgy for the rest of the departed soul, and were *fasting* for a double reason, both for mourning, and out of respect to the Divine Liturgy, (even without superadding the further contingency of actual Communion), there was both reason and necessity for providing food afterwards (such food, that is, as might be used on a fast-day, not flesh-meat) for all that had attended the Funeral. At the same time distribution of food was made in the name of the deceased to the poor, that is, to the poorer members of the Church, who had given the spiritual charity of their presence and prayers, and who were of course fasting till after that Liturgy, like the relatives and friends themselves. But now that the tradition in England is against fasting even on Good-Friday or on the Great Sabbath for mourning, or even before actually Communicating for reverence to the Mysteries, it cannot, of course, be supposed that domestic bereavements will make any general or *formal* difference in the meals and diet even of the bereaved family itself; still less, that those who come from other houses to attend a Funeral will have omitted or deferred any of their ordinary meals. So that the custom now, except it be through any peculiarity of personal feeling, or through accidental circumstances, (as in the case of any one's having come from a distance), has but little reason or propriety. After a family has once buried its dead, there are no longer any Commemorations or Prayers for the deceased; neither continually, of private affection or charity, nor at stated times, as on the ninth and the fortieth days, the anniversary, and the Name's-days of the deceased. Nor are any such Prayers, nor even the Sign of the Cross itself, to be seen ordinarily upon tombstones. Monumental sculptures of any pretension, as those in Westminster Abbey and in St Paul's Cathedral at London, are absolutely Pagan. The nearest approach to antient piety in such respects is the customary observation, that '*We trust N. or N. is at rest;*' or '*that his soul is at peace.*' This form of expression, notwithstanding the word '*is,*' does not practically resolve itself into pure Calvinism thus, '*I make an act of belief or confidence that N. or N. actually is, as a matter of fact, at rest,*' or '*in heaven;*' but it is very nearly equivalent to the orthodox forms, '*May the Lord rest his soul:*' '*Grant him, O Lord, peace and rest:*' '*Number him among the just; and bring him to a joyful resurrection:*' though the prejudices of Anglicans would commonly forbid their using any of those latter forms. One relic there is of antient custom which is very remarkable in a people who neither pray towards the East themselves, nor even endure that their Ministers should do so in the church; and this is, that they *invariably bury their dead with their faces towards the East*; and the Priest says the last Prayers standing at the head of the grave, looking Eastward, in the same direction with the eyes of the dead. Thus at the last moment, and in death, an unconscious and unreasoning faith re-assumes the ascendancy. The Priest and his spiritual son no longer turn nor read to one another, but turn together towards that Coming which shall break, even upon the dead, *from the East*; and which, being gradual, and capable of being watched, like the Ascension, shall, even by the earth's revolution, become visible to every nation under heaven. In this there may be a deep and hopeful meaning.

As in the case of Marriage, so also in that of Burial, the Clergy use the Offices of their Church, without scruple, over the bodies of persons

of other *Denominations*, probably from an opinion, that it is right or allowable to be guided by the civil laws in such matters.

"The custom of *wearing mourning* for deceased relatives is still in use; but there is a growing disposition to shorten the duration of mourning for each Degree as much as possible. On the other hand, on the occurrence of any high spiritual Festival during the season of mourning, or on occasion of receiving the Holy Communion, they do not, like the Easterns, put off their mourning for that day, but wear it all the same, till the time has expired. Sometimes cloth is given away in charity to the poor in the name of a person deceased, as if instead of mourning.

"IX. If any member of the Anglican Church desires to receive *Holy Orders*, the first Order to which he is admitted is that of *Deacon*, none of the minor Orders having been retained; though unordained Readers and Singers are commonly called Clerks, and even wear the Surplice. He who is to be ordained Deacon must be of the age of twenty-three years complete; must have gone through a regular classical education; must produce Certificates of Baptism, and of moral and religious conduct during three years previously; and must pass an Examination conducted by the Bishop, or by other Clergymen named by him. He must also have some '*Title*,' or the promise of some appointment for his maintenance; as, once that he is Ordained, he cannot follow any secular calling; nor can he divest himself of the sacred character. As to the fact of Confirmation, no inquiry is made: indeed, cases are not rare, where Ordination is conferred with full knowledge that the party receiving it has never been Confirmed. Neither is there any Confession, or Examination of the conscience of the candidate, previously to Ordination; nor, consequently, any security against his having '*deadly*' or Excommunicable sins upon his conscience; or even being at the time, or having been until ever so recently, under a habit of mortal sin. When the day of Ordination approaches, which is commonly a Sunday, if it be at one of the '*Four Seasons*,' the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of the preceding week are, by the rule, to be kept as Fasts by all members of the Church, and of course by the candidates; and there is a Prayer appointed to be said for the Ordinations at Mattins and Vespers every day of that week: But the practical tradition being, as aforesaid, against all distinctions of diet, and indeed against fasting at all, (though there are now more exceptions than formerly), it is probable that the candidates, as well as the Bishop and his Clergy with whom they are to Communicate, will on the morning of the Ordination take their usual breakfasts as a matter of course, and so proceed to the Cathedral. To judge from the Form of Ordination itself, one would suppose that the Diaconate had still distinctive and important duties of its own, as in the Apostolic times: But practically, after his Ordination the Deacon is merely an '*assistant-Minister*,' who does every thing that the Priest does, except reading the '*Absolution*' in the Morning and Evening Prayer, and the Consecration-Prayer, &c. and the final Blessing in the Communion-Service. He undertakes alone the charge of a Parish, or '*Curacy*,' as it is called; Preaches two or more Sermons of his own composition every Sunday; Visits the Sick; Baptizes, Marries, and Buries; Reads in the church all the usual Services on Sundays and other days, and that too equally, even if a Priest be present; goes to the Altar alone; and reads there that portion of the Liturgy which is used when there is no Communion; wearing

the same Vestment with the Priest above him, and with the lay Clerk or Chorister (in Cathedrals and Colleges) below him ; that is, the white Surplice, with some badge of his Academical Degree over it. But the antient peculiar duties, of being the eye, and hand, and messenger of the Bishop, the administrator under him of the temporalities of the Church, and of the Ecclesiastical charities, his ministering attendant at Solemn Services, and the leader of the congregational devotions of the laity outside of the Sanctuary, while the Bishop or Priest is Celebrating or interceding within, the Marshall and Dismitter of the Penitents, and the Catechumens, and Proclaimer of notices to the Faithful, are now unknown. Part of these duties are claimed by an intruder, who is called an *Arch-deacon*, but is really one of the *Presbyters* of the Diocese, nominated by the Bishop : Another part is engrossed by civil Patrons, or Officers, Lay Vestries, or Voluntary Democratical Societies ; and the rest have long been disused and forgotten.

“ At the age of twenty-four years complete, a Deacon can be Ordained *Priest* ; and then he is no longer obliged to procure the assistance of a ‘Clergyman in full Orders’ on those Sundays when it has been usual by local custom ‘to administer the Holy Communion.’ He is then also capable of holding not only a ‘Curaey,’ but a ‘Benefice’ or ‘Living,’ that is, of being presented by a Patron to the Bishop for *Institution* to the *Cure* of a church or parish ; which spiritual Institution puts him also into legal possession of the temporalities. A Deacon on the other hand, though he may ‘serve a church as Curate,’ (*i. e.* to speak correctly *not* as really *Curate*, but as a ‘Vicaire’ or ‘Desservant,’) cannot be Instituted to a ‘*Cure of Souls*’ spiritually, nor, consequently, be put into legal possession of any Benefice as to its temporalities. Neither in the Form for the Ordination of Priests, nor in that used in giving Letters of Institution to a Cure is there any express mention of Celebrating the Holy Sacrifice, as there is with the Roman-Catholic Latins ; though this is no doubt implied under the general Commission to ‘*dispense the Word and Sacraments ;*’ but there is a very distinct and solemn delivery of the Sacerdotal power of binding and loosing, of forgiving and retaining sins : so that there must be confessed to be either a most profane mockery enacted at the time of Ordination, or else a most horrible and guilty neglect afterwards in the practical neglect *and even disallowance* of all Examination, Confession, and Absolution. Some of the Presbyters are outwardly distinguishable from lay Clerks by wearing over their Surplices a *black silk Scarf*, sometimes called the ‘*Stole*’ (Epitrachelion), and said to have been derived from that antient distinctive ornament. A Deacon however will wear it indifferently with a Priest, over both shoulders ; so that it does not really serve to distinguish the two Orders. The *black* colour, which, as well as the material, was prescribed by *Queen Elizabeth*, to suit the Calvinising prejudices of that time, does not seem to be so much as noticed by those who wear it : far less is it supposed to have any disagreeable significancy. Even the Scottish and American Churches, though now no longer Parliamentary, retain this funereal badge of adherence to an Erastian tradition.

“ A *Bishop* must be turned thirty years of age. He administers Confirmation and Ordination, and Consecrates Churches and Burial-Grounds. The English Bishops also sit in the Upper House of Parliament, being nominated by the ‘Prime Minister’ of the Crown, *i. e.* by the leader of the most powerful of the Parliamentary Factions for the time being.

Till after the beginning of the last century they had been chosen by the Sovereign personally, after consulting with the Archbishops and the other Bishops : but the Minister at length got this 'Patronage' into his own hands on the plea that it was necessary for the Service of the Crown, *i.e.*, for the strengthening of his own party by indirect corruption. And so was introduced the present custom : which, however, could scarcely now be defended with decency on its original ground ; that is, if there should ever be again an English Sovereign who claimed the privilege of having a conscience, or thought it possible that he should have *some personal* rights, or wrong that spiritual offices should be given away for political ends, without regard to the spiritual interests or wishes of that Denomination with which they are connected.

"A *Bishop*, even on ordinary occasions, still retains some small vestige of the clerical habit in a sort of apron or 'Short Cassock' of black silk worn under an old-fashioned layman's coat. When officiating, he wears a white *Rochet* and a black silk *Chimère*, first prescribed (like the black silk Stole or Scarf) by Queen Elizabeth. The sleeves of the Rochet, which are of fine lawn, and of prodigious dimensions, are bound close round the wrists, and are often sewn on to the Chimère. Anglican Bishops do not use either the Latin Ring, or Crozier, or the Pectoral Cross, or the Mitre. Nor do the Clergy or the people commonly seek their *Blessing*. Nor indeed, if it were otherwise, would either the Bishops or the Priests know what words to use, or how to make the Sign of the Cross in giving a Blessing, for want of any practical tradition to direct them in such matters.

"Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are *Ordained* within the Choir or Sanctuary during the celebration of the Liturgy ; Deacons before the Gospel ; Priests after the Gospel ; Bishops after the Nicene Creed and the Sermon, and before the Offertory.

Deacons, Priests, and even the Bishops themselves, not only live in marriage, but marry freely *after* Ordination and Consecration, and *as often as they please*. This has been so since the time of the Revolution ; and *partially* before ; and now it occasions no sort of scandal. Though the Church has never by any formal decree condemned the Monastic State, there are no Monasteries nor Convents : nor do any persons think of seeking the blessing of their Bishops to restore Monasticism in England. The very idea would probably excite a smile, if it were suggested.

"With regard to the higher government of the English Church, there is now no Synodal action permitted whatever. Appeals in all causes, of whatever kind, lie ultimately to the Privy Council, though this is not consistent with the *theory* of the Church, nor even with the letter of the XXXIX Articles. Under such a state of things, it is naturally an object to Patrons, that is, to Ministers of State, in promoting to Ecclesiastical 'Preferments' and 'Dignities,' to choose such persons as shall be easy and manageable, and such as shall be inclined to dissemble and evade all emergent questions, and all calls which may be made upon them for the exercise of spiritual authority."

"Of the absence of Ceremonial.

"With regard to the *manner of performing* all those Divine Services and Occasional Offices which have been above mentioned, it is true to say that the Anglican Church has, strictly speaking, *no Ceremonial* whatever.

This is owing to two causes ; *first*, to the absence of any due understanding that the worship of a visible congregation, of clergy of different Orders, and laity, *must* have its outward as well as inward proprieties, or *improprieties* ; and, *secondly*, from Anglicans *having no fixed or conventional point towards which to turn in their outward worship*. In respect of these two great principles of all decency in ceremonial the Anglicans differ nothing from the Lutherans and Calvinists, or even from the Quakers themselves, who make a principle of attempting (however impossible it may be) to eradicate the outward and visible element from the whole of religion. It is true indeed that the *words* of the Anglican Services, as printed in their Books, suggest rather the idea of some such external worship, though simpler, as is common to the Greek and Roman Churches : It is true also that the Anglicans are far from confounding, like the Calvinists, all *prayers* with *preachings*, or all different forms of prayer one with another. On the contrary, they are used to distinguish between what the Bishop only, or the Priest only can read, and what may be read or sung by inferior clerks and laymen ; between the words of a *Prayer* to be said by the 'Minister', and the *Response* to be made to it by the Clerk or the Congregation ; between what is to be heard standing, and what may be heard sitting ; between what is to be read, or listened to, or mentally accompanied standing, and what is to be read or followed kneeling. But all these distinctions with them relate only to the *voice and posture of the individual reader, and of the individual hearer*. Beyond this, there is no idea of corporate outward worship. Thus the only requisites for the performance of any or all services are, *first*, *room* and '*sitting accommodation*' for the Congregation ; and then, *secondly*, a *raised box or Tribune* called a '*Reading-desk*,' from whence the voice of the Reader may be better heard. The fact that there *is* a Chancel, and an Altar, (and that, too, at the East end of the church), and that on some occasions the Reader stands at it (at its *North* end, however, *facing Southward* to the opposite wall) is a mere accident ; not a principle giving any normal idea to the rest of the worship, but rather an exception, inconsistent with the general Anglican idea of convenience or propriety. There are commonly in Parish Churches *three* Tribunals, either separate or together, called the '*Pulpit*,' the '*Reading-desk*,' and the '*Clerk's-desk*.' The two latter, having to be filled by two separate persons at the same time, seem to be really both wanted ; at least the one as much as the other ; but the double Pulpit, that is, the Pulpit and the Reading-desk, is a mere Anglican fancy or fashion, which disappears among 'all other Protestants,' who are content with one Pulpit. However, there is a sort of significancy in the manner in which these wooden cells or boxes are placed, one above another, all looking Westwards, and all raised above the level of the Congregation, but the Pulpit for the *Sermon* forming the *topmost* story, the *Reading-desk* for the *Prayers* the *middle*, and the *Clerk's-desk* (for the layman who leads or represents the people in uttering the Responses) the *lowest*. Often this three-storied pillar or pyramid stands near the East end of the body of the church, blocking up the way into the Chancel or to the Altar ; though more commonly it is on one side. The church underneath the Reader or Preacher is all '*seated*,' as it is termed ; that is, the whole area is filled with wooden constructions like the boxes of a theatre, only with less regularity, as they do not even all converge towards the voice of the Reader, but are many of them square pens or apartments

with seats all round; so that, looking down upon them from above, one sees a number of square groups sitting, standing, or kneeling in all possible directions. There are also Galleries. Often there is over the West end a Gallery, with an Organ, and children who sing fragmentary stanzas of metrical Psalms or Hymns: and whenever such a '*Singing*' begins, the whole congregation may be expected to face round, so as to look towards '*the Singers*.' But the general aspect and attitude of a church is this, *Seats and a Congregation turned towards a Reading-desk or Pulpit, and a Clergyman visible by the head and shoulders from above his wooden Tribune reading or preaching Westwards towards the Congregation.* Sometimes, which is the most unmeaning arrangement of all, the Reading-desk faces across the church, so that the '*Minister*,' to the eye, is reading *neither to the people, nor for and with them, but across them to the opposite wall.* In family worship the idea, or rather absence of idea, is the same; though the grouping of the Reader with the worshippers may differ, as has been mentioned above.

"But, it may be asked, are there not some occasions on which a number of Clergy are present, and officiate together? when they use Choirs and Chancels, either alone, or with the rest of the church? and when a number officiate together within the rails of the Altar? And in such cases, are they not forced by the nature of the case itself to deviate from the simplicity above described? To answer this question, we must advert to the manner in which the Anglican Service varies when it is sung, as it is in some College chapels, as well as in Cathedrals and other churches.

"In such cases there are indeed a number of *Clerks*, both '*Priests*' and '*lay-Clerks*' and Choristers, (for a Deacon has no functions as such) who are distinguishable to the eye by their being all vested in white Surplices; and the Choirs or Chancels of the old churches, and even the Roman-Catholic arrangements of the '*Stalls*' and wood-work, though perhaps with the addition of Pews, having been in a great measure retained, one might have expected to see here at least a body of Clergy, distinguished as such both *locally* and *visibly*, visibly as well as audibly *heading* and *leading* the Congregation. However, this is not the case; *first*, because it is not customary to use the nave or body of *such* churches at all: so that even if the Choir were filled with Clergy only, there would be no Congregation of worshippers behind them to be led. An Anglican who chances to go into the empty nave of one of their Cathedrals while the Service is singing within the Choir, does not even suppose himself to be present at that Service, or to be '*at church*' at all; still less does he think of taking part himself: But the Choir is regarded as being, for purposes of Divine worship, the whole church: the laity, both men and women, are admitted into it freely, and are seated promiscuously among the white surplices of the Clergy. The appearance of a single Clergyman reading the Prayers from a box to the Congregation is indeed here wanting; and the alternate chanting of the Psalms and Hymns from the two opposite sides is no doubt a relic of the old Latin ceremonial: but still there is never any visible central point, nor any leader in whom the two opposite parallel lines are connected together, and made as an elongated semicircle to face Eastwards: nor is there ever to be seen (after the Latin fashion) at the Altar a Priest leading the devotions of all in the Choir, while the rest, whether on the platform above the steps, or in the Stalls, stand or kneel Eastwards behind him. Indeed Anglicans now do not even understand why so much length was allowed (or '*lost*') at each

place in the old *Stalls* from East to West. The Priest-Chaplain who chants the Prayers in a Collegiate or Cathedral church commonly stands about the middle of the uppermost of the three rows of Stalls, on one side of the Choir, facing across it ; or, if it be the Dean or Sub-Dean, or one of the Canons, who chants or reads any thing, he does it from his own Stall, wherever that may be. The *Lessons* are often read at a brazen Eagle or Lectern, in the midst ; and the '*Litany*' is sometimes chanted at a *Priedieu* looking Eastwards, at the upper end of the Choir ; which is the nearest approach made to any visible leading of the Quire and Congregation. But then, as if to counterbalance and neutralize this, one may see in other places the same *Priedieu* facing the other way ; or set at the West end of the Choir, with rows of seats Eastwards of it, on which the laity sit listening to the Litany, with their backs towards the Altar.

"In like manner, at the Altar itself, that is, within the rails, or above the steps, if there are several Clergy officiating, as is sometimes the case, at the celebration of the Holy Communion, that one who is reading at the moment *alone stands* at the North or South corner, facing to the contrary wall ; while the others make themselves, as it were, part of the congregation, remaining on their knees like the laity. Within the rails there are only *two* fixed places, viz., at the North and at the South side of the Table. If three officiate together, as their Canons direct, the *third* scarce knows what to do, (unless the *second* and *third* Priests, called 'the Epistoler and Gospeller,' kneel apart at a distance), but kneels perhaps by the Chief at the North side : For the Chief knows not that his proper place is in the midst ; nor, if he knew it, would he venture to take any such place, for fear of scandalizing the people. If there are *more* 'Clergymen' than *three*, they set stands, perhaps, with large books and kneeling-bassocks for them in two parallel lines within the railing, looking across from wall to wall, like the Stalls of the lower Choir. The presence of a Bishop makes no ostensible difference. There is no idea whatever of any Con-Celebration by a Bishop and his Presbyters, or by Presbyters with their Chief, as a visible body ; nor of any visible attendance on such occasions being given by Deacons or inferior Clerks. In a word, under all circumstances alike, though with some slight practical variations and inconsistencies, Anglican Public Worship is reducible to two constituent elements, 'a Congregation,' and an audible Voice from 'an Ordained Minister ;' to which may be added, as a nearly inseparable accident, that the 'Minister' should read the Prayers in a white Surplice. Such is the practical tradition of the Anglicans in respect of Ceremonial ; a tradition which has set aside and forgotten not only much that was prescribed by the whole Christian Church, but even those proprieties of outward worship in which Jews, Mahometans, and Heathens agree with Apostolical Christianity.

"At the same time it is remarkable, that though there is often a want of clear and full directions, there is nothing in the *Rubrics* of the Anglican Service-books and Ritual to countenance the existing tradition ; except it be that some modern Orders mention a 'Reading-pew,' (which might however be made like an *Ambon*), and that at the Celebration of the Holy Communion, when there is only one Priest, he is directed to stand *till after the Gospel* at the North side of the Holy Table, that is, no doubt, facing across to the South wall, so as neither to read *to* the people *nor* towards the Altar and Him whom we look for from the East, but

obliquely, by a '*via media*,' so as to do neither the one thing nor the other. However, even this solitary impropriety is implied by other Rubrics to have ceased after the Gospel; and if there were three concelebrating Priests, (the *chief* of whom should of course be in the middle, and the *second* and *third* North and South of the Altar), or if there were a Bishop in the nave, who did not come up into the Sanctuary till just before the Epistle, there would (in such cases) be little or no impropriety at all. It would be merely that the chief Celebrant, whose position would then throughout be central, would not take part *vocally* till a certain point in the Liturgy; much as is actually the case when a Bishop officiates in the Eastern Church. In the same way, though there are scarcely any directions in the Rubric except for an individual officiator, and consequently none for the placing or for the behaviour of Deacons, or Clerks, or Singers, there is yet nothing whatever to forbid the performance of all the Services according to those rules of Ceremonial propriety which are common to the present Eastern, and in great measure also to the present Latin Ritual, with that of the primitive Church."

"X. OF THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT WITHIN THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION,
COMMONLY CALLED 'PUSEYISM.'

"Within the last few years there has commenced in England a religious movement, or rather a reaction from the hitherto prevalent Protestantism, in favour of Orthodoxy and Catholicism; a movement which seems to spread daily, and which, if it continues unchecked, must before very long win the Government and the nation to its side.

"If we look back to the 16th century and to the times which followed, we see many circumstances concurring to make the feelings and opinions of the English people run to an excess of Protestantism. There was the recent invention of Printing, and the publication of the Scriptures, both in translations and in the original languages; together with the revival of critical learning, and the general persuasion that there needed a very extensive reformation both in the teaching and in the practice of Religion; the violent conduct of the Court of Rome, and the desperate quarrel which ensued with the Church and Crown of England, a quarrel less religious than political; the sympathy of the English with the Foreign Protestants, as being practically joined in one common 'Protest' in behalf of reformation against common enemies; the opinion that the apparent authors of the whole movement, *i.e.* the Continental 'Reformers,' were also its legitimate and natural leaders; and, at the same time, the evidently weak and passive character of their own Hierarchy, who seemed in their Synodical acts to have followed the Foreigners just so far as the Crown commanded them to do so, and to have no better reason to give for opposing any further 'Reformation,' than that the policy of the Crown did not favour the popular demands.

"In like manner, there are now at the present moment many different circumstances, which have concurred, and are still concurring, to produce a popular movement in a direction diametrically opposed to that of the sixteenth century; namely

"1. That in the moral, no less than in the natural world, every excess is apt to exhaust itself in time, and to be followed by a contrary excess, or at least by a reaction; and as the excesses of the 'Reformation' itself might be regarded as the consequences of contrary evils which had come

to their full growth, so now also a reaction in England from Protestantism had become inevitable ; the Erastianism of the Government, and the Puritanism of the people having fairly spent their force, and worn themselves out ; the Crown finding itself, in consequence of its original invasion of the rights of the Church, stripped by the people of all power not only in religious, but even in political matters ; and the people, on the other hand, in consequence of their rebellion both against the Crown and the Church, finding themselves at length to be left with scarcely the name of a religion, to feed upon the husks of their own inventions ; while, in the mean time, fresh generations are constantly succeeding one to another, each of which feels more keenly than the last the punishment of their fathers' sins, while they have, as individuals at least, less of violent passion, or of habitual prejudice, to oblige them to shut their hearts or their understandings to contrary truths.

"II. The Apostolic Church having been preserved in England without any organic change, and without the formal admission of any doctrine contrary to the Orthodoxy and Catholicism of her original nature, and having ever had a deep and extensive influence, and being only overborne by temporary storms and influences of foreign origin, obscured as by mists, or flooded as by inundations ; and the successive generations of English people not being so much fixed in the sins of their fathers by congenial institutions, as inheriting the remains of passions and prejudices contrary to the sense and spirit of Apostolical Institutions which had been preserved in the midst of them ; it could not be, but that the Church herself which they still owned for their mother, with her true doctrines and her whole system, should lift up her head again, sooner or later, above the waters, and emerge as from mists and clouds, as soon as the tempest should have spent itself, and the tyranny be overpast.

"III. Those motives, which in former times prompted the English people to follow the 'Foreign Reformation' even beyond what their own Kings and Bishops would countenance or permit, and to make common cause with any one and every one against Rome, have now by experience of three centuries been altogether reversed. The Foreign Reformation has now so completely run itself out into all its extreme consequences of individualism and indifference, that even the foreigners themselves, both Lutherans and Calvinists, though they have no Church among them to which they may return, are beginning to feel as men shipwrecked and struggling in the waters of the wide ocean, and to cast about for some broken plank or spar from which they may either be taken up again into the ship, or on which they may gain the land. The tide, which had ebbed, is now setting in again towards Catholicism over the whole of Europe ; and if the Anglican Church were only a sect, like those of the Foreigners, would necessarily carry her members along with the rest towards the common centre : Much more then, being a true Church, and having ever preserved the principles of Catholicism and Orthodoxy within herself, will she profit by the general movement, and see return to her her own children, who, in spite of all their errors, have never yet quite cast off their allegiance.

"IV. The Protestant sects of English Dissenters, whose unity with the Foreigners and with the Scotch Establishment as well in the developments as in the principle of Protestantism was manifest to all the world, and who had professed themselves in 1689, together with the new Govern-

ment which they had then concurred in establishing, to be the defenders of the Church against 'Popery,' were at length (in 1828 and 1829), together with 'Popery' itself, admitted by the Civil Government to a full participation in all political rights, *i. e.* to a share of the Imperial Power. And no sooner was this done, than the Protestant sects and the Whig ministers of the Crown (the very same powers, that is, which had influenced the Church in her members to concur in their war upon Rome even to an excess of Protestantism; these very same powers, I say,) openly joined themselves with the Papists and the democrats in Parliament to attack the political Establishment and even the existence of the Church. Aristocratical and monarchical principles being attacked at the same time, and by the same parties, this conjuncture of affairs tended very much to rouse a spirit of affection for the Church, as such, with all her peculiar claims and doctrines, in a people which was by no means as yet generally disposed either for democracy or for sectarianism. And, at the same time, the sight of sectarian Protestantism (*i. e.* in fact, Protestantism simply), Democracy, and Popery, leagued together under the patronage of the Crown for an attack upon the Church, neutralized or reversed for ever those inveterate prejudices of the English, by which they had been used to suspect every thing, even in their own Church, which was common to Rome, and to look with favour upon every sect, however contrary to their own Church, which professed Protestantism.

"v. In the mean time, without any thing occurring to diminish mens aversion for the 'Popish Recusants' of their own country, (by whom they were actively attacked, and whose moral conduct as a politico-religious party was even more repulsive than their natural hostility), there were other circumstances, in the restoration of peace, and the increased frequency and facility of communication with the Continent, which tended powerfully to lead the minds of Englishmen to look beyond their own insular position, and to regret the loss of the antient union of Christendom in one undisputed confession of the true Faith. More particularly, the remembrance of what had so recently occurred during the French Revolution, when the English Clergy had received as brethren the exiled Clergy of France, exiled for the name and faith of Christ by that same Democratical Infidelity, against which the British arms so gloriously contended, and which else would have burst upon our own shores, the remembrance of these relations, together with the humbled state of the Roman Communion in most parts of the Continent, were calculated to take off the edge of that antient bitterness, by which, when our wounds were yet fresh, and we recklessly made common cause with the Continental Reformation, we were used to confound the antient Churches of the Continent with the modern and schismatically-formed Romish Communities among ourselves, and were in turn confounded ourselves, as perhaps we deserved to be, with the whole rabble of the sects of 'the Reformation.'

"vi. And, even without looking beyond the actual Communion of the Church of England, such great changes had taken place with respect to it by the spread of British Colonies over all the world, and the rise of daughter Churches in each of them, and then by the non-recognition and even persecution of some one or other of our Churches by the Civil Government, and by the entire separation from the British Crown of the United States of America, as tended necessarily to make men feel that

the accidents of locality, and of connection with the British Government, by which they had been too much used to describe their religion and their Church, were *mere* accidents, easily separable ; and that they must revert to the essential and immutable attributes of the true Church for other words and names, which no change of circumstances should be able to render unintelligible, or absurd. Even those who had been least used to leave the beaten path of thought or language were forced to smile, or at least to reflect, when they heard men profess themselves to be ‘of the Established Church of England’ in countries which were not England, nor subject to English rule ; and where the Church, of which they had really become members, was *not* ‘Established,’ or recognized by the Civil Government at all.

“VII. And further, though the hereditary prejudices of the English would naturally have prompted them, as soon as local and political designations became evidently inapplicable, to fall back upon other equally superficial accidents, to describe the Religion which they professed, and the Church or Communion of which they were members, upon such accidents, that is, as ‘Protestantism,’ or ‘Reformation,’ this also was yearly becoming less and less possible, partly by its becoming ever more and more apparent that there was a radical divergence, and not a radical unity, between the Church of England and those bodies from which she had derived, and with which she shared in common, the names of ‘Reformation’ and ‘Protestantism,’ and partly by increasing acquaintance and communication with those antient Churches of Eastern rite and origin, which are no less ‘Episcopal,’ in contradistinction to ‘non-Episcopal’ sects, than the Churches of the British Communion, and which had no share whatever in those dissensions within the Latin Church, to which alone the names of ‘Protestantism’ and ‘Reformation’ refer.

“VIII. As an accumulation to all the above influences, we must add, that while the Puritanism of the English people at large had been gradually cooling down, till scarcely any thing remained but well-intentioned misconception or ignorance, or mere vice, worldliness, and indifference, to contend against Primitive Truth, the Church had in the mean time, for three hundred years, been producing a long succession of orthodox Bishops and Doctors, who witnessed in her name against the errors of the people, and whose names were magnified after their deaths even by that very people, against which they had borne witness. There is perhaps nothing more remarkable in the history of the Church of England since the time of Elizabeth, than this gradual accumulation of an irresistible weight of authority in favour of Catholicism and Orthodoxy by the labours of men, who, in their generations, could do no more than save their Church from perishing by the rebellious wilfulness of a nation which would never follow nor obey them ; which even persecuted and slew some of them ; which still ignorantly rejects a great part of their religious teaching as ‘Popery’ ; but the people of which, in spite of all their sins, have ever owned them as the true Teachers and Representatives of that Religion which they profess to follow, and of that Church of which they call themselves members.

“IX. Lastly, as in the natural creation, when the chicken is new hatched, there is never wanting a provision to break the shell, so in this case, when the time was come, and the discipline to which the English Church had been subjected for three centuries had fitted her to accomplish the pur.

poses of God, to set an example of repentance, and to concur with other agencies in producing from the wreck of the *Deformation* wrought by human errors and passions a real 'reformation' in the Church, the necessary instruments for changing her outward aspect and position were not wanting. These instruments, among others, were the University of Oxford, and more particularly, certain individuals of her members, who moved only by their own faith and zeal, when the Protestantism of popular liberalism was clamouring for an alteration of the Creed, and the Civil Government had just extinguished ten Bishoprics at a single blow, with scarce so much as a feeble remonstrance from the Hierarchy, came forward unbidden indeed, and unthanked, but not without a bidding from above, and struck a note (by certain treatises or Tracts which they published), which, as one of them, whose name has been given to the movement, has well expressed it, vibrated from one extremity of the British Communion to the other; shewing not only that there was still life, the life of the true Church, under the dead and rotten carcase of the Protestant Reformed Episcopal Establishment, but also that the turning point and crisis was now come, when the strength of the Divine mercy was to be perfected in the extremity of our weakness.

"That the movement which thus commenced was in some sort the beginning of a new era in the Church of England, there can be no doubt. Public opinion, which is never wholly wrong, has shewn its sense of this by the new name, or names, which it has given to its partizans. At the same time it would be exceedingly difficult to point out any particular opinion or practice now advocated by the party of the movement, which is really any novelty in the Anglican Church. Perhaps the best account which can be given of the matter is to say, that though no particular opinions or practices may be, strictly speaking, novelties, still the spirit, the attitude, and the idea of the party, and of the Church, if she ultimately owns them as her true children, are totally and strikingly new to the popular apprehension. Things which are not really new often seem *as if* they were new to us; and he who suggests often-repeated principles under new circumstances, from a new position, with new aims, or to ears which from any cause were asleep before, but are now awakened, seems (though it is not really so) to be a teacher of novelties; while the fact of mens listening to and following them is a novelty indeed: and the practical development which follows is necessarily new.

"Thus, what was passive before, under the pressure of a superior weight of hostile influences, has now become active and aggressive: what was Protestant in some sense, or at any rate in appearance, before, now protests against the developed errors of 'Protestantism': what was Reformed, or at least seemed to boast itself as such, before, seeks now by penitence to reform the 'Reformation': what seemed to be a mere 'Establishment' of Civil Tyranny, now comes forward in behalf of the attenuated shadow of a Monarchy, to re-establish both the Altar and the Throne: what was itself only 'the Episcopal Denomination' before, now calls upon 'all Denominations' to re-enter within the pale of the one true 'Episcopal' Church: what was described as 'the Church of England' even in India formerly, now even in England itself recognizes England no otherwise, than as one of the many nations and kingdoms of the Universal Church.

'In conclusion, it may be proper to notice that the *name* popularly

given to this Religious Movement, the name '*Puseyism*,' is taken from the name of a man, a Priest of the Church of England, in consequence of his having written a book or Tract to prove and illustrate this fundamental truth, *that Baptism is Regeneration*, the source of life and light both to individuals and to the Church ; and that towards those holy waters both individuals and Churches, however far they may have erred by sin, must return by Repentance."

" XI. OF THE PRESENT DISTINCTIVE POSITION AND CHARACTER OF THE
SCOTO-BRITISH CHURCH.

"The following is a sketch of the Doctrinal character and position of the Scottish Church, compiled from a Pamphlet recently published by [Mr A. Gray, of Perth] a Minister of the hostile Calvinistic or Presbyterian Sect, which is exclusively established by the Civil Government, having, by its favour, more than a century and a half ago, supplanted the true Church in all its privileges and property.

'The '*Episcopal Church*' (so it is called by those Calvinists) 'in Scotland affirms that the *Apostolical Succession of Bishops* is necessary not merely to the *well-being*, but to the *being* and *essence* of a Christian Church : That there can be no Church, nor Clergy, nor Sacraments, where there are no Bishops : That Episcopacy is that grand elementary principle in the constitution of any Church, which makes it a Church ; which alone connects it with Christ, and with the benefits of his Mediation and Sovereignty : and, consequently, that the Scottish Establishment, and all such other Communities or Bodies of Christians throughout the world, as are non-Episcopal, are not Churches of Christ, nor parts of his Mystical Body.

'The Doctrines of the Scottish Episcopal Church on the vital point of *Tradition*, on the *Rule of Faith*, and on *Justification*, are identical with those of the Religious movement in England. She contends for *Baptismal Regeneration* in the strongest sense of the word : She strenuously maintains that the character of a *Sacrifice*, '*a real and proper Sacrifice*,' belongs to the Holy Supper of our Lord,' [offering the Elements of Bread and Wine to God, and invoking the Holy Spirit to descend upon them, and to change them into the Body and Blood of Christ :] '*She permits*, indeed, where there are many English mixed with her own people, the use also of the English Liturgy ; but '*the Authorized Liturgy*' of her Canons is the semi-popish Office prepared under the auspices of Archbishop Laud, and attempted to be forced upon Scotland 200 years ago, which is known by the name of '*the Scotch Communion-Office*.' Her doctrine also on the *Power of Absolution vested in the Clergy* is the same with that of the Oxford Divines or '*Puseyites*' in England : ' [to which may be added, perhaps, that her Bishops and Clergy would not refuse to Anoint the Sick with Oil if desired.] ' And along with the tenet of '*an Invisible place, to which the souls of men are conducted when they leave the body, there to remain in what is called an Intermediate State till the General Resurrection*,' their Authorities teach that '*the Church on Earth and the Church in Paradise communicate together by mutually praying for each other ;*' and that Departed Christians require the prayers of Christians here on Earth, '*because their present condition is imperfect, and therefore capable of improvement ; and because they are to be judged at the Last Day, and will then stand in need of mercy.*'

'In England also, as well as in America, there is a party, who, follow-

ing out their principles to their just conclusions, regard, like their brethren of Scotland, all non-Episcopal Bodies of Christians as excluded *ipso facto* from the Catholic or Universal Church, which they tell us is the *only true way of Salvation*. This party is most numerous, active, and powerful : and though it seems at present to be only in the youth of its career, it has nevertheless already secured to itself the advocacy of nearly half the Press of England ; it boldly urges its narrow Dogmas upon the adoption of the Government and the Sovereign ; and is even beginning to make itself felt in the Legislation of the Empire.

‘ There are, however, still, we well know, in England, Ireland, and America, numbers of *Episcopalians* who do not hold such principles : But the tenets which in those countries are held by a party, rather than by the whole Body, a party great and influential indeed, and aspiring after domination, but still no more at present than a Party, are in Scotland the acknowledged and undisputed Doctrines of the Episcopal Church itself. Indeed, with the exception of one pamphlet published by a Mr D.’ [who has since separated himself or has been separated from that Church] ‘ with this single exception, among all the multitude of Sermons, Letters, Pamphlets, Catechisms, and Treatises, which are extant from the pens of their Theologians or Laymen, no publication of any sort containing Doctrines of an opposite character to those that have been mentioned, has ever, so far as I have been able to learn, at any time, throughout the whole course of its history, emanated from the Scottish Episcopal Communion.

‘ The Scottish Episcopal Church stands alone in its bigotry and exclusiveness : not quite alone, perhaps. The Church of Rome keeps it in countenance : although I know not that even she will go so far as to deny or doubt whether the people of Scotland are so much as validly Baptized. The Church of England, whatever she may do hereafter, has not distinctly joined her as yet. The Episcopal Church in America, there is reason to hope, is still further removed from the approval of her principles or spirit.’

“ The above, as the statement of an intelligent enemy, is unexceptionable evidence of the superior doctrinal position of the Scottish Church.”

“ XII. CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE UNION BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

“ In this our last and worst age of the world, we not only see many sectarian forms of Christianity, based upon private judgment, and so necessarily varying one from another, but we see also that even between those more antient Churches which have preserved the Apostolical Hierarchy and the authority of doctrinal tradition, there exist the very deepest dissensions, either real or apparent. Instead of *One Catholic or Universal Church*, there are now a number of separate Churches, each of which makes the same claim to be itself the true Body and Spouse of Christ, and to have preserved by tradition, as delivered to it from the Apostles, the true saving Orthodox and Catholic Faith in its integrity. It is not the Roman Communion only, or the Eastern ; but the Chaldean or Nestorian Church also, and the Syrian, Abyssinian, Coptic, and Armenian Churches of the Monophysites, and, lastly, the British and American Communion of the ‘ Protestant Episcopalians ’ all advance the same claim ; though these Churches have remained now for many ages separated, and at variance one from another. Of the rest we shall say

nothing, our present purpose being to consider only the possibility of restoring union between the Eastern and the British Churches.

"Now, whereas by the common and true confession of both these Churches, there is, and can be, but *one* true Faith, and *one* true Church, it is evident that either the pretensions of one or the other must be unfounded, or else their separation is only superficial and apparent, *de facto*, and not *de jure*: Either the one Church of these two has in fact departed from the true Faith, and teaches some damnable heresy instead of the true way of salvation, in which case union or reconciliation is impossible, the true Church not being able to treat with heresy except for its conversion and return to the obedience of the Faith; or else both, having preserved and holding the same Faith, are in fact but parts of one and the same true Church; and in this case there cannot be any place for conversion; but there may be union and reconciliation by mutual explanations of misunderstandings, and removal of scandals. For a Church, which has already in herself the root of the true Faith, cannot receive the same Faith from others: a Church, which is already one with Christ's Mystical Body, as a part in the whole, cannot go out of herself to seek for the whole in some other part.

"Of those two alternatives which we have pointed out, the *first* seems to be the view of the Eastern Church, inasmuch as her Forms reconcile all Latins, and so also the members of the British Churches, as heretics from darkness to light, from the way of destruction to the way of life. The *latter* view seems rather to be that of the British Church, which, however it may have regarded the Greek while it was subject to the influence of Rome, has in later times given many signs that it recognizes the Eastern Church as part of the true Church, and trusts that it still retains that same deposit of the Orthodox Faith which it has preserved itself.

"As regards the Eastern Church, it is scarcely necessary to ask what should be her conduct towards the British, if she is fully convinced that our Church is heretical or apostate. For it is evident that the duty of the Orthodox towards heretics is this; to object to them the accusation of their error as distinctly as possible, and to recommend the contrary truth both by solid proofs, by a holy and charitable zeal, by letters and missions, and by continual prayers before God and men for the conversion of the heretics to the true fold. But what it may be of more importance for us here to consider, is the question, in what manner a union and reconciliation may be effected between the Churches, if they have indeed, as is supposed by the British, both preserved in its essence the same one true and saving Faith.

"The *first* thing manifestly necessary towards such a union is, that *one side at least* should *desire* it, and should be willing to suppose the other to have preserved the same Faith with itself: (And this we have already said the British Church appears to do.)

"*Secondly*, it would be necessary that the *other* side should either be willing to suppose the like of the first, or at the least, should be willing to give it a hearing, and to suffer it to defend itself against the charge of heresy and apostacy.

"*Thirdly*, that some actual communication should take place between the two parties; either between man and man, (as between two Theologians); or between Bishop and Bishop (either personally or through their representatives); or between Synod and Synod: all which modes

would amount to the same thing; seeing that from the individual Christian or Divine a reference must be supposed to lie to the Bishop; and from the Bishop, in like manner, there lies a reference to the Synod; and from the lesser Synod to the greater: so that whatever method be pursued, it must be for the Synod in the last instance to decide; though the first commencements and preparatory conferences might perhaps be more easily and conveniently managed by a few individual Divines or Bishops. Only this would be very necessary, that such communications, between whatever parties they might commence, should proceed strictly upon the basis of the dispositions and hypothesis above-mentioned.

"If we suppose this basis to be conceded, at least hypothetically, so far as to enable us to try the question of reconciliation being possible or not, we may proceed to draw out some such imaginary Dialogue as the following between the two sides, or their representatives, whether Synods or single Bishops, or indeed between any two individuals who may be supposed to represent fairly the sense of their respective Churches.

"First, each would ask the other, Whether there was not once a time when they were united in Faith and Communion? To which both would answer, that *There was*. Next, they would inquire Whether the one side had ever Synodically excommunicated the other? and if so, at what time? and for what sufficient cause? To this the two sides may be supposed to return different answers:

"The *British* thus: 'We have never hitherto, by any Synodical act, condemned you as heretics, or renounced your Communion, though we may have in practice during several centuries regarded you as Schismatics. Now, however, we are willing to suppose that in so doing we wronged you, and to Communicate with you again, as in old time, on being assured that you have, as we trust in the case, preserved safe the common deposit of the Orthodox Faith during all that interval in which there has been no intercourse between us.'

"*Easterns*. 'We however have condemned you as heretics, and have altogether renounced your Communion.'

"*Brit*. 'At what time, and by the Act of what Synod?'

"*East*. 'It may be difficult to fix the point of time exactly; but at some time between the end of the 8th and the end of the 11th centuries.'

"*Brit*. 'We protest against the assumption that the Divine and Canonical right to one another's Communion can be ever really lost, except by a formal act of excommunication, at a definite time, and for a just and sufficient cause. But waving the question of time for the present, let us at any rate know the cause.'

"*East*. 'We anathematized and excommunicated your Church together with the other Churches of the West for heresy, in altering, or participating in the alteration of the Creed.'

"*Brit*. 'Do you mean for the mere outward act of adding certain words, or for the sense which those words bear?'

"*East*. 'For both.'

"*Brit*. 'With respect to the outward act, we know not that we ever decreed it Synodically; but we admit that we did wrong in altering so much as a letter of the Creed of the Œcumenical Councils without equal authority: and now, if that will satisfy you, we are ready to return to the Canonical Form. But if this is the matter for which you have renounced our Communion, the accusation is one of lawlessness, not of heresy.'

"*East.* 'Not so : for we do not separate the outward act of making the addition from the inward heretical sense of the words.'

"*Brit.* 'What then is the heretical sense which you conceive to be expressed by these words?'

"*East.* 'The assertion that the Holy Spirit proceeds from two distinct principles.'

"*Brit.* 'We are so far from intending any such assertion by these words, that we are ready to join you in anathematizing them as heretical, if they be taken in that sense. But perhaps there is some further heresy which you see in them, unless you wage war upon the mere expression.'

"*East.* (Answer I.) 'We consider these words to involve plainly and necessarily a heretical sense ; and we require you not only to leave them out of the Creed, but also absolutely and unreservedly to reject and anathematize them, as we do.'

"*Brit.* 'Before we do that, we will wait and hear your Church distinctly anathematize as heretics all those of our Latin Saints and Doctors from whom we inherit that language, and in whose writings it is still to be found : also all those of your own Fathers who Communicated at various times with the Latin Church, even after this question had long been matter of contention and even of mutual anathemas between the Archbishops of Old and New Rome. In the mean time we think our Latin Fathers are as little to be treated with disrespect as your Greek ; and that if certain expressions are to be confined to a heretical or to an orthodox sense by mere authority, we, who have in this matter two-thirds of the visible Church on our side, have at least as much right to command you, as you can have to command us. But if you wish to know, without disputing about words, what we believe, it is as follows :—

'We believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds *originally* from the *Father only*, but that He is *from all eternity communicated* to the Son, and rests in Him so as to be *truly and properly the Spirit of the Son, even as He is the Spirit of the Father* : And that *as Christ, the Son of man, was Anointed in time by the Father with the Spirit, and afterwards was Himself the Fountain of Living Water, and breathed forth upon His Apostles His own Spirit* ; even so *without any idea of time, the co-eternal Son of God is ever Anointed of the Father, is ever the Source of Light and Life, and ever breathes forth the Holy Spirit as His own* ; and that 'from the Father by the Son,' or 'from the Father and the Son,' the Holy Spirit, which is the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son, *not only in time, but also without reference to time, eternally shines forth.*' [But see the Note upon this below, in Section XLIII].

"*In which case the negotiation would cease. Or,*

"*East.* (Answer II.) 'If you leave out the Words, and restore the Creed to the state in which they were when we excommunicated you for making the addition, we are content ; and our mutual Intercommunion, so far, returns of itself : Your Bishops become known as before to our Bishops, and ours to yours. But still, it is possible that you may in other ways have departed from the Faith in so long an interval, an interval in which so many changes have taken place in the different Churches of the West.'

"*Brit.* 'We also might say the same of you : and this is certainly proper matter for mutual examination. Neither of us, however, can judge of the acts of the other, except they be first formally communicated ; which nothing done on either side since the suspension of Communion has yet been. Either then we must now communicate to one another all that we

have on either side decreed in the interval, and confer upon each point ; or else, which perhaps will be more convenient, we must examine one another at once, and on those points only, on which we may have any suspicion of one another's Orthodoxy : For the acts done on both sides since the separation may be numerous, and may probably mix up many questions of Authority, Rite, and Discipline, irrelevant to our present conference, which relates only to the Faith itself, or at least only to agreement in abstract truth.'

" *East.* ' We suspect you of having fallen more or less into certain heresies, which we comprehend generally under the three names of Popery, Lutheranism, and Calvinism.'

" *Brit.* ' Those three names are unknown to us : But if each question is mentioned in detail on which you wish to assure yourselves of agreement, we are ready to answer.'

" *East.* ' The shortest and most satisfactory way would be, that you should solemnly receive as your own all the decrees which we have made since the separation.'

" *Brit.* ' That could not be done without first examining and discussing them in detail : nor unless you, on your side, were willing and ready in like manner to examine and receive ours, which we should communicate to you. And as in such decrees, on either side, many questions of Authority, Rite, and Discipline, may have been mixed up with Faith and Truth, it might perhaps be difficult afterwards to disentangle and harmonize them into one common Confession or Decree for us both. We should propose therefore, rather to take the questions on which there may be any doubt or suspicion separately, in chronological order, and to confer upon them, in the abstract, with respect to that acknowledged basis and standard of Orthodoxy, which we both had together in common down to the interruption of Communion : And when we are agreed upon any point, we may afterwards, in the second place, hear and answer objections, and shew that there is no real difference between the statement of truth so agreed upon, and any of our more modern decrees on either side. But we are ready to proceed in whatever way you prefer.'

" *East.* ' Let it be as you propose. We will now enumerate generally those points on which we suspect there may be a difference between us, and which we refer to under the general charges of Popery, and Lutheranism, or Calvinism. Under the head of *Popery* we will specify seven, which relate, I. To Confirmation, or the *Holy Chrism* : II. To the *Papal Headship* or Supremacy : III. To *Purgatory* : IV. To *Indulgences* : V. To Communion in both kinds : VI. To the *Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Liturgy* ; and VII. To the *Unction of the Sick with Prayer*. Under the head of *Lutheranism* and *Calvinism* we will mention fourteen points, which relate, I. To the *Church* : II. To the *Holy Scriptures* : III. To the *Tradition of the Faith* : IV. To the *Sacraments* : V. To *Baptism* : VI. To the *Oblation or Sacrifice* in the Eucharist : VII. To the *Change of the Elements*, and the *Real Presence* : VIII. To the *Adoration of Christ as present on the Altar* : IX. To *Confession and Absolution* : X. To *Prayers for the Faithful Departed* : XI. To *Invocation of Saints* : XII. To *Relics* : XIII. To *Icons* : XIV. To the *Authority of Councils*.'

" *Brit.* ' On each of these questions which you have mentioned we are ready to answer you : And we trust that neither do we differ from you, nor you from us, on any of them ; seeing that Truth on these, and on all other points, is one and the same ; and unity or agreement in all truth is

to be both desired and supposed in all particular Churches, and in the Whole, of which they profess to be parts, until any thing appear certainly to the contrary. At the same time we think it necessary to observe, that the enumeration which you have just made suggests to us the anticipation, that various questions which may be raised between us on one or other of the points mentioned, may not be, strictly speaking, questions involving the necessary and saving Faith on the one hand, or heresy and apostacy on the other. Notwithstanding which, we are perfectly agreed with you in judging that the individual who rebels against the doctrine, rite, or discipline of the Church on any point, whether of truth or practice, whether great or small, is necessarily to be excommunicated. And having said thus much, we will now follow your example, and enumerate some points, on which we will not say that we suspect you, but on which we wish to assure ourselves that you do not reject the sense of some of our more recent decrees. Such points are, I. *Of written and unwritten Tradition*: II. *Of the number of the Canonical Books*: III. *Of the Creed*: IV. *Of Original Sin*, that in a certain sense it remains after Baptism: V. *Of the necessity of grace in order to Conversion after the Fall*: VI. *Of Justification by Faith only*: VII. *Of merit*: VIII. *Of works of Supererogation*: IX. *Of Predestination*: X. *Of Salvation only by the Name of Christ*: XI. *Of the Church*, that it is *One*, and *Visible*: XII. *Of the Authority of the Church*: XIII. *Of the Convocation of General Councils*: XIV. *Of the Infallibility and Authority of General Councils*: XV. *Of worshipping of Images and Relics, and of Invocation of Saints*: XVI. *Of Prayers in a known tongue*: XVII. *Of the distinction between Two and all other Sacraments*: XVIII. *Of that Transubstantiation which defines the manner of the change of the Elements in the Eucharist*: XIX. *Of the wicked receiving or not receiving Christ's Body and Blood*: XX. *Of reserving, carrying about, lifting up, and worshipping the Holy Eucharist*: XXI. *Of the Sacrifice of Masses, as a material repetition of the Sacrifice on the Cross*: XXII. *Of the Marriage of Clergy*: XXIII. *Of Traditions and Ceremonies ordained by human Authority*: XXIV. *Of the Power of the Civil Governor.*

"*East.* 'We shall be ready to reply to your questions on these points, as soon as you shall have answered our questions on those we mentioned before.

"*Then would follow the actual Examination of one another's Tenets, according to the order of the Heads enumerated by both parties. The following sketch may give some idea of what is meant:*

"I. *East.* 'Do you pretend that Confirmation, which is administered by a Priest is invalid, and to be repeated?'

"*Brit.* 'We admit that such Confirmation is valid, and not to be repeated; provided only it be administered with Chrism which has previously been consecrated by a Bishop.'

"II. *East.* 'Do you hold that as Jesus Christ is the Invisible Head of the whole Church, so the Pope of Rome, as his Visible Vicar and Representative, is the Head of the Church on Earth?'

"*Brit.* 'We hold no such doctrine. We do not allow that any Bishop is Head over other Bishops, or over the Visible Church, in the same sense in which Christ is Head of the whole Body; nor according to the same analogy as that, by which every Diocesan Bishop is Head over his own Church.'

"III. *East.* 'Do you teach that the Souls of the Faithful generally

after death are tormented for a longer or shorter period in penal fire, and that their state is a state of torment ?

"*Brit.* ' By no means. Rather we teach that the souls of the faithful departed are, like that of the Penitent Thief, even ' this day in Paradise ; ' and that their state is upon the whole, and generally, a state of comfort, of rest, and felicity ; though we do not deny that every soul passes through a certain trial at death, or that there may be in certain respects, and to certain souls, somewhat also of suffering in the intermediate state.'

"*iv. East.* ' Do you hold that the Roman Pope has the privilege of granting either full or partial remission of the debt of torment to be paid in Purgatory, by applying at his discretion, upon certain conditions, to particular souls the superabundant merits of Christ and His Saints ?'

"*Brit.* ' We know no other Indulgences than canonical remissions of canonical penances to be performed in this life.'

"*v. East.* ' Do you teach that all ought to receive the Holy Communion under both kinds ; or that one kind suffices ?'

"*Brit.* ' We teach that one kind suffices only in cases of real necessity ; and that the Church ought to administer to all alike under both kinds.'

"*vi. East.* ' Do you not teach that the Consecration of the Eucharist is perfected by the mere act of repeating the Words of Institution ?'

"*Brit.* ' We hold that it is perfected by the Prayer of the Church, and by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost to descend and change that which has been Offered, made either expressly, or by implication, *after* the recitation of Christ's Words.'

"*vii. East.* ' Do you teach that the Unction of the Sick is only or chiefly for spiritual aid in the act and passage of death ; or for the hope of recovery, by faith, both from spiritual and bodily sicknesses ?'

"*Brit.* ' We believe that when the sick are Anointed with Oil, it should be done in the hope and trust of obtaining, if it please God, even a bodily recovery ; and, at any rate, forgiveness of sins as connected with sickness.'

"*Then under the Heads of Lutheranism or Calvinism :*

"*i. East.* ' Do you teach that the One True Church, which alone is the way of salvation, is a visible or an invisible body ?'

"*Brit.* ' That it is a Visible Congregation of Faithful or Baptized men, in which the true Faith is preserved and taught whole and undefiled, and the Sacraments validly administered.'

"*ii. East.* ' Do you hold that it forms itself spontaneously from the hearing of preachings or from the study of Holy Scripture, or that it is formed by Christ and his Apostles and the Apostolical Episcopate through the Sacraments ?'

"*Brit.* ' We teach *not* that it is formed by mens own selves from the Bible, but that it is perpetuated, enlarged, and held together, by the Episcopate, through the Sacraments.'

"*iii. East.* ' Do you teach that the true Faith is to be sought for by private judgment in the Scriptures, or to be received by Tradition from the Church ?'

"*Brit.* ' We teach that whosoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith, *i. e.*, the Faith which is, and ever has been, since the day of Pentecost, held and handed down by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, and so will be to the end of the world.'

"*iv. East.* ' Do you not teach that there are only Two Sacraments, and deny that the Sacraments of the Church are Seven in number ?'

"*Brit.* 'We neither teach that there are only Two, nor deny that according to a certain sense and definition of the word, and a certain mutual relation of the things themselves, there are Seven. But neither of these two ways of speaking is known to us, they being both more recent than the time of our separation.'

"*v. East.* 'Do you not teach that Baptism is only a sign; and that Conversion, Regeneration, or Justification, are to be looked for afterwards by Faith?'

"*Brit.* 'On the contrary, we build all on this doctrine, that Baptism is truly Regeneration.'

"*vi. East.* 'Do you deny that there is any Sacrifice in the Eucharist; or that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist profits the whole Church, the departed, as well as those on earth?'

"*Brit.* 'We teach expressly both that there is indeed a Sacrifice, and that this Sacrifice is offered in order to obtain all the effects of Christ's one Oblation of Himself upon the Cross for *ourselves* and for *all the whole Church*, both those living still on earth, and those departed.'

"*vii. East.* 'Do you not deny that the Bread and Wine are changed, and become the Body and Blood of Christ?'

"*Brit.* 'On the contrary, we pray to God to send down upon them His Holy Spirit, *'that they may become' the Body and Blood of Christ.*

"*viii. East.* 'Do you not maintain that it is Idolatry to adore Christ as present upon the Altar and giving himself to be our Spiritual Food?'

"*Brit.* 'By no means. We know that He is every where to be adored, and specially to be adored with respect to any special Presence: and therefore certainly not least, but rather most of all on the Altar, and in the Sanctuary, which is to us indeed *'Beth-lehem,'* where the Bread which cometh down from Heaven is found by those that seek Him laid in the Manger before both the Shepherds and the Flock.'

"*ix. East.* 'Do you not teach that men who have committed mortal or excommunicable sins after Baptism, may Communicate again in the Church whenever they judge themselves to be penitent; and that they are under no necessity of Confessing to the Church, of offering themselves to penance, or obtaining Absolution?'

"*Brit.* 'We have never so taught: we reject any such opinion as both false and pernicious.'

"*x. East.* 'Do you not reject Prayers for the Departed?'

"*Brit.* 'On the contrary, we both Offer and pray in the Liturgy for *all the whole Church.*

"*xi. East.* 'Do you not maintain that to ask the prayers of the departed Saints, as well as of those who are still on earth, in Christ, is a deification of dead men?'

"*Brit.* 'By no means: we believe that they pray for us; and we ask of God to give us the benefit of their prayers, and of the services of his holy Angels.'

"*xii. East.* 'Do you not teach that it is Idolatry outwardly to reverence or to kiss the tokens or remains of a departed Saint?'

"*Brit.* 'No more than we say, that it is Idolatry to do the same to the Saints while yet living among us, or to the remains of a friend or relative recently deceased, as is constantly prompted even by natural affection.'

"*xiii. East.* 'Do you not say, that if any one kiss the Picture of our Lord or of any holy person, or any holy vessel or vestment, with the

same thought and intention with which it has been usual from of old time to kiss the Book of the Gospels and the Cross, *i.e.* to shew Christian affection and respect, such an act is idolatry ?

Brit. 'God forbid that we should ever say any thing so manifestly false and absurd.'

xiv. East. 'Do you not claim for particular or national Churches the right to break at their discretion all Canons and agreements, to which they have in past time become parties in conjunction with the Bishops of other countries, or of the whole Church ?'

Brit. 'We neither claim for ourselves, nor allow for others any such license of anarchy and confusion.'

East. 'We are now ready in turn to answer to such enquiries as you may wish to make of us.'

Examination by the British :

I. Brit. 'Do you agree with us in this, that the deposit and tradition of the saving Faith, though it be received by each individual not from Scripture, but from the Church, is nevertheless all contained in holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby : and that the Church holds herself bound not to teach or enforce any thing, as of necessity to salvation, which she grounds upon Tradition alone, without any proof from Scripture ?'

East. 'We do not differ from you in this. But yet we say with St Basil, and with others, that many things which are not written are to be received ; and no less to be received, than what are written ; not indeed as things necessary in themselves to salvation ; but because it is necessary to salvation even in lesser and indifferent things to be obedient to the Church, so as not to incur that excommunication by which she enforces her authority against the carnally-minded and rebellious.'

II. Brit. 'Do you distinguish between those xxii Books of the Old Testament which make up the Hebrew Canon, and the other Ecclesiastical Books, which, if they are ever in a wider sense called 'Canonical,' are still of an inferior degree of Inspiration and authority ?'

East. 'We make the same distinction in this respect that you make.'

III. Brit. 'Do you agree with us, that while individuals receive the different Forms or Symbols of the Faith not so much because they may happen to have examined and found them agreeable to Scripture, as because they have received them from the Church, the Church herself, on the other hand, maintains and inculcates the exact letter of those Forms not only because they are agreeable to the mind of the Spirit which abides in her, and have been sanctioned by her authority in past time, but also because she still knows herself able to prove them by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture ?'

East. 'We receive them now because we have received them, either in letter or in substance, from the beginning ; and we prove that we ought to receive them, against all gainsayers, not only by the mere weight of authority, and by the tradition and testimony of past ages, but also, and principally, by appeal to the Divine Scriptures.'

IV. Brit. 'Do you agree with us, that while in one sense (that is, so far as guilt and punishment are concerned,) Original Sin is wholly taken away by Baptism, in another sense (that is with respect to the weakness and infection of our nature tending to sin, but not imputed to us for guilt or punishment without a fresh consent of our will), it is no less true to say, that Original Sin remaineth still even in those that are

Baptized or regenerate; seeing that the Apostle himself calls the infirmity of our nature by the name of sin ?

“ East. ‘ In this also we are agreed.’ ”

“ v. Brit. ‘ Do you agree with us, that the will of fallen man, whether Jew or Gentile, is unable of itself to turn to God, to please Him, or to deserve His Grace; although, by the assistance of His Grace preventing and co-operating, and so drawing them to Christ, both Jews (as Holy Symeon,) and Gentiles (as the Magi, and Cornelius,) may both prepare themselves, and in a manner deserve the Grace of God?’ ”

“ East. ‘ We agree in this also.’ ”

“ vi. Brit. ‘ Do you hold with us, that we are Justified in Baptism not by works of our own righteousness (whether of Natural Justice, or of the Law), but by Faith only, for the free and undeserved mercy of God in Christ; while afterwards, with respect to our final Justification at the day of Judgment, Christians must look forward and hope to be Justified not by bare Faith, but by the Faith of their Baptism with the fruits of works and the increase which it contains, or, as the Apostle St James teaches, ‘ by works, and not by faith only?’ ”

“ East. ‘ We differ not at all in this.’ ”

“ vii. Brit. ‘ Do you agree with us that the will of man even after Baptism has no power, as of itself, and apart from Grace, to will or to do any good thing, nor to please God, nor to merit salvation; although when our will is spoken of as co-operating with the Grace given in Baptism, and afterwards, it may be rightly said both that we work righteousness, and that we earn our hire; that we trade for interest; that we please our Master by diligence; and that we shall receive every man at the end that which by our works we shall have deserved in Christ?’ ”

“ East. ‘ We are of the same mind.’ ”

“ viii. Brit. ‘ Do you agree, that voluntary works of Supererogation besides, over and above God’s Commandments, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety, seeing that God commands us to love Him with our whole heart and with our whole strength, and when we have done all to say that we are unprofitable servants?’ ”

“ East. ‘ We agree: but we do not understand you to deny that some things are in themselves to be done of necessity, others for excellence and perfection; which last are duties only to those that can receive them.’ ”

“ ix. Brit. ‘ Also, that as Christ Himself, the Lamb of God, was predestinated and slain before the foundation of the world, so His Church, and the Members of His Church, are foreknown, predestinated, called, justified, and glorified in Him: And that as the Predestination of Christ, the Head, in nowise impaired, but rather supposed and required, the freedom of His Human will, so also in the Church, which is His Body, and in her members, the Predestination of God interferes not with the free-will of man; but, as the Apostle teaches, we must labour diligently to make our calling, and election, and predestination sure?’ ”

“ East. ‘ We have nothing to object to this doctrine.’ ”

“ x. Brit. ‘ Do you agree with us, that they are to be anathematized who say that there are other ways of Salvation besides the Name of Christ; or that by the Name of Christ any other way is opened than that of the true Catholic Faith (whole and undefiled) of the One True Catholic and Apostolic Church?’ ”

“ East. ‘ We agree also in this proposition with our whole heart.’ ”

"**xi. Brit.** 'Do you teach with us that the true Church of Christ is One Visible Congregation of Baptized or Faithful Men, in which the tradition of the saving Faith is ever preserved whole and undefiled, and the Sacraments, so far at least as necessary to all men for salvation, validly administered; and that this One Visible Catholic Church is the only way of salvation? Or do you think that there may be a number of Churches separate from this One True Catholic and Apostolic Church, and differing from its perfection by greater or less degrees of apostacy, but still holding sufficient *portions* of truth for salvation?'

"*East.* 'We hold with you the first doctrine, and reject the second.'

"**xii. Brit.** 'Do you agree with us that the Church, though she is herself the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, and has full authority to decide upon all controversies of religion, and to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and to enforce obedience against the rebellious by censures and Excommunication, still holds herself bound to enforce no doctrine as part of the necessary and saving Faith, which she rests upon oral tradition alone, and does not either find in Scripture, or prove from thence?'

"*East.* 'We have already expressed our assent to a similar proposition.' [The question at p. 243 referring to Art. vi. and here to Art. xx.]

"**xiii. Brit.** 'Do you hold with us that the Pope of Rome has no divine or prescriptive right or privilege, without consent of the Orthodox Emperors or Kings, to call all the Bishops of the Roman Empire, or of the different kingdoms of the world, together to one place?'

"*East.* 'We agree.'

"**xiv. Brit.** 'Do you further agree with us, that no Synod or Council of Bishops, however large, or general, can have any right to assert positively beforehand that it is infallible, or to claim obedience and registration for its future decrees from all absent Bishops, and from all the Churches of the world, merely on that plea; still less to bind anything as necessary to salvation upon the Universal Church, without leaving it free, and a duty, for all particular Churches to examine its decrees for themselves, and either to confirm or reject them, according as it shall appear that they are agreeable or repugnant to Holy Scripture?'

"*East.* 'We agree in this. But when the decrees of any Council (whether more or less general) have once been so examined, and clearly approved, and received by the Church at large, we hold that they may never more be called in question. And we are assured by the promise of Christ to abide ever with His Church in her teaching, that such Councils have in fact been true representatives of the Church at large, and have been guided in their decrees by the infallible Spirit of God.'

"**xv. Brit.** 'Do you agree with us that the kissing of the Pictures and Relics of the Saints, and the asking of their Prayers, if it be done otherwise than *in Christ*, and in conjunction with an earnest endeavour on our own parts to live according to the truth of that heavenly Communion, is 'worse than useless;' and that any system which should practically encourage men so to trust to the holiness of others, as to be less careful in following after holiness themselves, would be justly termed a fond thing, vainly invented, grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God?'

"*East.* 'We are far from denying that this is so: indeed you have used the very words of the Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, in his Answer to the Lutherans; as may be seen from the *Acts of the Correspondence of the Wittenberg Divines*, printed at Tubingen, in Germany.'

“xvi. *Brit.* ‘Do you agree with us that it is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and to the custom of the primitive Church, to have Public Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments, in a tongue not understood of the people?’

“*East.* ‘Certainly, we do agree.’

“xvii. *Brit.* ‘Do you agree with us that there are Two Sacraments ordained by Christ himself in the Gospel Dispensation, which are alone directly and generally necessary; that is, necessary for all men to salvation; and which are to be distinguished from all other Sacraments both in other respects, and especially in this, that by them the very substance of the Church, which is the Body and Spouse of Christ, is formed directly, as from His side, and that by them alone we are thus incorporated with the very substance of Christ Himself, having by Baptism the beginning, by the Communion the continuation and support of life, so as to be members of His Body, of His Bones, and of His Flesh: But that those other Five commonly reckoned as Mysteries or Sacraments, which Christ instituted, as to their form at least, by His Spirit and by His Apostles in the Church, though they have each their own proper Grace accompanying them, yet have not the same nature nor definition of Sacraments as these Two; but are Sacraments in a lower sense, and of a less direct and universal necessity: nor are they Sacraments of the Gospel, *i. e.*, essential and indispensable Rites of the Covenant; which the Two principal Sacraments are, answering to Circumcision and the Pascal Lamb, of which if any partook not, that soul was cut off from the Covenant of His people?’

“*East.* ‘We do not deny the distinction which you draw between the Two and the Five; between that closer definition and use of the word, in which it may be said that the Christian Mysteries are most few in number, that is, Two, and the commoner and wider definition, by which they are Seven: But since you do not deny that the Five also all confer Grace, and that there is such a mutual relation between them all, that in respect of that relation, and according to a certain definition of the word, it is truly said that there are Seven Sacraments, we think it just and necessary that we should both for the future speak and teach distinctly the same language.’

“xviii. *Brit.* ‘Do you agree with us that the *mode* of that change by which the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist becomes Christ’s Body and Blood is not to be curiously searched into nor defined; and that if the word ‘Transubstantiation’ be taken to *define the manner* to be by a *physical* change, destruction, or cessation of the natural substances of Bread and Wine, such a doctrine of Transubstantiation is to be rejected?’

“*East.* (Answer 1.) ‘We say indeed that the *manner of the change and of the Presence* is not to be defined; but yet we have fully admitted the following propositions borrowed from the Latin schools, which Bellarmine in his work *On Controversies* calls the definition of the manner, namely,

“*That a natural material thing is really composed of two parts, which are rightly called ‘accidents’ and ‘substance:’ that upon the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Gifts the natural substances of Bread and Wine are destroyed or done away, and into their places come the natural, physical, or material substances of Christ’s Body and Blood: and that, consequently, Christ’s very true Body and Blood are not only present, but physically, or naturally and materially present; and it is not true to say that true natural Bread and Wine are in any sense at all present upon the Altar: But when the*

Scriptures, or the Fathers, or the Rubrics speak of '*Bread*,' they must be understood to mean *not bread*, but the '*appearance or accidents*' of bread : and when they say that the elements are '*transmuted*,' they are to be understood with strict and literal reference to the natural '*substances*' as separated from the natural '*accidents*;' but when they say that they are '*transformed*,' '*transposed*,' or '*transfigured*,' or '*sanctified*,' they are to be understood to speak vaguely, and *incorrectly*: And if any people deny any of these propositions, we anathematize them as heretics.'

"*Brit.* 'We certainly deny all those propositions, though we do not regard them as heresies, but rather as physical or metaphysical errors : so that it seems there can be no union between us, so long as we both remain in our present sentiments. In the mean time, that you may not be in ignorance of our true sentiments, we believe as follows :—

"That there are two distinct *Orders of Nature* and of *Grace* ; and that as in Baptism we may either say, looking *only to the Order of Grace*, that the old man is '*done away*,' and '*changed into a new creature* ; or, looking to both *Orders conjointly*, that there are in the Baptized two natures, one of the earth, earthy, which he has from the first Adam, one from heaven, heavenly, which he has from the Second ; or, lastly, looking only to the Order of Nature, that the very same child remains still in the very same natural '*substance*' and '*accidents*' which it had before it was Baptized ; so also of the Holy Communion. Looking only to the Order of Grace, the bread is really '*changed*,' '*transformed*,' or '*transubstantiated*' into the very Body of Christ : Looking to both Orders conjointly, in that Food there are two things, one sensible and earthly, the other heavenly : Or, lastly, looking to the Order of Nature only, the very same food and creature of Bread remains still in the very same natural '*substance*' and '*accidents*' which it had before it was Offered and sanctified. And we reject three corresponding errors ; viz., i. The error of the Romans, who assert, or seem to assert, a physical change, not indeed in Baptism, but in the Eucharist : ii. The heresy of the old Lutherans, who deny that the Bread is truly changed into, and becomes, and '*is*,' the '*very body of Christ*,' while they imagine a certain union of two physical substances, or consubstantiation : iii. The most pernicious heresy of most of the modern Protestants, especially the Calvinists, who, as they say that Baptism is only a figure of Regeneration, so also say that the Bread of the Eucharist remains what it was before in such sense, as to be only a bare figure or sign ; and that whatever Communion is given, is given, taken, and received apart from that sign, by means of an energy of faith in the mind of the receiver.'

"[Or], *East.* (ANSWER II.) 'We use freely the word Transubstantiation in common with all other words which signify change (as transelementation, transmutation, conversion, transposition, transformation, transfiguration, &c.) ; but our Church expressly guards against being misunderstood to put any such sense upon this word Transubstantiation, as may involve a definition of the manner : and certainly we think of nothing that is physical in the Divine Mysteries.'

"XIX. *Brit.* 'Do you agree with us, that the Body of Christ is taken and eaten in the Communion only after a heavenly and spiritual (*i.e.* a supernatural, not a natural or carnal) manner ; and that the mean where, by it is received and eaten is Faith : and that, consequently, the wicked, though they press with their teeth the outward species, are no way partakers of Christ ; (the like to which may be read in different Fathers?)'

“*East.* (Answer 1.) ‘We assert that the Body of Christ is taken and eaten in the Holy Communion *not* after a heavenly and spiritual, but after an *earthly, natural, physical, corporal, and carnal* manner; and that the means whereby it is received and eaten is *not* Faith, but *simply and merely the hand, the teeth, and the stomach*: and, consequently, that the wicked and faithless who press with their teeth the outward species, or rather the accidents of the species, are *simply and absolutely* partakers of Christ, *just in the same way as those who may be still spiritually alive in the Faith of their Baptism.* And we say anathema to all who deny these propositions.’

“*Brit.* ‘In that case you certainly anathematize us: and there can be no union between us so long as we both remain in our present sentiments.’

“[Or], *East.* (Answer 11.) ‘To say that the Body of Christ is taken and eaten ‘only after a Heavenly and Spiritual manner, and by Faith,’ if by such a manner is meant ‘*not really,*’ or ‘*separately from the consecrated Bread and Wine,*’ or that That which is received by the hand and by the stomach is *not truly the Body and Blood of Christ,* we consider to be heresy. But, at the same time, as we confess that the manner in which the Gifts are changed into Christ’s true Body and Blood, and in which He is present in the Sacrifice that is perfected, is not natural or carnal, but heavenly and spiritual, we call the Altar ‘*the Spiritual Table,*’ and the sanctified Bread and Wine ‘*Heavenly Mysteries:*’ and we pray to Christ, even after Consecration, while He is present in Them, ‘to hear us from the throne of His Glory, where He sits on high with the Father, and to vouchsafe to reach to us with His almighty hand His most Blessed Body and Blood, and through us, who are Priests, also to the Faithful. And the Heavenly Bread, which, though really made upon the Altar, is thus given, even after Consecration, by Christ ‘in a heavenly way,’ *i. e.* from Heaven, and ‘in a spiritual way,’ *i. e.* by His finger, which is the Holy Spirit, we confess can ‘be taken and received’ only by heavenly and spiritual creatures (*i. e.* by the Church and her members), and that by Faith, which is the spiritual life, the hand, and stomach of the new man, of the regenerate and baptized. For natural food is for natural creatures; but spiritual and heavenly food for spiritual and heavenly creatures. There is a natural creature, and there is a spiritual creature: and he that is not spiritual, *i. e.* that has not abiding in him the spiritual life of his Baptismal Faith, cannot, as Augustine and others rightly say, receive or eat the spiritual Bread, any more than a stone statue can receive or eat the natural food of a living man: for food is food only in relation to that nature which can be fed: to other things food is not: it ceases to be food, so far as it is considered in relation to such. *Nevertheless,* as neither the spiritual nor the natural Food have their being or their name with respect to this or that individual, but with respect to that whole nature which is capable of being fed, it is more usual to say that the wicked man receives indeed the spiritual Food *i. e.* the Body of Christ, yet not as nourishment, but as poison. As in the Sacrament of Baptism it is sometimes said of the wicked, that his body indeed was dipped in water, but his soul was not illuminated; sometimes, on the other hand, that he was regenerated indeed, but only to a greater condemnation.’

“xx. *Brit.* ‘Do you agree with us that the Holy Mysteries ought not to be reserved and kept in the churches for any other purpose than for the ministering of the Communion to the sick; that they ought not to be carried about the streets among the profane; nor lifted up and shewn in churches or elsewhere, in order to be worshipped with respect to any material or physical presence of Christ’s Body and Blood, to make room

for which the natural substances of the species may have been taken away or destroyed, according to the definition of the manner spoken of already ?'

"*East.* (Answer. I.) 'Concerning such reservation, and carrying about, as you mention, we need say nothing. But we assert not only that Christ is to be adored as present in the Mysteries on the Altar, but that He is also to be adored *with respect to a material and physical presence of His Body and Blood, to make room for which the natural and material Bread and Wine have been removed or done away* : And we anathematize those who say the contrary ?'

"*Brit.* 'In that case there can be no union.'

"[Or], *East.* (Answer. II.) 'We adore Christ as present in the Sacrifice that is perfected ; or, which is the same thing, we adore the Sacrament *in respect of its being the Body and Blood of Christ.* But we have already said that we do not maintain that He is present, or that the Mysteries are His Body and Blood, after any *physical or carnal manner.* And hence it is evident, that neither has our adoration *respect to any such manner* : but we continue 'to lift up our hearts,' 'to think nothing earthly,' 'to address Christ as sitting on high with the Father, though at the same time invisibly present with us : ' and we prostrate ourselves round about the Altar, which is at once visible and spiritual, as before the Cherubic throne of God, on which the Lamb, His only begotten Son, and our God, rests in the awful Mysteries there set forth. So our adoration is intellectual, and spiritual : as if Heaven were brought down into the visible Sanctuary, or as if we with the visible Sanctuary and the Altar, at which we minister, were raised up into Heaven.'

"XXI. *Brit.* 'Do you agree with us that the Offering of Christ once made naturally and physically upon the Cross, and incapable of repetition, is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual ; and that there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone : And that *therefore* any such multiplication of Masses as may be made not with the idea of celebrating the public Liturgy and Communion, but for the sake of the mere act of the Priest presenting in his hands *physically and materially* the same Victim Which was once for all *physically and materially* offered on the Cross, and so repeating in fact that Oblation, would be injurious to the unity and completeness of the Sacrifice of the Cross, and dangerous to the people, who might so be deceived to think that the Sacrifice of Christ can be offered for them *even materially and physically* again ?'

"*East.* (Answer I.) 'Although the Apostle says that 'Christ by one Offering of Himself once offered has perfected for ever them that be sanctified,' we yet maintain that that same Offering, which was first physically and materially offered by Christ Himself on the Cross, is now *no less physically and materially* offered on the Altar by the Priest, after Consecration, as often as the Liturgy is celebrated : and that the Apostle's words are to be explained *not* as if Christ's Body and Blood was physically and materially Offered once, and once for all, on the Cross ; for *it is offered many several times* ; but *inasmuch* as all future repetitions or continuations of that Offering, to be made subsequently, were rendered possible by the first Offering upon the Cross, and so were in a manner contained in it as in their cause and root : And we anathematize all who assert the contrary.'

"*Brit.* 'In that case there can be no union.'

"[Or], *East.* (Answer II.) 'That the Priest offers Christ, his Death and Passion, that is to say, the very same Sacrifice which was once for all offered on the Cross, mystically and intellectually, and *not by any physical or*

material repetition or continuation, is proved by the fact, that ‘*the Great and final Oblation*’ takes place *before the Invocation of the Holy Spirit to descend and change the Gifts*, and to consummate the Sacrifice *which has been Offered*. Nevertheless, as that act and Service is not simple, but compound, and there are two Altars, one visible and material, the other intellectual and supercelestial, and two Sacrifices, and two Priests in like manner; and as, when the Priest standing at the visible Altar lifts up and offers the Gifts, the antitypes of the Body and Blood of Christ, Jesus Christ Himself both receives them, and offers them and us in Himself, as our Priest, upon that Heavenly Altar of which He is also the Sacrifice; therefore, in respect of his union in that act with Christ, it is most true to say that the Priest, even upon earth, offers in Sacrifice that immaculate Lamb who is Himself at once both the Offerer and the Offered, the Receiver and the Distributed. And further, besides this, though the Priest Offers *not* again after the Great Oblation, the Church has ever continued to adore Christ, as having become by the Consecration really present in the Sacrifice that is Consummated; and to plead the Oblation before made; and to believe that those most solemn Prayers made immediately after the Consecration both for the Departed and for the Living derive ‘no small efficacy’ from the presence of the eternal Victim upon the Altar: as may be seen stated in the Catechetical Lectures of St Cyril of Jerusalem.’

“*Brit.* ‘To sum up what has been already treated of in detail, Do we now understand you to be agreed with us, that neither in the Oblation or Sacrifice, nor in the Change and Real Presence, nor in the act itself of Communion, nor in the adoration of the Eucharist, is any *gross or physical* notion to be admitted?’

“*East.* (Answer I.) ‘On the contrary, we assert that there is a physical conversion of the natural species or elements of bread and wine, by abstraction or abolition of their physical substances, and the substitution of the physical Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ: we assert that there is a physical reception and eating of Christ’s natural Body and Blood common to all receivers, Christians or infidels alike; that adoration is to be paid in respect of a physical Presence: and lastly, that the Priest literally and physically offers in his hands Christ’s physical Substance, as a repetition or continuation of the physical Offering on the Cross. And we say anathema to all who deny any of these propositions.’

“*Brit.* ‘In that case there can be no union.’

“[*Or*], *East.* (Answer II.) ‘We agree that neither in the Oblation, nor in the Change, nor in the Presence, nor in the Communion, nor in the Adoration, are any gross physical notions to be admitted; but in all these points the *Order of Grace*, which is above and beyond Nature, is to be distinguished from the *Order of Nature*.’

“XXII. *Brit.* ‘Do you agree with us, that there is no Divine law enjoining celibacy on the Three Orders of the Clergy?’

“*East.* ‘We agree; but we by no means allow that when Canons have been made on this subject, any individual, or any particular Church, may set them aside at will.’

“XXIII. *Brit.* ‘Do you agree with us, that every particular Church or every national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man’s authority, so that all things be done unto the edifying of Christ’s people?’

“*East.* ‘We agree, that all such Churches have full power to ordain

such matters *de novo*, and to change or repeal whatever has been of their own ordaining; but by no means, that they have power to set aside at will any Canons which have been enacted by superior Synods, and which they have themselves received: for this would tend *not* 'to edifying,' but rather to anarchy and confusion. Only, in such matters we consent that particular or national Churches may be excused, if they have yielded in any secondary matters, even in contravention of the Canons, to some external necessity, as to the decrees of the Civil Power, not of choice, but temporarily, and for the sake of avoiding greater evils.'

"xxiv. *Brit.* 'Do you agree with us, that the Civil Ruler, although Orthodox, has no power nor authority in matters purely spiritual, whether of Doctrine or of Discipline, but that such power is lodged by Divine right exclusively in the Episcopate and in the Clergy?'

"*East.* 'In this also we entirely agree.'

"The above may serve to give some idea of the basis on which negotiations might be opened for a reconciliation between the Churches, as well as of the manner in which they should be carried on in reference to particular questions, and of the prospect which there might be of a successful termination. It only remains, that we should mention briefly certain practical reforms, changes, or concessions, on the side of the British, some of which might not unreasonably be required by the Easterns, while others, if voluntarily offered, would very greatly facilitate the carrying of any such scheme of union into effect:

"i. That the British should receive the Seventh Council as such, so far as the theoretical propositions of its Canons are concerned, *the truth of which*, as we have seen above, *they have never yet denied*:

"ii. That they should use and kiss the Cross in the same manner as was customary before the Second Nicene Council, and as is still customary among the Nestorians: that there should be on it in the centre, sometimes, an enamelled or engraved figure of our Saviour; and, in like manner, on any ornamented covers of the Gospels; and that the Priest should kiss this on first going up to the Altar on which it lies, or after having read the Gospel:

"iii. That the Interpolation, that is, the words '*and from the Son,*' commonly called '*the Filioque,*' should be omitted from the Creed:

"iv. That some mention should be made in the Ritual of the Prayers of the Saints and Martyrs, as was done in the Collect used in the year 1660, for King Charles' Day:

"v. That it should be distinctly mentioned in some Canon or Rubric, that, according to a certain definition and mutual relation, the Sacraments of the Church are Seven:

"vi. That the rule for giving notice to the Priest before Communicating should be enforced; and the Bishop or Priest should be bound to examine applicants, at least before Confirmation, before Ordination, and before giving the Communion for the first time to any one; and to question them at least so far as to provide as far as possible against the danger of any receiving Confirmation, or Ordination, or approaching the Holy Communion after having committed excommunicable sins, without previously offering themselves to penance, and being found worthy of Absolution:

"vii. That the rule for keeping the Fast of the Church should be re-enacted; the observance of the Wednesday as a day of abstinence restored; and the due distinctions of diet recognized, and pointed out:

“VIII. That the First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. should be made not only the theoretical as now, but also the practical standard, for all Church-Offices, (the Invocation of the Holy Spirit being added in the Liturgy with the improved order, and the use of the Holy Chrism in Confirmation.) This would render it unnecessary to treat separately of various ceremonies now omitted in Baptism and in the Eucharistic Service, or of the *Unction of the Sick with Oil*, the *Prayers proper for the Departed*, &c :

“IX. That some clear supplementary explanations should be added within brackets to the XXXIX Articles ; and that wherever any Article makes a practical imputation, without setting forth distinctly those theological propositions which are rejected, that such distinct theological propositions should either be supplied and added, as explanations and limitations of such Articles, or, which would be better, substituted for such Articles, so as to avoid, if possible, the mere party-question concerning matters of fact altogether :

“X. That the use of Canonical Certificates or Letters Communicatory should be restored, in the case of persons of the laity or of the clergy removing from one diocese into another.

“[Or, to put all at once in a more compendious form, as was suggested several years later, if a bar were put to *passive* Communion for the future ; the Interpolation omitted from the Creed ; the First English Service-Book brought back into use ; and such an approbation as is now given to the Homilies given to the Volume entitled ‘A Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine,’ there would scarcely be need of negotiation for union ; as unity would already exist.]

“Whether it is reasonable to suppose that by such concessions as these the British Church might obtain, and the Eastern Church safely grant a real and solid union of Communion, is for those, in either Communion, into whose hands the above Dissertations may fall, to judge for themselves.”

SECTION XL.

MDE. A. AND HER HUSBAND SEND BISHOP LUSCOMBE’S SERMONS, WITH THE XXXIX ARTICLES, AND A POPISH REFUTATION OF THEM, TO THE SYNOD.

ON Saturday, March 6-18, after having assisted at the Vigil Service in the Chapel of a private house, I met an acquaintance, Mr R., who has been mentioned before, and who accosted me open-mouthed, asking what was the name of that Bishop from whom I came ? and on receiving the reply that his name was Luscombe, he said, “I thought so. Do you know what an ill turn he has been doing you ? what a volume of Sermons he has published ; attacking every thing that is Orthodox ?” He continued, “And have you seen the refutation ? It is so triumphant ! I suppose it is still to be had in the shops here.” I replied, that I had

seen some Sermons published by Bishop Luscombe several years ago in French, which might seem, on some points, to deny several of their doctrines: but that the difference, I felt confident, was only verbal and apparent, not real: And this assertion I illustrated by specifying two points, those of the *sevenfold* number of the Sacraments, and of *Transubstantiation*. He said, he had all this from the Arch-Priest, B. B. K. (Confessor to Mr A. and his daughters): that the Arch-Priest had shewn him the Publications. I heard much afterwards of the same matter from other sources; and found that Mr A. and his wife had not only given to the Arch-Priest, *and so to the Synod*, Bishop Luscombe's *Sermons* (*in the identical copy which he had given to Mde. A. at Paris*) together with a Popish volume published in refutation of them, but had also done their best to make others of their acquaintance read the Refutation; and had succeeded so far, that when I inquired for it, wishing to buy it, the reply was, that *all the copies were already sold*. At a later period, Russian laymen, who wished me well, spoke of this in conversation, as "*having been the only thing against me*: that up to this point all had been going on very well: that nothing could be more favourable than the impression which the Letters and Petition had made upon their Synod; and that a very friendly expectation had been excited as to the possible result of the second Petition: but now people were perplexed, and knew not what to think of me or of the Bishop."

Some weeks after the above had occurred, having occasion to acknowledge the receipt of those Instructions from Bishop Luscombe which reached me on Good-Friday, April 10-22, I wrote to the Bishop the following letter:—

"MY LORD,—I received your letter inclosed to me through our Chaplain Mr L. about a week ago; and have delayed thanking you for it hitherto, in order to be able to send this by the courier, instead of sending it by post. It was a great satisfaction to receive the Latin Form which was suggested returned to me approved and adopted by you; and it arrived in plenty of time; as I have not yet heard any thing of the second Petition to the Synod, further than that it has been translated into Russ by direction of the Ober-Procurator.

"I quite enter into your Lordship's feelings, when you say

that since they disregard one Bishop, and one Deacon, you are unwilling to intrude your opinion upon them, and wish me not to seek from you again any individual testimony to plead in that quarter; but rather, if occasion require, apply to the Episcopal College in Scotland. There is nothing, in my opinion, which can call for any further act or declaration on the part of your Lordship individually towards the Russian Church: and, on the other hand, nothing can be more canonically correct, nor, under the circumstances, more desirable, than that, when an individual layman, or clerk, and an individual Bishop, have done their duty on any point towards another Bishop or Church (as I hope has been the case in this instance), and have been mistrusted, or objected against, as of insufficient authority, appeal should be made to the Bishops and Synod of that Church from which the Bishop whose acts require further confirmation derives his Orders and mission. The Russian Authorities themselves, both secular and spiritual, with whom I have had to do, profess to desire nothing more than, by their objection against the witness and act of one Bishop, to give occasion to an appeal to the Synod of his Church, and so to elicit a public act. This however is of the greatest importance, with a view to the possibility of any such result, that whatever is done be done in strict conformity to canonical principles; and that each step should be the legitimate consequence of the former. Otherwise, the indisposition to act, on both sides, Scotch as well as Russian, will be so great, as certainly not to be overcome by any individual Deacon, or any individual Bishop; no, nor by a number of Bishops, if there should be any the least flaw discoverable in the legitimacy of their attempts to move the Body. On the contrary, if anything arises naturally from the attempts of individual laymen or clerks, or of individual Bishops, to do their duty by the Church in particular circumstances, and this comes naturally and legitimately before the highest authority of the Church, it will be very difficult in the long run even for those who are least inclined to move, to avoid doing their duty also. And this it is, which gives me a good hope with respect to the present matter, that all that has been done at present has come naturally, of itself, and has been strictly canonical. The Russians here, indeed, like our

own people at home, have been so long used to the existing division of the Church, that they have quite lost sight of the early Canons, and think only of the general question : And so I have had abundant regrets expressed to me, that your Lordship had not written to the Synod direct, or (which would have been still better, they say,) procured that the Scottish Synod should write ; and *then* they would have answered directly to you, and in a very different style. But, for myself, I am quite satisfied that the thing could not have been in a better train than it is : For now I have a perfect confidence, that both I, as an individual Deacon, and your Lordship, as a single Bishop, have been acting strictly, and clearly, within the sphere of our personal duty : Whereas, if your Lordship had come forward upon general grounds to open, or attempt to open, any conference with other Churches, you might have felt that you were doing what belonged naturally rather to others to do ; while for me, or any other such individual, who was neither Priest nor Bishop, any attempt to busy myself with the general interests of the Church would have been as presumptuous, as it would have been impracticable and absurd. In the mean time, and till I know the result of the present application to the Synod, I am, of course, unable to anticipate precisely what further step may yet remain to be taken in the matter.

“ A circumstance has occurred, since I wrote last, which has given me considerable annoyance, chiefly from the matter not having come in such a way as to enable me to answer ; and also from my not having here with me the *Sermons* in question. Your Lordship may remember giving Mde. A. some printed *Sermons* of your own, *together with a book containing Archbishop Platon's account of the Russian Doctrine, from which you exhorted her not to depart. You placed both these Publications in her hands in the hope of bringing her to re-consider the erroneous and indeed heretical opinions which she then unhappily held, and which I fear she still holds.* Whether it was that they were piqued to find that the documents which had been presented to the Synod, and the statements of doctrine they contained, had produced a favourable impression, and inspired the idea that a reconciliation of the Churches might eventually turn out to be

possible, I cannot say ; but thus much is certain, that *Mr A. having found a Popish Refutation of your Lordship's Sermons* in a French book-shop, *his wife gave him her copy of the Sermons themselves to carry, together with the Refutation, to one of the Members of the Synod, [who shewed them to the rest, and] upon whose mind they produced the most unfavourable impression.* This I learned only accidentally from others ; and have never yet had an opportunity of offering any explanations. I make no doubt that the points on which misunderstanding has arisen are in reality merely technical and verbal differences, of which the Papist in controversy always makes his advantage, representing our writers to deny the whole of that doctrine which he comprizes under the phraseology which they reject. I should like, if your Lordship will permit me, when I return from Russia, to make the Frenchman's book against your Sermons the occasion for a short Treatise which may afterwards be sent to Russia, and which may serve to reduce somewhat the misapprehensions now commonly caused by controversies merely verbal within narrower limits. [This was afterwards done by the compilation of the '*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine.*'] I scarcely need say, for your Lordship knows my sentiments on that point well enough, that I think a good deal of language is received among us, which had better be avoided and rejected, and a good deal rejected, as absolutely identical with error, which, with proper caution and explanations by authority, ought to be admitted and retained. But still, I am confident that neither in the Sermons now attacked, nor in the language of our orthodox divines generally, is there any real and irreconcilable difference in articles of Faith from the Faith of the Russian Church. And this, if it can be made out, is enough for our purpose. &c.

“ N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

SECTION XLI.

THE SYNOD APPOINTS ONE OF ITS MEMBERS TO ACT IN THE CASE, ORDERING HIM TO MAKE A WRITTEN REPORT : CONVERSATION WITH THE HIGH PROCURATOR.

ON Wednesday, May 12-24, I waited upon the High Procurator at the Synodal Palace, and was told by him

that in answer to my Petition, the Synod had appointed its junior Member, the Arch-Priest B. B. K., to confer with me, and that I might as well call upon him at once ; though the formal order to him to send for me would not be passed through the Chancery for a day or two. The Procurator added at the same time, that the Synod had also ordered the Arch-Priest to make Report in writing of all that should pass ; and observed, that *if what was being done* was possible for one individual clerk or Bishop, it was equally so for another, for many, or for all ; and so, if any thing came of it, it would open a door.

In the mean time he wished to know what was going on in Britain ; how many Bishops there were orthodox ; and on which of them we might most reckon : whether the religious movement gained ground or not : what were the dispositions of the Queen, and the Queen's Ministers, towards it : whether it were not, as they were informed, all running in favour of the Church of Rome ; &c. &c. ? He then said that some members of the Synod had shewn him the printed *Sermons of Bishop Luscombe*, and also the *Roman-Catholic volume published in refutation of them at Paris* ; and that certainly some pages of them had shocked him, as containing heresy : that, however, he had merely remarked to those who shewed them to him, " that the Bishop *might have changed his mind since*." I replied, " No ; that he has not, you may be assured. But that language of his which shocks you, is mere language, to be found in nearly all Anglican writers ; language which is bad, and can never be recognized by the common law of the Church when united, I well know ; but which leaves room for a substantial agreement in the basis of the true faith underneath it after all." And I instanced " the denial of five of the Sacraments." [See above, at p. 33.] In answer to the question, " How many of the Bishops are orthodox ?" it was replied, that " in the speaker's sense of the word, and in respect to all the doctrine and phraseology approved and received by the Universal Church before the sixteenth century, or even before the Schism of East and West, probably not any one single Bishop of our Church would seem to be exactly orthodox." At this he started, and said, " No ; I cannot think that : that must surely be going too far : " " No ;" it was

replied, "They would, I think, all use more or less of language which would seem to you heretical." He replied, "Granting what you say to be true, and that none perhaps can be perfect in orthodoxy, any more than in any thing else, still they may in intention and in submission to the Church be orthodox." "Yes," it was replied, "in that sense I hope the majority of our Bishops may be so: for I do not suppose that they have a deliberately heretical intention of rebelling against either the doctrine or the language which the universal Catholic Church before them had really received." I also said that I had at that time personally, and in Russia, no relation to any Anglican, but only to one Scottish Bishop; but that if I were to speak of the Church of England, or even of our whole Communion, and could speak as if our inherited position were uncompromised by any recent acts, (which unhappily was not the case,) I should say, that in one point of view it may be well for us, and for our prospects of improvement, that the Bishops and the Civil Government represent upon the whole, as they do, the existing state of opinion and feeling in society at large: That if this were otherwise, if, for instance, there were only four or five Bishops of distinctly Catholic principles, in whom those principles were developed to their consequences, they would inevitably cause a schism: that as things are, all holds together as one body, and seems at present to be making progress in the right direction: that even at present particular circumstances, or cases arising out of particular circumstances, and the relations, and duties, or acts of individuals may turn attention towards the possibility of eventual union, and prepare the way in some degree. But from the body at large, as one whole, nothing can be looked for for a long time, say for fifty or sixty years to come, or even more.

He observed, that what they must now do on their side, if they can, is to get some knowledge of all this into the Diocesan Seminaries, and into the superior Spiritual Academies of ecclesiastical education, in order that at length the Bishops and higher Clergy may know what may be possible, or what may be probably expected from the quarter of the British Churches at some future period. He repeated, as he and others had said before, that the Synod could not in my case (coming as I did only from one Bishop) depart from

the strict routine, nor confer with me in so free or liberal a way, as might have been the case if I had come from a Synod.

I took leave finally of the High Procurator after the termination of my official interviews with the Arch-Priest, on Wednesday, June 7, N. S., when he said many civil things, and told me, as will be mentioned below, that I might send copies of my own Report to Bishop Luscombe, and of any Synodal act which he might procure, in consequence of my Appeal, to be done in Scotland to the Russian Synod through their Ambassador in London.

SECTION XLII.

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE ARCH-PRIEST BEFORE AND AFTER
THE OFFICIAL CONFERENCES : BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S SERMONS,
AND THE XXXIX ARTICLES : GIVE TO THE ARCH-PRIEST THE
DISSERTATIONS PRINTED ABOVE IN SECTION XXXIX.

ON Friday, May 14-26, I had an interview with the Arch-Priest, B. B. K., of which, as it was not strictly official, I will give some account here, reserving the account of strictly official Interviews to appear in the Report made to Bishop Luscombe. The Arch-Priest told me that he had not yet actually received the Synodal order : when he had received it, it would be his duty, in pursuance of my desire, to object to me the heresies of which the Eastern Church accuses the British ; than which, (taking up from his table the volume of *Bishop Luscombe's Sermons*, and the *Romish Refutation of them*) "nothing can be easier." [On another and later occasion, meeting our Chaplain at Cronstadt, and talking with him of this affair, the Arch-Priest said, that "Certainly if he had had nothing but those documents which were sent in to the Synod to go upon, he should have been rather at a loss how to accuse me as a heretic ; but there had fallen, as it were, out of the clouds into his hands, just at the right moment, before he wanted them, the necessary sources or materials out of which to accuse me."] Upon this he opened the volume of Bishop Luscombe's Sermons, and asked me *whether I knew my own Bishop's signature and handwriting ?* I said, "Yes ; certainly, it is his : " and I told him something of the history of that particular volume, and of the

intention with which the Bishop had given it to Mde. A.; and how *he* had joined with it *Archbishop Platon's Exposition of the Russian Faith, exhorting her to interpret one by the other, and to find one common substance of religion in both.* He laughed, and said, he thought rather that “the Bishop must have given it to the Lady *to confirm her in her heretical opinions, with which both the Sermons themselves, and the XXXIX Articles appended to them only too well agreed;* and that now the Lady must have given it to her husband *to convert him also to her own heresies.*” I asked What motive he supposed they must have had in giving it, with the Popish Refutation, to him, and so virtually to the Synod? to which he answered nothing, but only laughed; and then said more seriously, “*I do not wish to say any thing harsh, or painful to you, nor to think of you as if you had been trying to impose upon us; but really when I consider the divergence, not to say contrariety, which there is between those documents which you have sent in to the Synod and these ‘Sermons’ of your own Bishop, and the XXXIX Articles of his Church, I do not know what to think either of you, or of that Bishop.*” He said he should have nothing to do but to write out extracts from the XXXIX Articles, and passages from the Bishop’s own Sermons, to which he shewed me he had made references, and call upon me to reject and anathematize them; and then send them in in writing in his Report to the Synod. He then shewed the passages which he had marked in the XXXIX Articles, and in the Sermons, and which he meant to object to me officially in due time, putting his own sense upon each passage as he shewed it. I said, that as for the Sermons, we needed not to enter into any question about them, as they were merely the writings of one Bishop; and the Letters I had brought to Russia were of later date, and approved and signed by the same Bishop; and so had every right to be taken either for an authentic explanation, or, if he preferred to say so, even for a correction and retractation of the Sermons: though I was myself fully convinced that the Sermons, like the XXXIX Articles, were capable of being interpreted in a good sense: That as for the Articles, which were indeed a public and authoritative Formula, the sense he put upon them was bad, and to be rejected; but I took them to have a very different sense:

and not I only, but all our standard Divines, and the spirit of our Church herself. And in many things, I said, apparent differences were only verbal. But in answer to all such attempts at defence, he only said, "No doubt *you* personally disbelieve those wicked Articles: but it is not, as you say, a question of *interpretation*. We must not trifle or quibble dishonestly in matters of faith: and after that fashion, by interpreting and explaining away, the most blasphemous book might be made into a book of devotion." Anticipating something of this kind, I had brought with me those '*Dissertations*' which have been printed above, and which had not long before been written in English at the request of M. Mouravieff, and afterwards translated into Latin at the suggestion of the same person; and I then placed these same Dissertations in the hands of the Arch-Priest, begging him to look at the Dialogue (Dissertation XII.), in which I had represented the British Church as not only defending the XXXIX Articles for herself, but as offering them, in their true sense, to be received by the Easterns. At this he uttered an exclamation, "God forbid!" and declared that "if ever the Synod, which it was absurd even to suppose, should allow or receive those Articles, he would be the first to rise, and to denounce the Synod to the Faithful as having become heretical." However at length he promised to read the Dissertations (especially Nos. VII. and XII.), against our Official Interview. He read at that same time No. XI., containing a Scotch Presbyterian writer's account of the Scottish Episcopal Church; and *he seemed to be struck by it; but declared that* "*If so, the Scottish Church is manifestly all contrary to the XXXIX Articles; and perhaps there may be some among you better than those evil Formularies. If they are so, they ought to set the example of rejecting them, since they disbelieve them.*" I said, "Of *interpreting* them, if you please, not of *rejecting* them." And to shew him that I had not sought to dissemble those errors which are indeed prevalent amongst us, I read over to him from Dissertation VII. the statement there made of the errors of opinion respecting Doctrine, Discipline, and Ritual, which are prevalent amongst us. He interrupted me at each pause, reiterating, "*It is not 'some' only, or 'many' among you who hold such evil opinions, but the XXXIX Articles, and the*

Church herself, and your own Bishop." I replied, "*It is for the Bishop from whom I come to clear himself from the imputation of duplicity or imposture: and it is for the same Bishop and the Synod of his brethren to defend and explain the Articles, which you and the Eastern Church now misinterpret. If they, when I go back, disallow that interpretation, which I now suppose myself to share in common with them, I am ready to renounce the Articles, and them, and their Church, at your bidding. For the authority of the Eastern Church to interpret either this or any other document is certainly greater than that of my private and unsupported opinion. But if the Bishop from whom I come owns and approves the Confession of Faith made in his name: and if he is himself in turn owned and supported in his acts and professions by the Synod of his Church: then I may reasonably prefer an interpretation of the Articles made by that Church which had either framed them herself, or adopted them as her own to an interpretation objected in the name of the Eastern Church, which up to this time has had no official or Synodical cognizance of them, and which has many grounds for prejudice against them.*" Upon my rising to take leave, the Arch-Priest desired me to come to his house on Monday, May 17-29, (which day he afterwards changed to Tuesday, May 18-30), saying, that by that time he should no doubt have received the Synodal order.

I went accordingly; and after three official Interviews, (viz. on Tuesday May 18-30, on Friday June 2, and on Sunday June 4, N.S.) an account of which, digested together, is given in the Report to Bishop Luscombe, I finally took leave of him on Monday June 5: on which occasion, in answer to something that he had said, I assured him that "I had no intention of dealing deceitfully, nor of trifling with the Synod in the matter: that I felt and admitted that there were things in the Bishop's printed Sermons which needed some explanations, which it was for him to make; and no less that there were passages in the XXXIX Articles which needed explanation, and which I trusted the Bishop and his brethren of the Scottish Synod would make also: otherwise, I could not pretend to gainsay the authority which accused me, and *he might expect me to come back and offer myself to be Re-converted*" On his side, the Arch-Priest

also made some apology for any asperity of manner he might have used in taxing me or Bishop Luscombe with dishonesty; and said, he “ would *try* to think well of me: though he did not see, in the face of such clear evidence of heresy, how any good could result from my appealing to Bishop Luscombe, and to the Synod of his brethren in Scotland.”

[The Arch-Priest told me that if I were to be Reconciled, I might probably be received with my Order of Deacon. He also said, that he had been directed to enquire whether I had been Confirmed with Chrism, or no; as, in case I had not, this would be a point for the Synod to consider, and to decide, whether they could allow and recognize Episcopal Confirmation without Chrism.]

SECTION XLIII.

REPORT MADE TO BISHOP LUSCOMBE OF OFFICIAL CONFERENCES WITH THE ARCH-PRIEST, AND OF THE REFERENCE OR APPEAL WITH WHICH THEY CONCLUDED.

AFTER having taken leave of the Arch-Priest, the High Procurator, and the Rector of the Academy. (which last expressed his hope that I might be successful in the Appeal, and come back some day or other to them from a Synod), and before leaving St Petersburg, (which I left on Friday June 4-16), I commenced writing to Bishop Luscombe a Report, of which the following is a translation:—

“ A Report made by the Deacon N. N. to the Right Reverend Father in God Matthew, the Bishop from whom he had gone to Russia:—

“ MY LORD BISHOP,—Shortly after I had received the Instructions which you sent me, I was informed that the Most Holy Russian Synod had deputed one of its own Members, the Most Venerable the Arch-Priest B. B. K., Grand Almoner of the Army and Fleet, to confer with me.

“ The Arch-Priest called me to his residence, and shewed me the Synodal Mandate in Russ, to the following effect:

‘ Since you have full knowledge of all that relates to the Petition of N. N. the Deacon from Britain, the Holy Synod appoints you to call the said Deacon to you, and to declare to him all that is necessary in order to his being admitted to the Communion of our Church.’

“He was directed besides *to send in a written Report to the Synod of all that should pass* in consequence.

“On my side, I laid before the Arch-Priest a copy of those Instructions which I had received from your Lordship.”

[*For the Instructions see above, p. 149.*]

“After these documents had been read on either side, the Arch-Priest said, that he had received no order either to answer, as in the name of the Synod, any questions from me respecting our alleged loss of union, or to examine my conscience, after the manner of a Confessor, on the Faith which I might hold ; (he had not been ordered, as it seemed, so much as to exhort me to embrace the Communion of the Eastern Church) ; but only to declare to me all that was necessary, if I pleased to go over to the Communion of the Russian Church on the usual terms.

“On this I observed, that while I had asked for one thing, the Synod, as it seemed, had answered by granting me another. For I had asked, that the Synod should begin by shewing me that we had lost our union, as was objected, and so proceed to reconcile me by the prescribed Form, if that were possible ; but what the Synod in answer had granted me was this, that dropping all mention of that loss which it had objected, it would declare to me the existing practice of the Eastern Church, according to the prescribed Form. I added, that I could in no wise offer myself to be dealt with in order to Reconciliation (it being both unreasonable, and contrary to my conscience, as well as to your Lordship’s Instructions), unless he first proved to me the reality of that loss which had been objected against me, and the Bishop from whom I came, and against the British Church, as the cause and origin of hostility, by the Synod itself ; and that it was manifest that this was the real question at issue, upon which my case must mainly turn, and from which all further conference or dealing must necessarily begin or proceed.

“At length, on my insisting, and urging, that it could not even be conceived how any man should ever come to quit either the Roman, or the British, or any other Church, and pass over to the Eastern as to the sole true and Catholic or Œcumenical Church, unless he were first satisfied by reasonable proof, that his own former Church either was a mere Sect which could never have belonged to the mysti-

cal Body of Christ, or had really lost that right and portion which it once possessed in the Catholic Body, the Arch-Priest answered, that though he was not authorized to say this in the name of the Synod, (there being no manner of need that the Synod should asseverate what was perfectly well known to all men from history), he yet, of his own common sense, and speaking as of a matter generally notorious, might declare to me that the British Church had lost their Communion at the same time with the Roman and with the other Western Churches ; and that by a Synodal act and sentence passed in the time of the Patriarch Photius with the greatest unanimity of all Orthodox Christians : And though after this act there may have been some appearances of union, and some feigned reconciliations between the Churches, yet such reconciliations were owing only to the policy or force of the Greek Emperors, not to any real agreement between the Bishops : that the anathema which was first pronounced in the time of Photius, and reiterated in other subsequent Synods, was at length, two hundred years later, in the time of Michael Cerularius, finally confirmed : that so we had both lost our original union, and that by the act and sentence of numerous Synods ; and, what was of most consequence to know, we had lost it most deservedly, on account of real and damnable heresies, into which the whole Western Church, and so also the British Church, had fallen : For that those Churches had asserted, and still asserted (besides their heresy of unleavened bread condemned in the same Synods), that the Holy Ghost proceeds not from the Father only, but also from the Son, thereby, in virtue of the two distinct personalities, making two distinct principles or causes of Deity.

“ To this accusation I answered, that the Latin expression ‘ *Filioque*,’ ‘ *and from the Son*,’ (as the Arch-Priest himself also confessed) was not necessarily nor of itself heretical ; else they must condemn as heretics those Orthodox Latin Fathers who are admitted to have used this expression, and whom hitherto the Eastern Church has never ventured to condemn : That as for the doctrine objected to me by the Arch-Priest, I confessed that it was decidedly heretical, but denied that the expression *Filioque* had ever been used, or was now used by the British Church in any such

sense. At the same time I offered the following as a statement of our belief on the doctrine of the Procession :—

“ ‘ We believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds *originally* from *the Father only*, but that He is *communicated* from all Eternity to the Son, and rests in Him *so as to be the Spirit of the Son in the very same way in which He is the Spirit of the Father* : For as Christ, the Son of Man, was *Anointed in time by the Father with the Spirit*, and is Himself the Fountain of Living Water, and breathed forth His own Spirit upon His Apostles, so, *irrespectively of all time*, the co-eternal Son of God is *ever and unceasingly Anointed* by the Father ; is ever and unceasingly the Fountain and Source of Light and Life ; *and ever and unceasingly breathes forth the Holy Spirit as His own Spirit* : So that this same Holy Spirit, at once the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son, shines forth ‘ from the Father by the Son,’ or ‘ from the Father and the Son,’ not in time only, but also, *irrespectively of time, from all eternity.*’

“ The Arch-Priest said, that the statement *seemed to him to be Orthodox* ; but that it was not the faith of the Bishop from whom I came, nor of the British Church.

“ To this I answered, that if he had made his charge concerning our loss of union in the name of the Synod, and not merely as of his own private opinion, it would have been my duty to appeal to the Bishop from whom I came, and to the Scoto-British Church to approve or disown the statement I had made of our Faith : [See the Note at the end of this Report.] But as it was, I could do no more than request him now to state to me all that he had to state in the name of the Synod in such way and method as he pleased, or as the Synod had directed : For that though this was not exactly what I had petitioned for, nor what the former Answer of the Synod justified me in expecting, I was nevertheless most ready to hear with all attention whatever Declaration should be made to me of the present practice and hypothesis of the Eastern Church, *irrespectively of the question of our having lost the right of union* : Indeed I thought this might perhaps be very useful, as such a Declaration would be of the utmost authority, and might serve to supply to the Bishops of the British Churches more accurate knowledge on some points of great moment, than is possessed by us at present.

“ Hereupon the Arch-Priest made his Declaration to me in language to the following effect :

“ [*An Exposition made in the name of the H. Synod of all that is necessary in order to the admission of any one coming from the British Church to the Communion of the Russian.*

‘ I. That, first of all it is necessary that he who would be admitted to the Communion of the Russian Church, do undoubtedly resolve with himself that the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church is truly and exclusively the Catholic or Œcumenical Church in its integrity and perfection ; and that therefore it is the business of all to take refuge in this Eastern Œcumenical Church, as in the sole way of salvation ; while all other Churches and Sects, inasmuch as they are not recognized by the Œcumenical Eastern Church, nor enjoy Communion with her as a matter of fact at present, are ways of darkness and of death, to be renounced and anathematized by all who would escape to light and life :

‘ II. Secondly, that whosoever is willing to pass over from his Sect or Church to the Eastern as to the Œcumenical Church, must be ready also to pay a sincere and full obedience to the same Eastern Œcumenical Church in all matters, whether of Discipline or of Doctrine, and to reject absolutely and abjure as heretical all doctrines of his former Church or Sect, which differ by so much as a word or letter from the doctrines of the Eastern Œcumenical Church :

‘ III. [As regarded myself, it was necessary, he said,] that I should first honestly and simply admit this principle, that the Eastern is the Œcumenical Church ; and then not question curiously or captiously, or rather deceitfully, at what point of time, by what Synodal act, or by the Synodical admission of what heresy, the British Church has lost her original union with the Eastern, and her portion in the common Catholic Body ? Or whether she has *de jure* lost it at all, or no ? For that this is not the way to begin : nor do such cunning questionings merit attention or favour, but rather anger or indignation : For which reason the Holy Synod had neither then given me any answer to such questions, nor (as he very well knew) ever would :

‘ IV. Nor, again, was I to make too careful or curious distinctions as to the importance of particular differences ; nor to

question whether some things may not be secondary, in such sort, as that a Church may err in them without thereby falling into absolute heresy or apostacy ; or whether again any seeming difference or controversy may not be owing only to a difference of practical judgment, or to the ambiguities of received phraseology : For though it be granted, that there *is* some difference in the things themselves, as for instance, between this primary doctrine, that God is a Trinity, and the doctrine, that it is right reverently and affectionately to kiss or salute the Cross, the Gospel, Holy Relics, Consecrated Pictures, Vestments, and other furniture, still it by no means follows that either Churches or individuals seeking admission to the Communion of the Eastern Œcumenical Church have therefore any right to negotiate with her, as if they stood upon equal ground, for terms : For all other so-called Churches, being unrecognized by the sole true and Œcumenical Eastern Church, are mere nullities, and not true Churches of God : and in so far as they differ from the said Œcumenical Eastern Church, or are held to differ from her, even in points that seem to be secondary, they are heretical no less than if they denied the faith in the most capital points.’

“ Having laid down first these general principles, the Arch-Priest produced a thin volume inscribed with your Lordship’s name in your own handwriting on the title-page, and containing certain Sermons of yours in French, and the XXXIX Articles of the Anglican Church at the end, as an appendix. This book or pamphlet had been given by your Lordship to the Lady with whom I was engaged in controversy, at Paris, where she then resided : and together with it you had sent her an Exposition of the Russian Faith by Platon, sometime Metropolitan of Moscow, exhorting her not to trust her own private judgment so far as to abandon the common Faith of both Churches.

“ The Lady having since returned to Russia, and seeing that your Lordship not only refused to own those heresies which she imputed to the British Church, or to admit herself to the Communion as a convert and apostate from the Russian Church, but were besides taking measures to counteract the scandal she might raise against the British Church by professing heresy all over Europe in its name,

and sacrilegiously invading its Communion, after having consulted with her husband, sent the volume which she had received from you at Paris, and together with it *not* the Exposition of Archbishop Platon *but* a Popish volume published at Paris in refutation of your Sermons, to the Arch-Priest, her husband's Confessor, he being also a Member of the M. H. Synod, and then deputed to confer with me.

“ The Arch-Priest then having produced this book, and having shewn me in it the XXXIX Articles, told me, that if I would be admitted to the Communion of the Russian Church, I ‘ must acknowledge those Articles to be a full and perfect Confession of the Faith both of the Scottish and of the Anglican Churches, a Confession not to be interpreted, filled up, or corrected by any other Documents, Homilies, Liturgies, or writings of Divines, but to be understood and taken in the plain literal sense and spirit :’

“ In the next place, that I ‘ must confess that the following false and heretical propositions, contrary both to the truth and to the doctrine of the Œcumenical Eastern Church, are either expressly contained in the XXXIX Articles, or else may plainly and necessarily be inferred from them :—

‘ *In Article V.*

‘ I. That the Holy Ghost proceeds from two distinct Persons ; that is, from two distinct principles of Deity :

‘ II. That He proceeds from the Father and from the Son.’

“ *And that this is the original heresy of all the Latins, and so also of the British Churches : the other Articles containing Lutheran and Calvinistic errors ; as follows :*

‘ *In Article VI.*

‘ III. That the tradition of the Church has *no* authority :

‘ IV. That Holy Scripture, without the Apostolical Church and the Sacraments, is sufficient for salvation :

‘ V. That the Church can require nothing of Christians to be believed as of necessity to salvation, except what may appear to each individual, according to his own private interpretation, to be either expressly read in the Books of the holy Scriptures, or to be capable of being proved thereby :

‘ VI. That the Church cannot require any thing of Christians to be believed or admitted at all, except what may appear to each individual, according to his own private interpretation, to be expressly read in Scripture, or proved thereby :

‘ *In Article XIX.*

‘ VII. That the visible Church of Christ in four of its Patriarchates, or rather, that all Churches, except only the British, have fallen away from the true Orthodox and Catholic Faith into error, that is, heresy :

‘ *In Article XX.*

‘ VIII. That the Church has no other authority in controversies of faith but this, that she may decree such things to be believed by each individual as true, or as necessary to salvation, as may appear to each individual, according to his own private interpretation, to be neither decreed contrary to the Scriptures, nor to be obtruded besides the same as of necessity to salvation :

‘ IX. That the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies in no other sense than so far as what she decrees may appear to each individual, according to his own private interpretation, to be in agreement with Scripture :

‘ *In Article XXI.*

‘ X. That general Councils, although they may have been received as such for many ages by the Œcumenical Church, may have erred, and handed down heresies to the whole world instead of the true Catholic Faith :

‘ XI. That some even of the truly Œcumenical Councils not only could err when they were first convoked and celebrated, but actually have erred, and have handed down heresies to the whole Church instead of the true Faith :

‘ XII. That whatever has been decreed by General or Œcumenical Councils has neither weight nor authority, except so far as each individual Christian may be persuaded that it is taken out of the Holy Scriptures.’

“ And thus far of the first principles and sources of Theology, Ecclesiastical Tradition, and Holy Scripture : Then of Justification, and of the Sacraments, as follows :

‘ *In Article IX.*

‘ XIII. That Original Sin in the baptized or regenerate Christian simply and absolutely remains :

‘ XIV. That in no manner nor sense is it true to say that Original Sin is by baptism done away :

‘ *In Article XI.*

‘ XV. That men are justified by Faith only, irrespectively, that is, of the initiating Sacrament of Holy Baptism :

‘ XVI. That Faith alone and of itself, even though an honest intention of obedience be wanting, can confer on him who has it Justification :

‘ XVII. That in no manner nor sense, neither before Baptism, nor in Baptism, nor after Baptism, is it true to say, that men are justified by Faith and Works, or ‘ by Works, and not by Faith only :’

‘ *In Article XIII.*

‘ XVIII. That all Works done before the dispensation of the Grace of Christ and of His Spirit, given on the day of Pentecost, were sins ; or, which amounts to the same thing, had the nature of sin in God’s sight :

‘ *In Articles XXIII and XXVI.*

‘ XIX. That those are lawfully called and sent to the office of public teaching and ministering Sacraments, who have been chosen to that work by such as have the power of calling and sending committed to them by the civil magistrate :

‘ XX. That those Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, have been, and will be rightly and validly consecrated and ordained, who are consecrated or ordained by a Ritual conferring Holy Orders only in the name of a King and a Parliament :

‘ *In Article XXV.*

‘ XXI. That the Sacraments are merely testimonies and signs of God’s favour and good-will towards us, and are effectual only in that they stir up or increase faith in the heart and the understanding :

‘ XXII. That there are simply and absolutely Two Sacraments, and two only ; neither more nor less :

‘ XXIII. That it is simply and absolutely false to say, that the Sacraments of the Gospel or of the Church are Seven in number :

‘ XXIV. That those Five commonly called Sacraments by the Holy Fathers, that is to say, Confirmation, Penitence, Orders, Matrimony, and the Unction of the Sick, can in no manner nor sense be reckoned among the Sacraments of the Gospel, or of the Church :

‘ XXV. That the abovementioned Five, all and every one of them, are bare Rites and Ceremonies, and contain not the Grace of God :

‘ XXVI. That the abovementioned Five are nothing else

than depraved and corrupt followings of the Apostles, or mere states of life, which are permitted indeed to Christians, but in no manner nor sense have the nature of Sacraments :

‘ In Article XXVII.

‘ XXVII. That Baptism is merely a sign of regeneration, not conferring regeneration itself, but only admitting those who receive it into the society of the visible Church :

‘ In Article XXVIII.

‘ XXVIII. That the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist are in no manner nor sense changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord :

‘ XXIX. That in no manner nor sense is it true to say, that the nature or substance of the Bread and Wine passes into the substance of Christ’s Body and Blood :

‘ XXX. That the Bread and Wine after Consecration are in no manner or sense the Lord’s Body and Blood :

‘ XXXI. That the Body and Blood of the Lord are given, taken, and eaten in the Lord’s Supper only as separate and disjoined from the Bread and Wine :

‘ XXXII. That the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord’s Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, that is, not really, but figuratively or symbolically, by the intellectual or spiritual act of the recipient :

‘ XXXIII. That in no manner nor sense is it true to say, that the Body and Blood of the Lord lie upon the Altar, are given by the hand of the Priest, and received by the communicants into their hands, mouths, and stomachs :

‘ XXXIV. That the mean whereby the Body of Christ is taken and eaten in the Lord’s Supper is simply and absolutely Faith, irrespectively of the Consecration, and of the Consecrated elements themselves :

‘ XXXV. That the presence of Christ’s Body and Blood does not remain so long as the species or kinds themselves remain uncorrupt in their proper nature :

‘ XXXVI. That the Body and the Blood of the Lord are present only in the very act of Communion, and so long only as the energy of faith continues :

‘ XXXVII. That the Bread and Wine are not to be Offered or lifted up in the Consecration of the Mysteries :

‘ XXXVIII. That the Body of Christ truly present in the

Sacrament of the Eucharist, or which is the same thing, that the Eucharist itself, so far as it is the Body of Christ, is not to be adored :

‘ XXXIX. That it is unlawful to reserve the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and carry it about to the sick :

‘ *In Article XXIX.*

‘ XL. That in no manner nor sense is it true to say that wicked Christians, or such as have not an energy of lively faith in the act of Communicating, receive or eat the Body and Blood of Christ :

‘ XLI. That the wicked, and such as have not a lively faith, eat and drink only a bare and empty sign, and not the true Sacrament of Christ’s Body and Blood :

‘ XLII. That the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, when they are received by wicked persons, or by such as have not a lively faith, are in no manner nor sense the Body and Blood of Christ :

‘ *In Article XXXI.*

‘ XLIII. Although the bloody sacrifices of the Old Covenant were both true, proper, and propitiatory, the unbloody sacrifices of the New Testament are neither true, proper, nor propitiatory :

‘ XLIV. That the Priest celebrating the Liturgy in no manner nor sense makes any intercession, expiation, propitiation, or satisfaction for his own sins and for the sins of the Christian people :

‘ XLV. That in no manner nor sense is it true to say that the Priest, in the celebration of the Liturgy, offers Christ for the Faithful, for the remission of sin and its penalties :

‘ XLVI. That it is unlawful to make prayers and intercessions for the Faithful departed :

‘ XLVII. That the Eucharistic Oblation ought not to be offered for the Faithful departed :

‘ XLVIII. That the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is neither more nor less than a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit :

‘ *In Article XXII.*

‘ XLIX. That to kiss, salute, or adore from Christian affection and reverence the Cross, the Book of the Gospel, the remains of Holy Men, the Consecrated Pictures, Vessels, Ecclesiastical Vestments, and the like, is unlawful :

‘ L. That to address the spirits of the righteous, or to ask them to pray with us and for us to Christ our God is in no manner nor sense lawful :

‘ LI. That all doctrine contrary to the two above Propositions is a fond thing vainly invented, grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God :

‘ LII. That the Decrees of the Second Nicene Council are not to be received or obeyed as Œcumenical :

‘ *In Article XXXII.*

‘ LIII. That the Decrees of the Council in Trullo, called the Quini-Sext Council, are not to be reckoned among the Decrees of the Œcumenical Councils :

‘ LIV. That it is lawful for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to marry after Ordination, although the particular Church or the whole Œcumenical Church have forbidden them to contract marriage :

‘ LV. That the Church cannot lawfully make Canons restraining her Clerks from marriage :

‘ *In Article XXXIV.*

‘ LVI. That the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church may rightly be broken and disregarded by individuals, if they think them to be repugnant to the Word of God :

‘ LVII. That every Particular or National Church has authority to change or abrogate all Rites and Ceremonies introduced only by human authority, even though the authority which introduced them have been that of General or Œcumenical Synods, which have been publicly acknowledged and received by that same Particular or National Church :

‘ *In Article XXXVII.*

‘ LVIII. That the supreme government of the Christian Church in all causes, both of Faith and of Discipline, belongs to the Civil Power.’

“ Then the Arch-Priest told me that, ‘ besides confessing all the above Propositions to be contained in the XXXIX Articles, I must renounce and anathematize both the said Propositions themselves, and the XXXIX Articles from whence they were taken, and the British Church, which imposes those Articles as a Confession of the true Faith upon her Members.’

“ And, lastly, he laid before me in a printed Book the Form prescribed by the Eastern Church for the Reconcilia-

tion of converts from heterodoxy; though in that Form there was no express mention either of our loss of union, or of the XXXIX Articles: nor indeed was the British Church, either Scottish or Anglican, so much as named: All that it contained was an abjuration of Popery, Lutheranism, and Calvinism, with a profession of the Faith of the Eastern Church to be made as by a Proselyte. I saw nothing whatever in the Form which was contrary to the Faith of our Church. However, as the Form clearly laid down this principle, that the Eastern Church is Œcumenical, and that all persons Reconciled by it pass over from some heretical Church or Sect as from the way of darkness and of death to the way of Light and Life, it was plain that it was capable enough of serving for the Reconciliation of all persons indifferently, to whom the Eastern Church imputes any heresy whatever; and that a distinct exposition either of the particular errors to be renounced in each case, or of the truths to be professed, was in no wise necessary. So that the Arch-Priest might very rightly and reasonably say, as he did say, that only one slight change was needed to make this Form serviceable for my Reconciliation, namely, that the name of the British Church, Scottish, or Anglican, should be substituted for the words 'Popery,' 'Lutheranism,' or 'Calvinism.'"

"End of the Declaration or Statement made by the Most Venerable Arch-Priest B. B. K., in the name of the Russian Patriarchal Synod.]

"As soon as he had ended the above Statement, the Arch-Priest demanded of me 'Whether I were then willing to go over by the prescribed Form to the Eastern as to the Œcumenical Church, and to say Anathema to the British Church, with her Confession of the XXXIX Articles, and those errors which he had objected to me out of them?'

"I replied, that 'I was perfectly ready to say Anathema to any Sect or Church which was alien to the Œcumenical or Catholic Church; and that so, if I had only been assured of this principle, that the Eastern Church is Œcumenical, and that the British Church has lost its original union with the Œcumenical Church by some really heretical apostacy, it would have been superfluous to enter into any question about the XXXIX Articles, or any other later Decrees of

a Church which had for many centuries been heretical : for in saying Anathema to the Church itself, I should at the same time of course have said Anathema to the XXXIX Articles also, so far as they differed from the Decrees of the Œcumenical Church. As it was however, I said, that he had by no means shewn me that the Eastern Church is indeed Œcumenical : so far from it, that he had expressly declared the H. Synod would never reply to any such captious question : Which being so, I wondered how he could think of asking me, as he had just asked me, whether I were ready, without any cause, to abjure my spiritual Mother ; knowing, as he did very well, that what I had petitioned for was, *not* to have all that was necessary declared to me, or, in other words, to have it declared to me that the Eastern Church assumes herself to be Œcumenical, but to have it proved to me that the British Church had really (as was objected) lost her right of union with the Eastern and with the Œcumenical Church ; and *so* at length (*if* that could be first done, which I did not think it could) to be Reconciled according to the Form prescribed for converts from heterodoxy.’

“ The Arch-Priest said that ‘ he had shewn me in the very Confession of the British Church manifest errors, to which I ought to be ready to say Anathema.’ ”

“ To this I replied, that it is not of itself enough to point out errors in any particular Church, to justify you in calling on the members of such particular Church to say Anathema to her, unless it can be shewn further that the errors are of such a nature, as to overturn the saving Faith : For that there is a difference between the case of individuals rebelling against the Church, who may often be excommunicated for their rebellion without examining precisely the degree of their error, and the case of Bishops and Churches contending against other Bishops and Churches : Such Bishops and Churches, being in some sense equals, and having a share in the authority itself, may even err in some lesser controversies without thereby absolutely losing by their error their right and portion in the Œcumenical Church : In my own case he had certainly objected against the British Church a great number of decided heresies : but yet he had mixed up with these, without making the least distinction, some

other errors of secondary magnitude ; and even some controverted points of mere discipline or ritual : No doubt, he had done this reasonably enough, and consistently with his own position and principle ; for after having started from the assertion of this principle, that the Eastern Church is Œcumenical, he had no need to weigh nicely the degrees of error, but had only to enumerate those differences from the rule of the Œcumenical Church, which needed correction : I however, who had as yet received no proof of his principle, that the British Church has lost her right and portion in the Œcumenical Church, must follow a somewhat different method in replying from that which he had adopted in proposing his charges : I must make, I said, a distinction between three different classes of propositions, which he had mixed together :

“ The First class consisted of propositions relating only to differences of phraseology, or discipline, or ritual ; such as were the five following :—

“ II. That the Westerns in our own time may lawfully use the expression ‘ Filioque ’ as their Fathers in former ages, such as Ambrose, Augustine, and others, used it :

“ LII. That the Second Nicene Council, which the Greeks call the Seventh Œcumenical, is not to be accounted Œcumenical in the dioceses of the British Church :

“ LIII. That the Decrees of the Council in Trullo, which the Greeks call a continuation of the Sixth General Council, are not to be received as Œcumenical in the dioceses of the British Church :

“ XXIII. That the phraseology and technical definition of Seven Sacraments, which the Greeks have borrowed from the Latin Schoolmen of the middle ages, is not to be rigidly insisted upon in the dioceses of the British Church :

“ XXIX. That the word ‘ Transubstantiation,’ which the Greeks have borrowed from the Latin Schools in recent times, is not to be required to be used in the dioceses of the British Church ; or even that it is to be taken rather in a bad sense, and therefore to be rejected.

“ To these, and other such accusations which he might have equally found to object to me in the XXXIX Articles, all I could say was this, that I desired with all my heart to see such a restoration of unity and concord upon all

points as might perhaps be brought about by mutual conferences between the Bishops, if conducted '*in the spirit of Christ* : ' But in the mean time I thought that the Orientals had no more right to dictate, as if in virtue of Œcumenical authority, to the British, than the British have to dictate to them : and that both sides ought to take care, lest (as the Apostle says) if they bite and devour each other, they come in the end ' to be consumed also one of another. '

" The second class of propositions, I said, were such as noted errors indeed, but not such errors as to overturn the saving Faith itself : Such were the following,

" VII. That by far the greater part of the visible Church has fallen away from the Catholic Faith :

" XXII. That an arbitrary definition of the word Sacrament is to be insisted upon, so as to make Two Sacraments, and two only, neither more nor less :

" XXIII. That it is, in consequence of the above-mentioned arbitrary definition, simply and absolutely false, to say that the Evangelical or Ecclesiastical Sacraments are Seven : and in like manner, and for the same reason,

" XXIV. That those Five, Confirmation, Penitence, Orders, Matrimony, and the Unction of the Sick, are not to be reckoned by Christians among the Sacraments of the Gospel, or of the Church :

" XXXVII. That Bread and Wine are not to be lifted up in the Form of Consecration of the Mysteries :

" XXXIX. That it is unlawful to reserve the Eucharist, and to carry it about to the sick :

" XLVI. That it is unlawful to make prayers and intercessions for the Faithful departed :

" XLVII. That the Eucharistic Oblation is not to be offered for the Faithful departed :

" XLIX. That it is impiety for any one to salute with reverent affection the holy Vessels, the relics of Holy Men, or the consecrated Pictures of the Saints :

" L. That it is impiety for any one to speak to any Angel or Saint, who is not actually present in the body :

" LI. That all doctrine contrary to the two last preceding propositions is a fond thing, repugnant to the Word of God :

" LIV. That it is lawful for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to marry, in spite of any laws of the Church to the contrary :

“LV. That the Church has no authority to make laws restraining her Clerks from contracting marriage:

“LVI. That particular Churches are not bound by the laws of general Synods, or of the whole Church.

“Had any such propositions as these, I said, been actually affirmed and decreed by the British Church, I should, I hoped, have been ready to assert and defend the truth against the error of the particular British Church; and if I had been excommunicated by her for so doing, I might appeal to other more orthodox Bishops: But I would never desert of my own will, or anathematize that particular Church which is my spiritual Mother, on account of secondary errors and defects, which might perhaps be corrected and healed by wise and charitable dealing from other Bishops, but certainly could not be removed by the parricidal apostacy of her own children and subjects. As a matter of fact however, in this present instance, I had never read in the letter of the XXXIX Articles those errors above enumerated; nor did I think they could *fairly* be deduced from them by inference: though I well knew that many of our people in Britain interpret the XXXIX Articles in the same, or in a similar way; especially on the points of the definition of the word ‘Sacrament,’ and the number of the Sacraments, of the reverencing of Relics and Pictures, and of the Invocation of Saints: Nevertheless, as I believed in my conscience those errors to be alien to the true sense and spirit of the British, as well as to the formal doctrine of the Eastern Church, and that the contrary truths are agreeable to the sense of the British, no less than of the Eastern Church, I saw nothing whatever to prevent my freely saying Anathema at the bidding of the Easterns to all individuals, who factiously defend such errors against the authority either of the particular Eastern, or of the whole Œcumenical Church.

“The third and last class, I said, comprized all those other propositions which remained, after I had separated those belonging to the two preceding classes: All which, being XLIV in number, I acknowledged were not only errors, but real heresies, in the strictest sense, which either directly, or indirectly, through the Church and the Sacraments, destroyed the integrity of the Catholic Faith: that

therefore, if the British Church had admitted any one such error as these, and, after a first and second admonition from others, refused to return to orthodoxy, she would necessarily, and by the fact itself, have lost her union both with the Œcumenical or Catholic Church, and with the particular Eastern Church, even though she had not lost it by any other apostacy before: Nor in that case could any one coming from a British Bishop have rightly been admitted to the Communion of the orthodox Catholic Church, until he had first renounced and anathematized all those doctrines contrary to the orthodox Faith, and together with them, the British Church herself: But, in point of fact, I had never learned any such impious and heretical doctrines from the British Church; nor did I think they could be imputed to her without the most grievous calumny: It was not then only in obedience to the call of the Eastern Church, but rather of my own free will to vindicate myself, and the Bishop from whom I came, from the calumnious imputation laid upon us, that I said Anathema to a string of heresies, the abhorrence of which is implied by the very name of ‘the Catholic Faith’ which we profess.

“After having thus replied, I said in my own name, and in the name of the Bishop from whom I came, and in the name of the particular Russian, and of the particular Scottish, no less than of the whole Orthodox Catholic or Œcumenical Church, ‘Anathema’ to those XLIV Propositions to which I had referred.” [Those XLIV Propositions to which Anathema was then said without any manner of reservation or restriction, may be found above under the numbers I, III, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVIII, LVI, LVIII.]

“The Arch-Priest bade me to ‘take notice, that it was not enough to have said Anathema to the heresies objected, unless I said it also to the XXXIX Articles, and to the Church which maintained in those Articles the same heresies, as her Confession of Faith.’

“I answered, that though the British Church defended the XXXIX Articles, she still by no means puts them forward as a full Confession of her Faith, nor pretends that

they are in every point and expression so perfect as to be incapable of improvement, or in no respect to need explanation: that the literal text of the Articles was not framed as a general exposition of truth, but only with a view to certain specific controversies: that if any thing in those Articles seems to the Easterns to be suspicious or erroneous, it is reasonable to demand that, as soon as the original cause of separation shall cease to exist, the later decrees made on either side be submitted to be examined and determined in a mixed Synod: For that a particular Church may not only in some points have fallen short of perfection, but may also freely confess that she may even have erred, so long as her error be involuntary, and not of wilful obstinacy: For that rule which the Apostle lays down for the case of an individual, that he is to receive a first and second admonition, before he is rejected from the company of the Faithful, holds much more forcibly of Churches; nor is any apparent heresy to be judged incurable, unless it is obstinately persevered in after a first and second charitable admonition: In the mean time however, I asserted that those heresies which he had objected to me, as from the XXXIX Articles, and which I had anathematized, were neither expressly to be read in the Articles, nor by any fair inference to be deduced from them:

“ In support of which assertion, I put into his hands certain short Dissertations on the British Church, which I had written a few months before at the request of a Russian layman of eminence. The last of these contained a Dialogue, in which the whole of that Conference which might be carried on between the Easterns and the British for the restoration of unity was sketched out, beginning from the original interruption of intercourse, and being continued through all those questions or controversies which have arisen since, in succession; so as, without naming the XXXIX Articles, to offer their true interpretation as opposed to the misinterpretations commonly put upon them.

“ The Arch-Priest took the Dissertations from me, and read them through; and then said, that ‘if I pleased he would deliver them to the Synod; not as if he could himself allow the justness of my interpretation of the Articles, (for their sense, he said, was only too clear, and needed no inter-

pretation), but that the Synod might see from what I had myself written, how irreconcilable my interpretation was with those passages which he would extract from the text of the Articles themselves, and embody in his own Report : That therefore (so he insisted) I ought to be ready to anathematize those XXXIX Articles, as being most manifestly heretical, and together with them, the Bishop from whom I came, and his Church.'

" I answered, that I had done my duty, as I hoped, by professing that truth which I had learned from the British Church according to the measure of my knowledge and ability, and by saying Anathema to the contrary heresies at the bidding of the Eastern Church : that if any further doubt existed as to the Bishop from whom I came, and his Church, whether they had really taught me in the XXXIX Articles, or otherwise, that truth which I professed to have learned from them, or those contrary heresies to which I had said Anathema, my necessary and only course was to appeal back to the Bishop from whom I had come, and to his Church : For if any controversy were moved concerning the sense of the XXXIX Articles, it must be allowed that the best, and indeed the only proper authority, in the first instance, to interpret them, is to be found in those Bishops or Churches by which the said Articles were either originally composed, or at least Synodically accepted and confirmed : that for these reasons I appealed to the Bishop from whom I had come, and to the Synod of the Scottish Bishops, who Consecrated him : that if they owned and approved that Confession of our Faith which I had made in Russia, I could not reasonably be blamed for having refused to anathematize a Church which turned out to be orthodox : but that if, on the other hand, they either allowed those heresies which the Russian Synod objected to me, and which I had anathematized, to be the true sense of the XXXIX Articles, *or attempted by an evasive silence to yoke faith and heresy together*, I would return to Russia, and seek to be Reconciled by the prescribed Form from the Scottish Church, as from heresy.

" The Arch-Priest said, he ' did not exactly see how the matter was to end ; and wished me to tell him What Report he was to make on the main question to the M. H. Synod ?'

" I replied, that ' this was not for me to say : that he

was himself the best judge, inasmuch as he knew what the Synod wished better than I did : But that if it pleased him to ask me, I thought he might make his Report on the main question in some such words as these :—

“ ‘ That he had declared to the Deacon N. N., according to the order of the Synod, all that is necessary in order to his admission to the Communion of the Russian Church : that he had listened to all that was said attentively ; and when the statement was concluded, had expressed his thanks to himself and to the H. Synod : but in answer to the question, Whether he were willing to be Reconciled in that manner ? the said Deacon answered, ‘ That he could not think of going over to the Eastern, as to the Œcumenical Church, before he heard some reasonable proof that not only the British Church, but also the Roman Church, had lost its original union with the Eastern Church by some real and apostatical heresy : That besides, on certain charges specified against him, he appealed to the Bishop from whom he came, and to the Synod of the Bishops in Scotland.’ ”

“ The Arch-Priest seemed to be somewhat provoked at my pertinacity in making the whole question to turn upon the allegation that we have lost our original right of union, and said with some air of asperity, that ‘ he had declared to me from the very first, that the British Church had lost her union with the Orthodox Catholic Church at one and the same time with the Roman, by admitting a heresy on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and so making two distinct principles of Deity.’ ”

“ I replied, ‘ that this allegation had been made by him only in his own name, as in conversation, not in the name of the Synod ; and that I had given him, on the other hand, a statement of our belief on the subject of the Procession, which he had allowed as orthodox.’ [But see the Note below, p. 284.] ”

“ The above, or what was to the same effect, having passed on either side, (for I will not venture to say that I have in every instance kept to the very words, though I am sure that I have preserved the sense and spirit throughout), the conference was at length brought to an end, and I took leave of the Arch-Priest, and retired. Some short time after, as I was taking leave of the High Procurator at the Synodal Palace, I was told by that Dignitary (who is at

once the Representative of His Imperial Majesty, and the High Chancellor or Logothete of the H. Patriarchal Synod), that I might send to the Synod copies of this Report which I was to make to your Lordship, and of any other acts or Documents which might ensue in consequence, through the Russian Ambassador at London.

“ I remain, my Lord, and Right Reverend Father, your Lordship’s most humble and dutiful son and obedient servant in Christ.”

“ N. N. Deacon.”

Begun at St Petersburg in Russia, June 9, N. S. 1843.

[*Note on part of the above Report, relating to the Procession :*

In re-writing afterwards those *Dissertations* which the Arch-Priest returned to me for that purpose after having proposed to give them in to the Synod (though he also gave in Dissertation XII as it stood at the time), that Statement concerning the *Procession of the Holy Spirit* which is printed above, and which we shall call A., [See under Section XXXIX Dissert. XII, p. 238; and in the present Section pp. 266 and 283.] was thrown into a more expanded form as follows;—

B. “ We believe in One God, the Father, the only Unoriginated, the sole principle, source, and root of all Deity; from Whom are all things: that He begets to Himself One consubstantial, co-eternal, and co-equal with Himself, that is, the Son; through Whom are all things: and that He the same emits, or breathes, or produces a Third likewise consubstantial, co-eternal, and co-equal with Himself, the Holy Ghost; by Whom are all things: so that the Unity of the Divine essence, majesty, will, and operation, is preserved in a real Trinity of persons.

“ And as from one and the same sun there may be two rays; or a ray, and light or heat through the same ray; or from one and the same fire light, and heat; or from one and the same man a word, and breath; or understanding, and will or love; or as from one and the same body an arm, and a finger; or from one and the same fountain a river, and water; or, after a certain likeness, as Seth was from Adam by being begotten, and Eve by being taken from his side; so from the Father are these Two, the Son by generation, and the Holy Ghost by procession. But if any one ask how we are to distinguish between generation and procession, we reply, that it is a mystery of God; and that we know no more than this, that those distinctions of words which the Holy Ghost Himself hath delivered to us, are with all reverence to be observed.

“ Moreover, we believe that the Father begets the Son antecedently in order (not in time) to the Holy Ghost, and afterwards (that is, in order, not in ‘time’), the Son being now already begotten, and being intermediate, (*genito jam et mediante Filio*), emits the Holy Ghost, ‘after,’ ‘through,’ or ‘by’ the Son, from that same Essence which is now already common to the Son with Himself, and numerically One in Both; so that the Holy Ghost is as light or heat *through* a ray from the sun, or as a finger through the arm from the body, or as water through the river from its fountain, and is truly and properly the Spirit of the Son *even as* He is the Spirit of the Father: nor was there ever a time when either the Father was with-

out the Son, or the Son without the Spirit. On the other hand, we by no means say conversely, that the Father begat the Son 'the Spirit being intermediate,' (*mediante Spiritu*), or 'through the Spirit;' nor that the Son is 'the Son of the Spirit,' or 'the Spirit's.'

["Secondly, as Christ, the Son of Man, was Anointed in time by the Father with the Spirit, and afterwards is Himself the Well of Living Water, and breathed forth upon His Apostles the Spirit as His own Spirit, so, abstracting all respect to time, we believe that the co-eternal Son of God is ever eternally and unceasingly Anointed by the Father; that He is ever and unceasingly the source and origin of Light and Life; that He ever and unceasingly breathes forth from Himself the Holy Spirit as His own Spirit: And that therefore this same Spirit, the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son, not in time only, but also irrespectively of time, from all eternity, shines forth substantially, and 'is breathed,' and 'is,' and 'exists,' and 'proceeds' 'from the Father through the Son,' or, which is the same thing, 'from the Father and the Son.']

"Lastly, to speak also of the Spirit Himself, we believe that He proceeds originally, principally, or primarily, or properly, from the Father only, as from the sole Unoriginated; but that He [*is Communicated*, and] is proper from all eternity to the Son, not by gift, but by generation, and rests in the Son, so as to be the true and proper Spirit of the Son no less, but in the very same way as He is the Spirit of the Father: And that He is 'proper' to the Son not only by Consubstantiality, or in such sense as that the Son may be said reciprocally to be 'proper' to the Spirit, (seeing that the Son also is inherent in the Spirit, and the Spirit in the Son, and Both of Them in the Father, and the Father in Them Both), but so as to be the proper Spirit of the Son in the very same way in which He is the proper Spirit of the Father; while the Son is not reciprocally the proper Son of the Spirit."

But on this subject some further observations are necessary. The above statement, which, in its original and shorter form, was apparently approved by the Arch-Priest, at any rate at first sight, (though he probably looked only to the absence of the word '*procedere*'), was nevertheless in point of fact altogether erroneous, and inadmissible both for the Eastern and for the British Church. The *intention* with which it was written was (as the Arch-Priest rightly suspected at the time) *not* to surrender the Latin doctrine, but to show, if possible, that the Easterns, even under their own language, must admit in substance the same thing: For this purpose it was assumed (erroneously) that the ideas of an eternal '*Communication*' of the Spirit from the Father to the Son, or of an eternal '*Unction*' by which the Spirit should become proper to the Son, and essentially inherent in Him, and so consequently re-proceed or shine forth from the Son from all eternity, must be held by the Easterns, if they deny the '*double Procession*,' and yet confess that the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son: And if so, it seemed that such '*Communication*' or '*Unction*,' inherence, and re-procession, being all predicated of the Divine Essence Itself, without distinction of time or degree, the three forms of speech must be necessarily *mere* forms of speech, implying, if taken together, a secondary procession or re-procession from the Son *undistinguishable from the original procession from the Father, and therefore, in truth, numerically one with it*. However, after the Report to Bishop Luscombe had been written, Dr Routh, the President of Magdalene College at

Oxford, seeing this part of it, immediately asked Where could one find any such expressions as those of the Holy Ghost being 'Communicated' to the Son? or of the Son 'receiving any eternal unction?' hinting by the question, that with whatever intention employed, such expressions were novel and inadmissible. In fact, no authority whatever could be alleged for them; but the writer had been seeking to harmonize the Greek with the Latin doctrine through ideas and forms of speech, which, on examination, turned out to be erroneous, and even heretical, both for the Latins and for the Greeks. And as Dr Routh pointed out this error for his own Church, so afterwards in reading the Treatise of Adam Zœrnikaſſ I found the same error set aside and disallowed for the Eastern Church.

In the volume entitled '*A Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*,' Section XVI, an attempt was still made to reconcile the Greek and Latin doctrines and modes of expression on the subject of the Procession, but one which was disallowed by members of the Eastern Church who saw it, and which is now given up by the writer himself. The statements there made on the Eastern side are no doubt accurate: but on the other side there is left, in full force, the difficulty of either asserting on the one hand that there is a 'concurrence' of Two distinct Personalities (and Two *only*), as such, to one numerical operation, *as if* They were one principle, when They are not one principle, or else of ascribing the operation in question to the one common Essence of Two Persons (and Two *only*), irrespectively of Their Personalities. It is right to state here distinctly, that after having read and considered the treatise of Adam Zœrnikaſſ, the present Roman or Latin doctrine no longer seemed to the writer to be in any way defensible.

The following may be taken as a short statement of the main scholastic argument, as differently viewed on the two sides:—

The Latins seem to say, that

"The Unity of the Godhead is distinguished into Persons, and the Persons are distinguished one from another *only* by the *direct relative opposition* of causing and being caused, such as is implied in the names of the Persons themselves, thus:

"*He who begets cannot, so far, be He who is begotten; nor vice versâ: But in all other respects He who is begotten is identical with Him who begets. Also, He who is made to proceed cannot, so far, be He who is made to proceed; nor vice versâ: But in all other respects He who is made to proceed is identical with Him who makes to proceed. And therefore, as it seems,*

"*He who is made to proceed by Him that begets, must necessarily Himself also have this property of begetting (since there is no apparent relative opposition between the terms 'being made to proceed' and 'begetting'):* AND *He who is begotten by Him that makes to proceed, must necessarily Himself also have this property of making to proceed (since there is no apparent relative opposition between the terms 'begotten' and 'making to proceed:')* Or, in other words, it seems that

"*The Father and the Spirit together and equally (whether as two persons or rather as one principle) beget the Son; AND the Father and the Son together and equally (whether as two persons, or rather as one principle) make to proceed the Holy Ghost. The consequence is equally necessary in both cases.*

"But thus, the Spirit causes the Son, and is reciprocally caused by the Son, propositions which are mutually destructive of one another: Wherefore, though both these two propositions seem to follow with equal

necessity, according to what has been said above, it is evident that *one at least of them* must be false: And it is admitted on all hands, that *the Spirit does not beget the Son*. But by that principle which was laid down first of all, one of these same two propositions must be true, otherwise there would be no direct relative opposition to distinguish the Son and the Spirit one from another. Therefore it must be the Son Who makes to proceed the Spirit. And thus we have between all the Three Persons that distinction of direct relative opposition which is requisite."

The Easterns, on the other hand say, that

"If indeed the primary assumption of the Latins were true, that there must be a direct relative opposition, of causing and being caused, to distinguish any two of the Persons one from another, then, it being admitted, as they say, on all hands that the Spirit does not cause the Son, it would of course remain that the Son must cause the Spirit. But their first principle itself is an arbitrary and false assumption. The Unity of the Divine Essence is distinguished into Persons, and the Persons are distinguished one from another, *not only* by direct relative opposition of causing and being caused; but the Son and the Spirit are distinguished from one another as Persons in another way.

"The Father, indeed, *is*, no doubt, distinguished both from the Son and from the Spirit, and They Both in common from the Father, by direct relative opposition of causing and being caused; and the Easterns say in common with the Latins, that

"*He who begets cannot, so far, be He who is begotten; nor vice versâ: And He who is made to proceed cannot, so far, be He who makes to proceed; nor vice versâ.* But of the mutual distinction between the Son and the Spirit the Easterns reason after the following manner:

"*He who is begotten is not, so far, He who is made to proceed; nor vice versâ: Or again, He who is caused or originated so as to be Second in order, immediately, is not, so far, the same with Him who is caused or originated (μῆτ' ἀ, post, διὰ, per), intermediately, after the Second, so as to be Third in order; nor vice versâ.* And then they conclude, that

"That [Person] which is begotten by another [Person] who makes to proceed, *cannot, so far, be [Himself] the [Person] doing that same numerical act of making to proceed: Nor can that [Person] which is made to proceed by another [Person] who begets, be, so far, [Himself] the [Person] so begetting. So that it is equally impossible that either the Spirit together with the Father should beget the Son, or the Son together with the Father make to proceed the Spirit.*

"For the truth is, that both to beget and to make to proceed are equally *personal* properties of the first Person in the Trinity, the sole Unoriginated cause, that is, of the Father: and if it be attempted to conclude otherwise from the unity of the Divine Essence, because the terms 'begotten' and 'made to proceed,' (that is, 'Son' and 'Spirit,') do not seem of themselves, by any relative opposition, to exclude the properties of 'making to proceed' or of 'begetting' respectively, the pair of consequences which follow from this attempt, and which are indeed both equally necessary, equally destroy one another, and by so destroying one another reveal the falsity of that assumption from whence they followed."

Thus, to sum up, as to the distinction of the Persons, the Easterns say,

"He Who 'begets' is distinguished from Him Who 'is begotten,' and He Who 'is made to proceed' from Him Who 'makes to proceed' *doubly;*

i. By a common and general relative opposition between that which 'causes' and that which 'is caused;' and ii. By a particular and special relation in the *manner* of the causation; that is, in the first case by *generation*, in the second by *procession*.

"And again: He Who 'is begotten' is distinguished from Him Who 'is made to proceed' *not* by any direct relative opposition in the names or properties of those Persons themselves, but only by a difference in the *manner of their causation from*, and in their *relative order of priority or posteriority to*, their One common Originator. Being from One and the Same, They are *therefore* identical in their Essence with Him and with One Another; but They are distinguished One from the Other as Persons by the manner of Their 'causation:' so that, as has been said already, He Who is begotten cannot be He Who is made to proceed; nor He that is made to proceed be He that is begotten; and He that is Second in relative order, or next after the First, cannot be He that is Third; nor *vice versâ*."

As for the Latins, on this point they seem to the Easterns to begin by assuming arbitrarily what is false, and afterwards to reason only from their own assumption. They seem too (at least, if any still admit with St Anselm generation and procession to differ in themselves) to leave for the Holy Ghost that same inequality, to avoid which in respect of the Son they first attributed to Him the causation of the Spirit. For, after all, the Spirit (notwithstanding the unity of the Divine Essence) would be destitute of a certain property of the Father (that of begetting), *besides* that of making to proceed through which alone He is 'distinguished' by way of direct relative opposition from the Father: and He would also be destitute of a certain property of the Son (that of being begotten), besides that of 'making to proceed' through which alone He is distinguished 'by way of direct relative opposition' from the Son, no less than from the Father.

Again, another difficulty which they think follows from the Latin way of reasoning on this subject is the following: One Deity, according to the Latins introverting upon Itself and introverted, is said to beget and to be begotten: The same Deity a second time (not in time, but in order) introverting upon Itself and introverted is said to make to proceed and to be made to proceed; the only difference between begetting in the first case and making to proceed in the second being this, that begetting is causing simply, while making to proceed is causing the second time, with the addition, that is, of the idea of posteriority to a similar prior causation. The word 'Person' then is *properly* a relative term *between Two*: The first causation divides or distinguishes what is otherwise One absolute numerical undistinguishable Unity into 'The Causing' and 'The Caused,' 'Father' and 'Son,' Two 'Persons.' And exactly in the same way, that Deity which is (except as to causing and having been caused) One absolute numerical undistinguishable Unity (in the Father and the Son), by a second causation is distinguished into 'The Causing' and 'The Caused,' the 'One Common Principle' and 'The Holy Ghost,' 'Two Persons,' *as it should seem*, and 'Father' and 'Son' also, (even though the language be not used), equally with the former Two, *i. e.*, with the Father and the Son; *if* indeed the ideas and definitions of 'Person' and 'Father' be constituted only by relative opposition in causation. However, for the Easterns all such impossible scholastic disquisitions are mere profaneness.

But without entering at present into any further detail on the subject

of this deep controversy, there shall follow here a brief collection of such modes of expression concerning the Procession, as seem to be used or implied by the Fathers :

In speaking of the First Person of the Blessed Trinity :

The Father i. 'Breathes, or causes, or makes to proceed the Holy Ghost : ' and that ii. 'By a *personal* property ; ' 'in like manner as it is by a *personal* property that He begets the Son.' iii. He so produces the Holy Ghost 'in order, not in time, *after* the Son.' And 'by this Procession He communicates His whole Essence, all that He is (except only His *personal* attributes) to the Holy Ghost,' 'in like manner as by generation He communicates the same whole Essence (except only His *personal* properties) to the Son : ' and, seeing that the Son is *second in order*, He communicates to the Holy Ghost 'that same Divine Essence which is now *already* common to the Son with Himself.'

In speaking of the Second Person :

The Son i. being begotten by the Person of the Father, and from His substance 'receives *second in order* all that the Father is' (*except only His personal properties*). ii. He 'possesses as His own, not as communicated to Him, but as originally inherent in Him (on account of His consubstantiality with the Father and on account of His being at the same time *second in order*) the Holy Spirit,' Who receives all that the Father is (except only His *personal properties*) *third in order*. [iii. He might be said perhaps *improperly*, and *indirectly*, to 'give His own Essence to the Spirit' on account of His consubstantiality with the Father, *inasmuch* as the Person of the Father, Which properly gives, gives to the Holy Spirit that Essence which is now already common to the Son with Himself, and numerically One in Both.] iv. So the Son, being God of God, 'sends' not only 'from the Father' but also 'from Himself, upon Himself,' after the Incarnation, in the Jordan, 'His own co-eternal Spirit ; ' His Spirit 'not received from without, but naturally inherent in Himself, and naturally flowing forth from Him.'

In speaking of the Third Person :

I. *The Holy Ghost 'proceeds'* i. 'From God ; ' that is, from the Father as a Person, or in respect of His personality : ii. 'From the Father' : iii. 'From the Father only : ' iv. 'From the Person of the Father only' : v. 'Not from the Son ; ' (that is, 'not from the Son but from the Father') : vi. 'Not from the Son,' (that is, not from the Person of the Son) : vii. 'Not from Himself ; ' that is 'not from His own Person.'

II. *The Holy Ghost 'proceeds'* i. 'From the Essence of God,' that is, 'of the Father : ' ii. 'From the Essence of the Father : ' iii. 'From the Essence of the Father now already common to the Son : ' iv. 'From the Essence of the Father and the Son : ' v. 'From the Essence of the Son, because from that Essence of the Father which is the Son's.'

III. *The Holy Ghost 'receives'* i. 'He receives from the Father the Essence of the Father,' that is, of God : ii. 'He receives from the Father that Essence of the Father which is now already also the Son's : ' iii. 'He receives from the Father the Essence of the Father and the Son : ' iv. 'He receives from the Father the Essence of the Son, because he receives that Essence which is one and the same in the Son and in the Father : ' v. 'He receives of, from, or out of (*e vel de*) the Father and the Son,' that is, 'He receives of, from, or out of their common Divine Essence : ' vi. 'He receives of, from, or out of the Son' (*e vel de Filio*), because He receives of, from, or out of the Essence of the Father.

IV. The Holy Ghost 'is' I. 'Of the Father's Essence,' (*Patris Essentie*); II. 'Of the Essence of the Father and the Son:' III. 'Of the Essence of God:' IV. 'Of the Son's Essence.' Again,

He 'is,' I. 'From or out of the Father (*de vel e Patre*) in respect of His Essence:' II. 'From or out of the Son in respect of His Essence, *because* He is from or out of the Father:' III. 'From or out of the Father and the Son in respect of his Essence, *because* it is now One and the same Essence numerically in Both.'

V. He 'proceeds indeed from the Father,' I. 'But is proper to the Son:' II. 'But is not foreign to the Son:' III. 'But receives of the Son's,' and 'of the Son:' IV. 'But is sent by the Son.' Or again, I. He 'is from all eternity the Spirit of the Son, no less than of the Father:' II. He 'is not communicated to the Son, but is originally, naturally, and inherently the Son's:' III. He 'receives from the Son Himself, that is, from the substance of the Son, and not like the creatures from His fullness:' IV. He is 'sent;' and 'this mission implies something answering to authority in the sender,' (that is, priority of relative order.)

Four abusive, but orthodox applications of the word 'Procession':

VI. If the words 'to proceed' 'and procession' be used equivocally, to speak with the logicians, it may be said (I.) that the Holy Ghost 'proceeds from the Father and the Son;' that is, from the Father only with respect to that Person or Personality which is the cause, but from the Son also in respect to that common Essence of Deity (common, that is, to the Son, and numerically One in the Father and the Son), which He receives from the Person or Personality of the Father as the cause.

Again, if the word 'procession' be used equivocally in another way, it may be said (II.) that He 'proceeds from the Father and the Son' thus; namely, from the Father only in respect of His own Personality, or origin as a Person, but from the Son also in respect of His Essence considered apart, (that is, improperly.)

Again, the same being said in either of the two above ways, or in both at once, the use of the word 'procession' may be made still more equivocal (III.) by including further under it the idea of temporal mission; (as was the case in most of the passages alleged, and arguments adduced on the Latin side at the beginning of the ninth century.)

Or, lastly, (IV.) the Holy Ghost may be said 'to proceed from the Father and the Son' confusedly; that is, both in respect to the consubstantiality of His Divine Essence, which being in Him third in order is of or from the one common Essence of the Father and the Son, by an eternal procession; (the true and proper sense of the word 'Procession,' to denote origin as a Person from a Personal cause, being thus dropped altogether); and also in respect of mission, by a procession in time.

In speaking of the Divine Essence:

The Godhead or Divine Essence, considered in Itself abstractedly, that is, improperly, and irrespectively of the Personal properties in it, may be said to be 'a Monad, which doubles Itself without ceasing to be numerically One undivided God; and which again, after thus doubling Itself, triples Itself, still without ceasing to be, as before, One undivided God.' But in truth and fact it is not an abstract Divine Nature (that is, a mere mental conception presupposing the idea of a plurality of Persons) which either produces the Duad by Generation, or the Triad by Procession. But if we would speak truly and correctly, the Father as a person is the Monad,

which by begetting one only Son doubles Itself, and by emitting one only Spirit, after or through the Son, triples Itself. (*Μόνας ἰς Δύαδας κινη-
θῆσα μετὰ Τριάδος ἕσση.*)

And now, retracting the two former Statements given above, that is, A. [the original], and the fourth and fifth paragraphs of B. [the enlarged form], we may substitute the following:—

C. “We believe that the Father begets the Son *before in order* (not in time); and *after*, (*post, μετὰ*), the Son being already begotten, and intermediate, (*genito jam et mediante*), *by or through* the Son, (*διὰ, per*), produces the Holy Ghost from that same His own Divine Essence, which is now *already* common also to the Son, and numerically One in both the Father and the Son: And that therefore the Holy Ghost ‘*proceeds indeed from the Person of the Father only in respect of His causation, but ‘is’ from the common substance of the Father and the Son, or, which is the same thing, ‘is’ ‘from the Father and the Son,’ or from that Essence which is the Son’s also,’ or ‘from the Son, in respect of His Essence, as the joint consequence of His consubstantiality and posteriority of order:’* For in that He ‘receives’ from God and the Father *Third in order*, He thereby ‘receives’ *also from the Son*, and is the proper Spirit of the Son no less than of the Father; proper, that is, *not by gift or ‘communication,’* but because of the Son’s being begotten *intermediately, Second in order:* proper, *not as coming to Him from without, but as originally and naturally inherent;* even as a man contains within himself and breathes forth his own breath. But that the Spirit conversely or reciprocally is produced ‘in order before’ the Son, and the Son ‘after’ or ‘through’ the Spirit, so that the Spirit also should be ‘intermediate,’ (*mediante Spiritu*); or that the Eternal Son ‘receives of the Spirit,’ or ‘is the Son of the Spirit,’ or ‘is the Spirit’s own,’ in the same relative sense in which the Spirit, on account of posteriority of order, is the ‘Spirit of the Son,’ and ‘the Son’s own,’ (and beyond the mutual inherence or circum-incession of all the Three Persons in virtue of consubstantiality apart from order,) we by no means say, or allow.”

This might be applied briefly to explain the ‘Filioque’ as it stands inserted in our Creeds, or in Art. V of the XXXIX Articles, thus:

“The Holy Ghost, which proceedeth from the Father” [‘that is, from the *Person of the Father only,*’] “and from the Son;” [‘that is, from *that substance of the Father which is now already common to the Son, and numerically One in Both.*’] This would be giving to the words objected to, the same interpretation now, as was given to them in the name of all the Latins (some of whom had then already used them) by St Maximus the Martyr in the seventh century, when they were first noticed and objected to by the Greeks. On this same subject, see further below, in Section LXXVI. But to return :]

I finally left St Petersburg on Friday, June 4-16, 1843, and returned from Russia by way of Sweden, being at the time unable to write or read more than a very few lines together, owing to a weakness of the eyes, which had come on suddenly, and which continued for four years, and has not even yet entirely ceased. In consequence of this seizure there was a year’s delay before the above Report was finished, and the requisite copies of it made out; during which time, and indeed after-

wards, with Bishop Luscombe's knowledge and approbation, I resided at various places, where I could best obtain assistance in writing or reading; only I avoided returning in any ecclesiastical way, either by doing clerical duty, or by Communicating, even passively, into that particular Diocese of Oxford in the English Church, which I had originally left with canonical Certificates, when I went to Paris, and became Bishop Luscombe's Clerk, and so proceeded from him to Russia, to act in his name according as might be necessary.

SECTION XLIV.

MDE. A. RETURNS TO THE WEST OF EUROPE.

EARLY in 1844 there appeared different paragraphs in many of the German and French Papers, copied thence into the English, announcing that Mde. A. had again left Russia, "where she had suffered much for having embraced Protestantism," or "the Evangelical Religion;" That she had "taken refuge in Prussia;" had been "for some time past residing at Berlin;" had returned "to her former residence in Switzerland," and lastly "to Paris;" that she "was suffering from ill-health, and other afflictions; but was *firm in her faith*."

The above facts were mixed up with various other personal allusions and misrepresentations; were connected with "*M. De Custine's Book against Russia*," the "recent Persecution of the Israelites," &c.; and were introduced with such headings as "*Life in Russia*," "*Religious Persecution in Russia*," &c. In fact they were made the basis for some of those innumerable libels which the malice and ingenuity of the Germans, and Poles, and French are continually circulating throughout Europe to keep up a political antipathy against Russia. As Mde. A. entirely disavowed all connection with these articles, and regarded their appearance as an additional annoyance to herself, it would be improper to repeat them here, or to expose the falsehood and malignity of their details. The only reason for which they are alluded to is, to show that it was not only from private sources that I learned that the Lady had returned to the West of Europe, still maintaining her former attitude, and taking the Sacraments in English congregations wherever she went, as a member of our Communion; as she continues to do at the present day.

SECTION XLV.

[In which, (March 27-28, 1844), is foreshewn the manner in which the Appeal will be received on being first brought into Scotland, with the reason, namely, that the outer Scottish Church is now taken up with "*much company*;" that it shall not be entered into at all the first year; but that if I come again the next year, on a certain *Friday*, I may perhaps not find then *the same* Bishops: Also, receive a Blessing from Bishop Jolly. . . . The details of this Section are for the present omitted.]

SECTION XLVI.

PRESENT REPORT TO BISHOP LUSCOMBE, WHO SENDS ME ON WITH THE APPEAL TO SCOTLAND, AND SIGNS A DUPLICATE COPY OF BOTH DOCUMENTS TO SEND TO THE RUSSIAN SYNOD.

HAVING spent Sunday, March 31, 1844, (being Palm-Sunday), at Abbeville, and part of the Monday following at Amiens, I reached Paris early on Tuesday, April 2, and delivered my Report to Bishop Luscombe the same day. On the following Sunday, being Easter-Day, I assisted him in the celebration of the Holy Communion, and gave into his hands the Oblations to place upon the Altar. On Thursday in Easter-Week, being April 11, the Bishop returned to me the MS. copy of the Report, having first written upon it these words, "*I have read it over, and approve:*" with the date, and his own signature. He wrote the same upon a duplicate copy for me to send to the Synod in Russia, through the Embassy in London.

At the same time the Bishop gave me also in duplicate, (one copy being to be sent to the Synod in Russia), a Letter to the Primus and to the whole Synod of the Bishops of Scotland, sending me on to them with the Appeal, and adding certain Propositions respecting Discipline, which had been asserted by himself against Mde. A., and the confirmation of which (one Bishop having failed to maintain them) he desired from the Synod. [This Document will be found at length further on, under Section LVII.]

SECTION XLVII.

BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S TREATISE ON "THE TRUE CHURCH," AND HIS "PASTORAL LETTER."

WHILE I was staying at Paris in the spring of 1844, and about the same time that I received the Documents above-

mentioned from the Bishop, the Bishop gave me for the second time some copies of a short Treatise or pamphlet which he had published in 1842, in French, intitled "*The True Church.*" This Treatise, as being composed for the instruction of the foreign Protestants, was dedicated to the King of Prussia; and was intended to prove, both by passages from our own Divines, and not least by the admissions of Luther and Calvin, and the earlier of the foreign Protestants and Reformed themselves, that the true Church is bounded, and in a manner contained by the Apostolical Episcopate. The following are extracts:—

"Both the Lutherans and the Calvinists repeatedly declared [at first] their readiness to submit to a free and impartial judgment of the Church. . . . "However, after a time, the Lutherans [no less than the others] forgot that their system could be no more than provisional: they even pretended to justify it as good and sufficient. What has become, at the present day, of their wish to come to terms with the Church? Even though the followers of the Reformation did not separate willingly from the Church; even though they were cut off summarily from it by an abuse of authority, still, can it be admitted that their Societies constitute Churches of Jesus Christ? I do not hesitate to answer, No. Every branch of Christ's Church must be able to show that it has existed as a Christian Society from the time of the Apostles, or that its founder was a member of the Apostolical Church, or that it is owned by the whole Church. But this is not the case with the Lutheran and Reformed Communities. They had no existence as Societies before they separated from the antient Churches of the Roman Communion. They were not the original Christian communities of their respective countries, but unhappily only societies of separatists from the original Communities. Neither does it any more appear that they have ever since been owned as Christian Churches, in the true sense of the word, by any one of those Churches which are derived from the Apostolical Church. . . . We hope that relinquishing at last the prejudices of party, all those who are now separate from the Church, both the pastors who exercise an unauthorized ministry, and their unfortunate congregations, will return into the antient path, from which their ancestors unhappily turned aside in the time of Luther and Calvin. . . . Let the Lutherans and the Calvinists read the writings of the founders of their Sects: they will see how they both shrunk from the idea of a separation from the Church. . . . Let them [then now] return into the Church." pp. 19, 23, 24.

And in the Notes, at p. 34, there is the following:—" 'It was in obedience to the will of His Father that our Saviour suffered and underwent His Passion, which had been prefigured to the Jews in their material Sacrifices: and it is thus that this Holy Mystery, by the institution of Christ Himself, ought to be celebrated by all Christians in the Holy Communion, or Lord's Supper. Among the Jews there was a Sacrifice shewing forth the death of Christ long before His actual advent in the flesh: therefore the Sacrifice ought also to exist among the Christians to shew forth the death of our Saviour to the end of time, till He returns to judge the world. But

if there ought to be a *Sacrifice*, there must needs also be *Priests* to consummate it, and an *Altar*, on which it may be offered ; a Priest descended from Aaron under the Old Covenant, after the order of Melchisedec now ; an Altar for the Mosaic Sacrifice then, for the Sacrifice of the Gospel now ; &c.' . . .

“ St Paul tells us in his Epistle to the Hebrews that ‘ no man taketh to himself this honour, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron ;’ and he adds the example of Christ, Who in His mediatorial capacity, as God-man, took not this glory to Himself, but received it from the Father. This honour, the honour of Priesthood, being committed to the Apostle, he calls his function, that wherein he may glory through Jesus Christ, Who is the only absolute Priest, as well as Sacrifice in itself of intrinsic and infinite merit. All others from the beginning to the end of the world when duly ordained, according to this appointment, are Priests, but only with relation to Him, and acting in His name, as His delegates, authorized so to act. With His commission they must be invested ; otherwise it would be a frightful usurpation to pretend to personate Christ and to offer Sacrifice, as various examples in Scripture shew, that of Korah and his company, Saul in a time of strait, Uzziah, and others. The Christian Sacrifice being no less holy than those which preceded it, but much more so, the greatest attention must be paid to the validity of commission in the offerers of it. The Apostles undoubtedly received such authority from Christ Himself. And unless Christ shall appear in person to ordain any as visibly, and with as sufficient credentials as He ordained them, the sacerdotal power can only be had in continued succession from their original Apostles, with whom, and their duly commissioned successors, Christ promised to be to the last day, ‘ Lo !’ He said, ‘ I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world :’ and so, by Christ’s commission, and His presence with them in this memorial Sacrifice, they ‘ shew forth His death until His second coming.’

“ These words of the most learned and most religious Bishop Jolly (*The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, p. 75), I commend to the consideration of [the foreign Protestants.]”

Not long after having left Paris, in the summer of 1844, I also received from Bishop Luscombe a printed copy of “ *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and People of his Spiritual Charge,*” printed in English, at Paris, at that time. The following are extracts :—

“ The state of the Church is such, that I desire to call your attention to it ; and, with God’s blessing, I hope to prove the absolute necessity of the union of all Christians on sound principles of Catholic faith and primitive discipline, from which too many have departed. . . . The wild notion that *Unity* is to be found out of the Church ; that all Denominations of those who call themselves Christians can be united by mere feeling ; that the preaching the Word and the administration of the Sacraments belong to any Christian, in whatever way he may assume the office ; that, unlike the ordinances of the Old Testament, the Gospel dispenses with a Priesthood set apart for holy Offices ; and that a visible Church is no longer necessary ; are not only positive hindrances to the progress of the Gospel, but sad proofs of a schismatical spirit.”

"Every sound member of the Church . . . readily acknowledges that the holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation. . . . Yet these 'Evangelical Christians' have fallen into grievous errors; especially the Protestant sects, who despise what every Churchman regards as of Divine authority, and consequently essential to the very existence of the Church. . . . Such persons tell us that our Lord said, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;' and that they therefore form a Church. This is their error. They do not understand the words '*in my name,*' which mean, 'with my authority, and in the way which I have directed.' The reason is obvious. Descendants of Luther and Calvin, to whom alone they can trace their origin, they defend themselves in their schism by perverting the Scriptures. . . . The mere existence of the Visible Church, with Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the administration of the Sacraments, &c., proves the truth of our holy religion, because it has been handed down to us from the time of the Apostles unto this day, and in uninterrupted order, until three centuries ago. But what proof of this can be drawn from division and disorder, and schismatical novelties and heresy, but as a confirmation of the prophecy, that 'all these things would come to pass?' . . . I respect the collective wisdom and decisions of the Church above all the conceits and inventions of modern schism and private opinions. I do not look to Geneva for a better knowledge of the doctrine and discipline of the Church than I find in the Works of the holy Fathers who lived in the first ages of Christianity. I prefer the source of the pure stream to its distant and troubled waters. I do not look to lay preachers, descendants of Luther and Calvin, whom alone they call masters, as guides to salvation, but to those who have Apostolical authority to preach the Word, and to administer the Sacraments, and who have *greater reason to expect* the abode of the Holy Spirit within them . . . than those persons who claim the exclusive title of 'Evangelical Christians.'

"I see the imperfections of our Church: I bewail its manifest deviations from perfect purity; and I would tear up by the roots every Erastian and other noxious weed that encroaches on its soil, and casts a deadly odour over it. . . . Still, I regard our Church as the 'Ark of the Covenant.'

"The low Churchman, as the term is, slightly regards the essential character of the Church in the Apostolical succession, and in the Sacraments. The various discordant sects, among whom the Papist is to be included in our own country, unite in opposition to the Church. In the end, however, our Church will come out of the warfare with tenfold strength and purity, because she is founded upon a rock, and that rock is Christ; and although now exposed to trials, which God doubtless intends for her final benefit, she will be taught by these trials *to correct all that displeases God*, and will no longer from a false and mistaken liberality seek union with foreign, or home dissenting societies, as long as they remain such; but extending our Communion in our own dominions, and looking to the Eastern Churches, which now . . . confound us with the Protestants on the Continent, we shall not be content with remaining so long a small and solitary branch of the Catholic Church; but understood and acknowledged, and united with the sound branches of the Eastern Church, we will make a nearer approach to vast numbers of our brethren, with whom we have one hope of our calling, one Lord, one

Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, the same Sacraments, and the same commands and sanctions to holiness of life. . . . I know that some difficulty will arise *respecting the Procession of the Holy Ghost*, and some minor points ; but when all shall have been discussed and *explained*, difficulty will vanish ; and our united strength will raise an impassable barrier against the usurpations and error of Rome, until Rome herself shall be providentially restored by the mercy of God to primitive truth and simplicity.

“ I think that some of our Articles cannot be well understood without an acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers and old Divines, whose Works throw light on the Articles, which contain sound doctrine, *though not always clearly defined*.

“ Let us labour to bring back to the true fold all the various sects engendered by Protestantism, and gone astray. Let us pray to God to unite with the Church the separated branches of it. Let us endeavour to convince them that the assumption of the Priestly Office by laymen is an awful sin. . . . And yet, my friends, too many of you encourage their sin, . . . and led by itching ears, frequent places of dissenting and schismatical worship, to listen to the preaching of mere laymen, from whose instruction and sinful ministry you have no reason to expect a blessing.

“ All the ministers of our Church must be united, before they can expect unity in the Church. They must study the Holy Scriptures and the Works of the early Fathers as valuable witnesses to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church. They are not allowed to have mental reservations, and to oppose their private opinions to the decisions of the Church : they must take our Articles in their strict meaning, and administer the Offices of our Church without change or omission. Above all, they must shew by their lives and conversation, that Christ ‘ dwelleth in them.’ They must remember that God has chosen them to Himself ; that they are separated from the world for holy Offices ; to preach the everlasting Gospel ; to administer the holy Sacraments ; to feed the people committed to their charge with ‘ the Bread of Life,’ remembering that they are ‘ ambassadors of Christ and ministers of reconciliation.’

“ I exhort the laity to listen to my words of admonition ; to lay aside all prejudice and party spirit ; to seek the truth, as it is in Jesus, with a docile and humble disposition, and with Prayer to God for His preventing grace, to enable them to understand the Scriptures, wherein they will find knowledge unto salvation. Let them read the history of man’s fall, and its sad consequences, sin and misery, and eternal death. Then let them contemplate God’s infinite and undeserved mercy in sending His Son into the world, to take upon Him our nature, and to make atonement for the sins of the whole world ; to bring us back to the image of God, and to make us, provided we accept the conditions, meet partakers of the kingdom of heaven. With grateful hearts let them thank God ‘ for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory ;’ for the promise of His Holy Spirit, to guide them through the temptations and dangers of their earthly pilgrimage. Let them look attentively to all His actions, when here below ; to the solemn charge, which He gave to His Apostles, whom he had chosen from the whole body of His followers, to baptize in the name of the Holy Trinity, and to make disciples in all the world ; giving them a promise to be with them, and consequently with their successors, until time shall be no more. Let them trace the history of His Church,

which was founded at Jerusalem, down to the present hour ; examine how it has been administered unto by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and how this constitution was never interrupted during the space of fifteen hundred years, from the time of its Divine Founder. Then they will learn to respect the Discipline which was thus divinely commanded : they will be enabled to withstand the novelties wickedly introduced, from the times of Luther and Calvin, by persons not rightly ordained to administer the holy Sacraments, and to preach the Gospel. They will be convinced that no blessing can be justly expected to attend the ministry of such persons, who have shut themselves out of the Church, and have not the promise of Christ, and consequently can have nothing to rely on but his unbounded mercy when they appear before him, and give a reason for their disturbing the unity of the Church. And I beseech them all to pray for a firm faith in Christ Jesus, for deep and hearty repentance, and holiness of life ; to examine themselves thoroughly ; and to place their hearts under a rigid discipline ; and to form every action of their lives after the example which our Lord has set before them. Obedient children of the Church, they may expect God's blessing on their most humble endeavours to become faithful and holy followers of the blessed Head of the Church : but let them beware of falling into the deadly sin of heresy or schism, and of incurring God's just and severe displeasure.

“ The state of the world calls loudly on us all to pray ‘ for the good estate of the Catholic Church, that it may be so guided and governed by God's good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.’

“ The Church has been too long divided and distracted by discordant sects. Too many seek their own, and not Christ. O that all would pray in the words of the Collect for St Matthias's-Day : ‘ O Almighty God, Who, into the place of the traitor Judas didst choose thy faithful servant Matthias to be of the number of the twelve Apostles, grant that thy Church, being always preserved from false Apostles, may be ordered and governed by faithful and true pastors, through Jesus Christ, our Lord :’ And in the words of the Collect for St Peter's-Day :

“ ‘ O, Almighty God, who by thy son Jesus Christ, didst give unto thy Apostle Peter many excellent gifts, and commandedst him earnestly to feed thy flock ; make, we beseech thee, all Bishops and Pastors diligently to preach thy Holy Word, and the people obediently to follow the same, that they may receive the crown of everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.’

“ May the Almighty give you conviction of all this, and pour every blessing upon you. Believe me, my Reverend Brethren and beloved friends, your faithful and affectionate Pastor,

“ M. II. LUSCOMBE, *Bishop, &c.*

“ Paris : the Feast of St Barnabas, 1844.”

SECTION XLVIII.

CAUSES OF DELAY IN CARRYING THE APPEAL INTO SCOTLAND.

BEFORE I left Paris it was agreed between myself and Bishop Luscombe that I should reside for the present in

any place that might be most convenient for the printing (in the Latin) of those Documents he had given me, and for the preparation of others, which might probably be needed in Scotland, until I was ready to go with the Appeal itself before the Scottish Bishops. In particular, I had promised the Arch-Priest at St Petersburg to re-write and correct the Latin text of those '*Dissertations*' which he had proposed to send in to the Synod; and which, as has been mentioned above, he had returned to me for that purpose, keeping at the time only the last, with the *Dialogue between the Easterns and the British*, which was better translated, and was more legibly written. The continued weakness of my eyes made it probable that this might be a work of time: and I desired that the MS., when sent to Russia, should have been seen and approved by the Bishop, at least so far as related to matters of doctrine.

In the mean time I promised the Bishop that there should be no *unnecessary* delay on my part, though I had been ordered by medical advisers to *give up all work whatever for three or four years*, and so could not calculate the time with any certainty: And I left in the Bishop's hands Testimonials, signed as the Scottish Canons require, by two or three Clergymen formerly connected with Bishop Luscombe, in token, that if, as then seemed probable, I should have reason to seek Priest's Orders, and should recover the use of my eyes so far as to be able to pass an Examination, or to do any duty in church, I should look forward to receiving them from him, either personally, or by Letters Dimissory to some other Bishop in Scotland.

SECTION XLIX.

SEND TO RUSSIA COPIES OF THE REPORT, AND OF THE APPEAL.

AFTER returning from Paris, on Friday, May 10, I saw the Russian Ambassador in London, and delivered to him a copy of the Report to Bishop Luscombe, with the Bishop's approval and signature, and also a copy of the Letters I was to carry into Scotland authenticated in like manner; the whole being inclosed to the M. H. Synod, under cover to the High Procurator.

Printed copies of both these Documents were also sent,

by private channels, to a considerable number of Bishops, and other spiritual and lay persons, with whom I had before had more or less of communication, or of acquaintance, in Russia.

SECTION L.

ASSIST MR BLACKMORE IN EDITING THE VOLUME INTITLED
“THE DOCTRINE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.”

ON Saturday, September 28, 1844, while I was still occupied in very slowly revising the *Dissertations* above-mentioned, there came to me the English Chaplain from Cronstadt, Mr Blackmore, for whom I had three years before edited M. Mouravieff's "*History of the Russian Church.*" He was going to pass the winter in England, and reminding me of a promise given before to edit for him a second volume of Translations on the *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, urged, that though I had excused myself when I last returned from Russia on the ground of the total failure of my eyes, besides other necessary business connected with the Appeal, I yet might be able to bring out the volume with his assistance, he being then in England, and able to work with me: and for this purpose he proposed that we should pass some time together in Dorsetshire, which I eventually consented to do, not only because of the original promise, but also because it seemed probable that this work itself might not be useless in relation to the Appeal. I therefore wrote to Bishop Luscombe, to inform him of what was proposed; and received from him an answer, giving his consent, only adding, that "*of course I would not delay going into Scotland longer than was really necessary.*" This book, however, owing to the great weakness of my eye-sight, and other hindrances, took much more time than we had anticipated; and it was not till the summer of 1845 that it was carried through the press, and ready for publication. It was dedicated, at Mr Blackmore's own suggestion, to the Primus and other Bishops of the Scottish Church, he having previously applied for, and obtained their consent. Copies were sent to various individuals in Russia, besides two which were presented in Mr Blackmore's name by the High Procurator to the Emperor and to the Heir-Apparent. The Emperor acknowledged the presentation by sending Mr

Blackmore a valuable diamond ring, saying at the same time, “ *If we are well spoken of by those who know us, we need not mind being evil spoken of by those who know us not.*”

SECTION LI.

COMPILE AND PUBLISH WITH MR BLACKMORE A “ HARMONY OF ANGLICAN AND EASTERN DOCTRINE.”

As a Supplement or Appendix to the above volume, “ *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*,” I undertook, at Mr Blackmore’s request, though not exactly in the form of his own original plan, to edit a collection of *Extracts from Scottish and Anglican Authorities*, shewing the possibility of future Union between the British and the Eastern Churches. This compilation, for which Mr Blackmore had written out some extracts before he left England in the spring of 1845, was chiefly my own work. It was published in the summer of 1846, nearly a year after the volume to which it was to serve as an Appendix ; and was dedicated, like that volume itself, to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, with the Laity of their Communion, under the title of “ *A Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine, consisting of Extracts, &c. &c., designed to shew that there is in the British, and more particularly and pre-eminently in the Scottish Church, an Element of Orthodoxy capable, by a Synodical act, of declaring unity and identity with the faith of the Eastern Catholic Church.*” Copies of this Appendix were sent to Russia to the same persons as had formerly received the “ *Doctrine of the Russian Church* ;” and I learned, by a letter from Mr Blackmore, that the High Procurator had of himself undertaken to transmit copies to all those members of the higher Clergy to whom we desired to read them ; so that going through his Chancery they would carry with them a sort of semi-official recommendation.

SECTION LII.

OF CERTAIN MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

DURING the time which elapsed from Mr Blackmore’s coming to England in September 1844, to the publication of the “ *Harmony*” or Appendix to the “ *Doctrine of the*

Russian Church" in the summer of 1846, several incidents had occurred which, as having some indirect bearing upon the Appeal, may as well be here mentioned:

i. On Tuesday, December 24, 1844, there came to me a Russian Naval Officer who had been some months in England, and whom I had seen several times before, and proposed to me to revise with him a translation, which he had himself made into English, of a *Dialogue* written by the Metropolitan of Moscow, between two persons, one of whom is firm in the Communion of the Eastern Church, the other wavering and tempted to go over to the Roman-Catholics. This I did accordingly; and the same Officer afterwards having re-written his MS., as we had finally approved it, left it in my hands, with permission to make what use of it I pleased.

ii. On Monday, July 8, 1845, there came to London, and afterwards to Oxford, M. Mouravieff, the Author of the "*History of the Russian Church*," who chancing, while in London, to hear that one of the Scottish Bishops was staying there at the time, insisted upon being taken to call upon that Bishop: and afterwards expressed the pleasure which he had derived from the interview, saying in Russ to a countryman of his own, that "he had that day seen a Scottish Bishop, who had seemed to be not afraid to talk to him of his religion, and really *spoke* like a religious and orthodox Bishop." It appeared afterwards, that he had mentioned the same interview in conversations with his friends, after his return to St Petersburg.

iii. In the Spring of 1846, I received by letter the acknowledgments of several of those Russian Ecclesiastics, and others, who had received printed copies of the *Report to Bishop Luscombe*, and of the *Letters* he had given to be carried to the Scottish Church. At the same time, it was mentioned that certain of the Authorities at St Petersburg had been enquiring "*whether any thing had yet been done in Scotland?*" and that they seemed to wonder at the delay which was taking place. By the same person who had taken out the copies of the Latin documents above-mentioned, I received (on his return to England) three consecrated Icons or Representations, with a message from the Metropolitan of Moscow expressing his interest in what was going on, and sending me "*the Blessing of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.*"

iv. It may also be mentioned, that shortly after having finished printing the '*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*' in the spring of 1846, I found my eyes sufficiently improved in strength to enable me to read through with attention the Treatise of Adam Zarnikoff on the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*, and that in consequence of reading this work, I came to perceive that those attempts which I had made from the first time of going to Russia to that of the publication of the '*Harmony, &c.*:' to reconcile the Latin and the Greek Doctrines on the Procession, and to represent them as only differing in phraseology, were untenable; that the Greek doctrine and phraseology alone is that of antiquity and of the Universal Church; while the Latin doctrine either contradicts and neutralizes itself by the employment of ideas and words inconsistent with one another, or else, if it means anything, means rather heresy than orthodoxy; and that it is besides unsupported not only by the Greek, but also no less by all the antient and orthodox Latin Fathers.

On this latter subject, see what has been printed above at the end of the *Report to Bishop Luscombe*, Sect. XLIII, p. 284; and below, Sect. LXXVI.

SECTION LIH.

BISHOP LUSCOMBE SENDS A COPY OF THE "HARMONY OF ANGLICAN AND EASTERN DOCTRINE," WITH A MS. NOTICE PREFIXED, TO THE RUSSIAN SYNOD.

At length, in 1846, after an interval of two years, being now ready to proceed to Scotland, I returned to Bishop Luseombe at Paris, and presented to him both the "*Doctrine of the Russian Church*," and the "*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*," which had been edited in the mean time, with the suggestion that if, on reading the "*Harmony*" he felt he could give it his approval, he might perhaps find in it a becoming Explanation to send to the Russian Synod, to neutralize in some degree the effect produced by the Popish Refutation of his own Sermons, and by any passages which he might allow to need explanation or modification in the Sermons themselves. Accordingly, the Bishop gave me a copy of the "*Harmony*" to be sent in his name to the Russian Synod, with an Advertisement, written on blank leaves inserted on purpose at the beginning of the volume, and subscribed with his own hand. The following is a translation :—

"To all faithful Christians into whose hands this Book may come, wishing health and salvation :

"In the year 1842 I gave to a certain Russian lady some printed *Sermons* of my own, with the XXXIX *Articles* of the Anglican Church appended to them, in French, and at the same time an *Exposition of Orthodox Divinity* by Platon, Archbishop of Moscow. My intention in giving these documents was not to exhibit to a faithful and attached member of the Eastern Church the existence of differences between that Church and the British, and so to draw her away as to a contrary religion, but rather to bring back a lost sheep, and a soul which had been long plunged in the depths of heresy, towards the first and commonest principles of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith.

"I was well aware that if it ever came to pass that the lady should give up those desperate errors which she held at the time, and return to the belief of all those *Articles* of the faith on which all Apostolical Churches are manifestly

agreed, there might yet be room for the existence of ulterior questions and doubts, even in a religious mind, concerning certain other points, and those too of great moment, on which the Eastern and British Churches are commonly supposed, with much shew of probability, to differ from each other. Nor was I at all disposed to deny that there were some things in the XXXIX Articles which needed fuller explanation and limitation, and many perhaps in my own Sermons which might need improvement, or even correction. However, it was not then at all to my purpose either to consider myself, or to explain to the Lady, what might be said, or what ought to be said, or done, in the way of explanation, concession, retractation, or even correction, on just and proper occasion, for the sake of peace and reconciliation between the Churches; especially as I had to deal with a runaway of such a spirit, as to calumniate the British Church quite as much by her exaggeration of that Protestantism which she wished to embrace, as the Eastern by her condemnation of that Catholic faith which she rejected; a runaway too, whom I perceived to be only the more alienated and fixed in her errors, the more decidedly one seemed to recede from common Protestantism. For these reasons I put into her hands such documents as I had by me to illustrate the true nature of the two Churches, those relating to the Anglican being perhaps not altogether satisfactory, and exhorted her at the same time that she would at any rate examine more carefully and accurately the doctrines of both those Churches, before she determined it to be her duty either to renounce the one on account of that Catholicism which it holds, or to betake herself to the other as professing or encouraging heresy. As for those differences which I well knew might seem to remain even after she had returned to that belief which is manifestly common to both Churches, I briefly told her, that there was in both the documents, Anglican and Russian, one and the same Faith; the same common principles; the same substance and the Orthodox Religion: if in any points of secondary moment there seemed to be a difference, such difference was either only apparent, or at least did not touch the essential Faith: and I instanced the point of Transubstantiation, which, I said, was denied in the XXXIX Articles; and yet, that in this place, not that

‘ sacramental and mystical transubstantiation ’ which Platon teaches, but that ‘ carnal and physical transubstantiation ’ which he condemns, is intended. Nor yet again, I said, is even this denied as a *heresy* which cuts off its maintainers from the saving Faith, but rather as a secondary error which goes not so deep as to the essence of the Faith. In like manner, that if the Articles blame even harshly the Invocation of Saints, and the kissing or venerating of Pictures, still it by no means followed that Platon’s doctrine on these points was *in itself* condemned as heretical or idolatrous. For that the Anglican Church might very possibly, as is indeed the case, have either blamed some errors which do not amount to heresy, or without any imputation of dogmatical error, may have condemned and removed a practical system, from a reasonable or mistaken caution.

“ Without paying any attention to my admonitions, the Lady went off to London, there to seek from a certain Prussian Luthero-Calvinist, the Chevalier B., and from the Consecrators of a certain Anglo-Prussian Bishop of Jerusalem, some countenance or testimony against me, with which she might return into her own country. For the established custom of the Anglicans, she asserted, is to allow to individuals the right of taking passive Communion : that this has now passed into a principle of their religion : that as regards mere opinions, the British religion and Church is double ; containing in itself ‘ one Protestant Church,’ and ‘ another Catholic Church,’ or party : that she hoped to obtain over me, who was but a single Bishop and unsupported, and over my Deacon, a marked triumph for the Protestant party.

“ Being thus urged on by circumstances themselves, or rather compelled, unless indeed I had been willing to abandon my duty, and confess myself beaten, (and so to acquiesce in acts of the most sacrilegious licence), I gave to my Deacon N. N. Letters Commendatory written, I well know, in a very different tone and spirit, and approving on some lesser points of controversy a very different doctrine from that which a superficial or hostile reader might see in my printed Sermons, or in the XXXIX Articles themselves. And yet in those Letters Commendatory I approved nothing really new, or contrary to my own Sermons, or to

the true and literal sense of the XXXIX Articles ; certainly not on any points of faith ; but only approved what had been taught before me by a host of our best and most celebrated Anglican Divines ; what I had myself either always distinctly taught, or at the least had never intended distinctly to deny ; and what I had then more distinctly and fully expressed by my Deacon not without cause, but from the necessity of the existing controversy. And indeed it was inevitable that we, who were trying to defend Orthodoxy, should either give ourselves some latitude, and take some steps in advance, both in our manner of treating matters of discipline and in technical or scholastic phraseology, or else should yield and give way to our antagonists, who were trying to force us down from our actual position to a lower, and so by degrees even into the very abyss of anarchy.

“ My Deacon having been invited, or rather challenged by the Lady’s husband to defend himself, his Superior, me his Bishop, and lastly our Church, from the suspicion of personal imposture, as well as from the public charge of heresy, went with my Letters for the second time into Russia. On his arrival at St Petersburg he found the Lady boasting that she had not only triumphed over him, and over me his Bishop, but had even persuaded her husband that we were overcome. So confidently did she appeal to those testimonies in favour of Protestantism which she had brought back from England from the representatives and patrons of Prusso-Anglicanism. In the mean time she was taking an unauthorised and passive Communion in the Chapel of the British Factory and Embassy, as she had before done elsewhere ; and they gave my Deacon to understand that the best thing he could do, now that his misrepresentations had been exposed and confuted, was to make the quickest retreat he could to his Bishop. He on the other hand offered to the Lady and her husband the following alternatives : 1. That she should acknowledge in writing that she had never been admitted as a proselyte to the British Church, nor was then a member of it ; or, 2. (If she thought that she had been received to M. Bunsen’s Prusso-Anglican Communion, for he it was that she put forward as the Patriarch or exponent of Anglicanism) that she should at any rate confess that she had no claim to the Communion of the Missionary Bishop of

the Scottish Church resident at Paris: or, III. That she should give her word that she would not again take passive Communion in the Chapel of the British Factory at St Petersburg, without first communicating with the Chaplain and obtaining his permission. He offered, if they would comply with any one of these three conditions, to leave Russia at once, and return whence he came, without making any use of the Letters he had brought from me his Bishop. But when he found that they would not so much as listen to any of these proposals, nor give me any such reasonable satisfaction as he demanded, and the Lady besides, instead of keeping the affair close, seemed to have published it wherever she went, asserting herself to be suffering persecution for truth and conscience's sake;” [But see above Mde. A.'s disclaimer of this having been her doing, in Section xxv. p. 82.] “ he at length notified to them that he should present the Letters of his Bishop to the M. H. Synod, and publicly seek the Communion in his name, to the end that the scandal caused by one individual member of the Russian Church against the cause of Orthodoxy and Unity, might be neutralised or counterbalanced by the contrary acts and professions of two individual members (at any rate) of the British Church, the one of them a Deacon, the other a Bishop. They urged, that this would be the same thing as publicly denouncing her, which might bring the person denounced into danger of civil penalties. To avoid all danger of this, my Deacon sought an interview with the Most Venerable the Arch-Priest B. B. K. a Member of the M. H. Synod, and Confessor to the Lady's husband, and, without naming the person, requested him to mark every passage or expression in my Letters Commendatory which might involve any danger or shadow of danger to any one. In consequence, he made a number of alterations and omissions; and finally presented the Letters in such a form, that they set forth merely the general statement of a controversy between the heretical Anglicanism of certain self-made proselytes who sought to invade the British Church, and the orthodox Anglicanism of a certain Bishop who sought to repel and disown them. And these Letters were, as it seems, read with signs of favour and approbation in the M. H. Synod; but the answer made to my Deacon was to the effect, that the Let-

ters and Petition of one or two individuals, that is, of a single Bishop and a single Deacon, were of no such weight as to afford matter of deliberation to the Russian Synod or Patriarch; and that consequently he could not be admitted to the Communion of the Russian Church otherwise than by the Form in use for the Reconciliation of Converts from Heterodoxy. Upon the receipt of this Answer he asked for a Confessor, who might examine his conscience in Christ's name, pointing out to him that heresy which he held, or was bound to hold, as a member of the British Church, and convincing him of his error; and so might proceed to the application of the usual Form, and Reconcile him by it, if it were found really applicable. The Synod did not appoint him a Confessor; but it deputed one of its own Members, the M. V. Arch-Priest B. B. K. above-mentioned, to explain to him all that was necessary in order to his being admitted to the Communion of the Russian Church.

“ Things being in this position, the Lady having understanding of all that had passed, after having taken counsel with her husband, interfered in a manner well enough adapted to serve her own views, though somewhat bold; and sent through her husband to the Arch-Priest that identical copy of my *Sermons*, with the *XXXIX Articles* appended, which I had given her at Paris; and together with these she sent a volume published by a French Papist in refutation of my *Sermons*, and written in such a spirit as to put the worst and most perverse sense possible upon all that he had found either in them or in the *XXXIX Articles*.

“ Out of the former volume, given by me at Paris, that is to say, out of the *XXXIX Articles* at the end, so interpreted, the Arch-Priest objected to my Deacon a number of the most pernicious heresies, which he required him to anathematize, if he would be admitted to the Communion of the Russian Church.

“ For his part, he readily enough said Anathema to the heresies objected to him: but on the question whether by this Anathema he anathematized the *XXXIX Articles* themselves, and the Communion and Church of me his Bishop, (as was asserted in the name of the Eastern Church), he appealed back to me as the Bishop from whom he had come,

and to the Synod of the Scottish Bishops, by whom I was consecrated.

“ But since the M. H. Synod, in the manner above related, received my Sermons and the XXXIX Articles not joined, as I had joined them, with the Exposition of Archbishop Platon, so as to be explained in the best sense, but joined with a ‘Popish Refutation,’ so as to suggest such an interpretation of them as might suit best the views and wishes of the Lady, I take the opportunity now of sending to the Synod another Book not unlike in its contents to those two which I joined in one gift to the Lady at Paris: in which there is not the one-half only of my gift, but the whole, and in a more perfect form: first, an authentic Exposition of the Russian Religion, and then a collection of the most authentic testimonies from the writings of British Bishops and Doctors, and from public Documents of the British Churches, so put together, that from it any one may easily collect not only the true interpretation of the XXXIX Articles, but also the true sense, or, if any one likes that better, the true and necessary correction of my own Sermons, if in any places they were erroneous or needed correction: And, so far as my word can go, I certify that this Book, herewith joined, is published with my approbation, and that it contains nothing inconsistent with the Faith and Religion of the Scottish Church; nor of the English Church either, so long as the latter be fairly judged; but that all its contents are orthodox, and very agreeable to piety, as having either been all along, and from the beginning, the public and formal doctrine of our Church, or as having been, at the least, delivered down and sanctioned, with the sympathy and reverence of all good Christians, by most learned and religious men, who have filled the highest dignities, and left behind them the most enduring and the most universally-received reputation as Fathers and Authorities in our Church. In testimony of all which things above-written, I hereto subscribe with my hand, on this day of the Eve of the Nativity of Saint John Baptist, being the twenty-third of June, in the year of our Lord 1846, at Paris.

“ MATTHEW, *Bishop, &c.*”

[A duplicate was also subscribed, to be sent afterwards with any further Approbations which might be given in Scotland.]

SECTION LIV.

THE LETTERS FOR SCOTLAND RE-AUTHENTICATED AT THE SAME TIME, WITH SOME EXPLANATION OF THE DELAY.

AT the same time the Bishop also re-authenticated, by a fresh subscription, the Letter which he had given two years before sending the Appeal to the Synod of the Scottish Bishops; and added a few words to explain the cause of the delay. He also, at my own suggestion, gave me *another Letter* authorizing me to represent his person in or before any Synod or Synods in Scotland or elsewhere, which might beholden on the matter of the Appeal. In giving this the Bishop observed, that "though the same was sufficiently implied in the longer Letter, wherein the business itself was stated, I was perhaps right in desiring to be enabled to act according to the strictest forms: that, for his own part, he did not know exactly what form they might pursue in Scotland, nor whether they *could* by their present canons give him a place in their ordinary Episcopal Synod, though there was nothing to prevent their constituting a freer form of Synod for a case which involved more general interests than those of the six Scottish Dioceses: that this, however, was of no consequence; as, having the fullest powers now formally given to me, I could, of course, for convenience' sake, waive the claim to any extent that might be desirable: that the form of proceeding mattered nothing, so long as that consideration were given to the case, which he thought it could justly claim; and this he felt sure the Scottish Bishops, and especially his own friend N. (naming one of them), would be ready to give it."

[For Bishop Luscombe's two Letters, see below, Sections LVII and LXI.]

SECTION LV.

TENDER RESIGNATION OF FELLOWSHIP TO THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, OXFORD: A FORMAL LEAVE OF ABSENCE GIVEN BY THE COLLEGE.


AFTER having taken leave of Bishop Luscombe at Paris, and being now on the way to Scotland, I made known to the Society of St Mary Magdalene College, Oxford, the relations into which I had been brought with Bishop Luscombe, and

the probability of that spiritual business in which I was engaged as his Clerk obliging me to reside in Scotland, or elsewhere, away from the College for an indefinite period : for which reason I tendered to the President and Fellows, at a public meeting, a resignation of the Fellowship I then held. This however the Society thought it unnecessary to accept ; and gave me a formal leave of absence for so long as that spiritual business in Scotland might last, only reserving to themselves the right to require me at any time either to resign or to return, if they called upon me to do so.

The Leave of Absence (in Latin) was as follows :

“ Whereas one of our Fellows, N. N., M.A., and Deacon in Holy Orders, has notified to us that he has, while residing abroad with our permission, undertaken spiritual employment under a Bishop of Scottish Consecration, and is now about to go with Letters from the same Bishop to the Synod of the Scottish Church ; and that this business will make it necessary for him to reside in Scotland, or elsewhere, away from the College for an indefinite period ;

“ We, the President and Fellows of St Mary Magdalene College, Oxford, judging it unnecessary that he should resign his place among us on account of the above-mentioned spiritual business, do by these present Letters grant him leave of absence, that he may freely, and without prejudice to his Fellowship, reside in Scotland, or elsewhere, so long as the said business may require ; retaining to ourselves, in the mean time, the right of revoking this permission.”

“ M. J. ROUTH,  President of Magdalene College,
July 25, 1846. Oxford, for Himself and the College.”

SECTION LVI.

ARRIVE IN SCOTLAND : PRESENT THE APPEAL TO THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, THE SENIOR OF THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS ; WHO ACCEPTS IT.

ON Monday, August 10, 1846, I landed at Aberdeen in Scotland, and waited on the Bishop of that see (who, in consequence of the Bishop of St Andrews' voting against himself for the office, had been since 1841 the elective ‘ Primus ’ of the

Scottish Bishops): and after having communicated to him in conversation the whole matter of the Appeal, as involving both Bishop Luscombe and myself personally, I requested him to indicate the right course of proceeding, as being desirous of following in all things his directions.

He advised me to go, in the first instance, to each of the Bishops at their several residences, *beginning* from the *Bishop of St Andrews*, who, he said, was the *Senior of them all*, but infirm, and so seldom able to attend their meetings or Synods; and he would certainly not be at their annual Synod that year: that, however, they *all* had a *great respect for him*, and should be glad to have the benefit of his opinion: That after having so gone round to each of the Bishops, I should present myself with the Documents of which I was the bearer before the annual Episcopal Synod, which was to meet in less than a month, at Edinburgh.

Accordingly, I went first to the Bishop of St Andrews at Peterhead, and after stating the whole matter verbally, delivered to him, into his hand, Bishop Luscombe's Letters *duly authenticated*; [*"Quum Anno Domini M.DCCCXLII. ineunte, &c.:"* as shall be given at length in English in the next Section.]

The *authenticated Document itself* he soon afterwards returned to me, that I might be able to take it before the Synod; for doing which he at the same time gave his Sanction, and his Blessing; and promised to write to the Primus and the other Bishops in favour of the synodical entertainment and decision of the Appeal; which he thus, as one Diocesan Bishop, had already received and sustained.

SECTION LVII.

ENGLISH VERSION OF BISHOP LUSCOMBE'S LETTERS, CONTAINING THE WHOLE CASE OF THE APPEAL AS SENT BY HIM INTO SCOTLAND, AND AS THERE RECEIVED AND SUSTAINED BY THE SENIOR BISHOP, THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.

"To the Right Reverend Father in Christ, N. Bishop of N., and to the whole Synod of the Scottish Bishops, wishing health:

"IN the Spring of the year 1842, a certain Lady, a member of the Russian Church, having deceitfully, or rather surreptitiously, taken the Sacraments at my hands, was after-

wards refused by me a certificate of Communion on these grounds, first, that she professed to have deserted the Russian Church without any plea of necessity or reason; and, secondly, because she maintained openly the most pernicious heresies in the name of the British Church. The Lady insisting on her supposed right to our Communion, and being on the point of returning to her own country with the avowed intention of there taking the Sacraments surreptitiously from any British Priests or Chaplains she might find, I gave to my Deacon, N. N., formal Letters to be taken to Russia, and to be used against her in vindication of our religion. For as she, renouncing truths held by the Eastern Churches, and professing heresies not held by ours, had left her own Bishop, and come to me to take the Communion as a convert in spite of my opposition, so I wished my Clerk, on the other hand, to go from me to the Easterns, professing in my name those truths of theirs which the Lady had renounced, and disclaiming those heresies to which, as if held by us, she declared herself a proselyte; and so coming as an orthodox Christian from an orthodox Bishop and to orthodox brethren, to seek canonically their Communion, in such manner as might be the most contrary possible to that in which the Lady was invading ours.

“ And this having been done, as I desired, the Letters themselves were read in the Russian Synod (which holds the place of Patriarch) with marks of the most favourable disposition; but in answer to my Clerk’s prayer to be admitted to the Sacraments, it was objected, first, that the Letters of a single Bishop were no proof of the doctrine of his Church, unless supported by some Synodical act; and then, further, besides some other accusations of less importance, they objected to him, as if contained or implied in the XXXIX Articles, a great number of decided heresies; and required him to anathematize the same heresies, if he would be admitted to Communion by the Eastern Church.

“ Whereupon he, seeing that the Propositions objected to him were indeed plain heresies, subversive of the Catholic Christian Faith, made no scruple to anathematize them at the bidding of the Patriarchal Synod: but when they urged that he had now, by this act, anathematized at the

same time the XXXIX Articles themselves, and our whole Communion, and cut himself off from us, he made answer, that for a decision on this point he appealed to myself, as the Bishop from whom he came, and to the Synod of the Scottish Bishops, by whom I was consecrated.

“ Wherefore, my Right Reverend Brethren, I now send him to you, and to your Synod, as the bearer of these present Letters, at the end of which are appended all those Propositions to which he has said Anathema at the bidding of the Easterns. It is for you to declare whether he has indeed, by so doing, cut himself off from our Faith and Communion, or is still owned by us as a sound member ; whether he has indeed said Anathema to the XXXIX Articles and to our Church, or rather rightly, and as in duty bound, defended our Church and religion against unfair imputations.

“ Further, I send to you herewith certain other Propositions relating to Discipline, which are indeed no novelties, but only express the plainest principles of the Canons of our own and of the whole Church. Still, as I, acting as an individual Bishop, find myself unable to maintain them, and see them trampled under foot and laughed to scorn by that foreign Lady, of whose invasion of our Communion I have spoken above, they need to be re-asserted and confirmed by a Synod. And let no one think that this controversy concerns me only : your own existence, and that of your Church, is at stake. For if the cause of truth and Gospel Discipline be abandoned and refused the support of unity in this present case merely because I am at a distance, and as it were an isolated Bishop, (when yet I derive for you my Consecration,) we shall all, and every one of us, be put to it hereafter to know how to defend our Dioceses against the lawlessness of others stronger than ourselves, and those not women only, or laymen, but Priests too, perhaps, and even Bishops. Farewell in the Lord.”

“ MATTHEW, (Bishop of the Scots, English, and others of the same Communion resident in France.)”

“ *Thursday in Easter Week, 1844, at Paris.*”

[And again re-authenticated with same signature, on the “ *Eve of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, June 23, 1846.*”]

“Here follow those Propositions which have been Anathematized at the bidding of the Eastern Church as subverting the Catholic Faith either directly, or at the least indirectly, by the denial of the Church or the Sacraments.

“I. That the Holy Ghost proceeds from *two distinct principles* of Deity :

“II. That the Tradition of the Church *has no authority whatever* :

“III. That Holy Scripture *without the Church and the Sacraments* is sufficient for salvation :

“IV. That the Church may not require anything of Christians to be believed as of necessity to salvation, beyond what may appear *to each individual, according to his own private interpretation*, to be either expressly, or by inference, contained in Holy Scripture :

“v. That the Church may not require anything of Christians to be believed or admitted at all, beyond what may appear *to each individual, according to his own private interpretation*, to be either expressly, or by inference, contained in Holy Scripture :

“vi. That the Church has no other authority in controversies of faith than this, that she may decree such things to be believed by each one of her members as true or as necessary to salvation, as may seem *to each one of her members, according to his own private interpretation*, to be neither decreed contrary to Holy Scripture, nor obtruded beside the same as of necessity to salvation :

“vii. That the Church has no power to decree rites or ceremonies, further than her decrees on such subjects may seem *to each individual of her members, according to his own private interpretation*, to be agreeable to Holy Scripture :

“viii. That General Councils, howsoever they may have been received as such by the Church Catholic for many centuries, may *have erred*, even *in points of the necessary faith*, and so may have handed down lies to the whole world instead of the truth of God :

“ix. That some, even of truly-Œcumenical Councils, not only *could* err at the time when they were first convoked and celebrated, but also *did actually err*, and entail *heresies upon the whole Church* instead of the true Catholic faith :

“X. That whatsoever things have been decreed by General or Œcumenical Councils as necessary to Salvation, have neither force nor authority, unless so far as they may *seem to each individual Christian* to be taken out of Holy Scripture :

“XI. That Original Sin in persons regenerated by Baptism *simply and absolutely* remains :

“XII. That *in no manner nor sense* is it true to say that Original Sin is by Baptism done away :

“XIII. That men are justified by Faith only, *irrespectively of Baptism* :

“XIV. That Faith *alone and of itself, even though it be without so much as a good purpose of obedience*, may still confer Justification :

“XV. That *in no manner nor sense*, neither before Baptism, nor in Baptism, *nor after Baptism*, is it true to say that men are justified by faith and works, or “by works, and not by faith only :”

“XVI. That all works done before the dispensation of the grace of Christ and of His Spirit *on the day of Pentecost were sins*, or, which amounts to the same thing, *had the nature and character of sins in God’s sight* :

“XVII. That those are to be held lawfully called and sent to the office of public preaching, and of ministering Sacraments, who have been chosen thereto by such as have public authority given them *by the Civil Magistrate* to call and send men to the said office :

“XVIII. That Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, consecrated and ordained by a Ritual which confers Holy Orders *only in the name of a King and a Parliament* are to be held to have been rightly and lawfully consecrated and ordained :

“XIX. That Sacraments are *nothing more than* pledges and signs of grace, and of God’s good will towards us ; and that their efficacy consists in this only, that they stir up the intellect and the affections to faith :

“XX. That there are *simply and absolutely* two Sacraments, and *two only* ; neither more nor less :

“XXI. That those five often called Sacraments by the Holy Fathers, to wit, Confirmation, Penitence, Orders, Matrimony, and the Unction of the Sick with Oil, cannot *in any sense or manner* be truly or allowably reckoned among the Evangelical or among the Ecclesiastical Sacraments :

“ XXII. That the above five, all and every one of them, are *bare* rites or ceremonies, *which confer not the grace of God* :

“ XXIII. That the above five are *nothing more than* either depraved and corrupt followings of the Apostles, or *mere* states of life, which are indeed lawful for Christians, but *in no manner nor sense* have the nature of Sacraments :

“ XXIV. That Baptism is *nothing more than* a sign of regeneration, *not* conferring regeneration itself, but *merely* instrumentally admitting the person baptized *into the society of the visible Church* :

“ XXV. That the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist are *in no manner nor sense* changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord :

“ XXVI. That *in no manner nor sense* is it true to say that the nature or substance of the Bread and Wine passes into or becomes the substance of Christ's Body and Blood :

“ XXVII. That *in no manner nor sense* is it true to say that the Bread and Wine after consecration are the Body and Blood of the Lord :

“ XXVIII. That the Body and Blood of Christ are given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper *only as distinct and separate from the Bread and Wine* :

“ XXIX. That the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper only after a Heavenly and Spiritual manner ; *that is, not really, but figuratively, or symbolically, only by a spiritual or intellectual act of the receiver* :

“ XXX. That *in no manner nor sense* is it true to say, that the Body and Blood of Christ lie on the Altar, are given by the hand of the Priest, or received by the Communicants into their hands, mouths, and stomachs :

“ XXXI. That the mean whereby the Body and Blood of Christ are received and eaten in the Lord's Supper is *simply and merely* faith, *irrespectively of the consecration, and of the consecrated elements* :

“ XXXII. That the presence of Christ's Body and Blood does *not* remain as long as the species or kinds remain uncorrupt in their proper nature :

“ XXXIII. That the Body and Blood of Christ are present *only in the very act of Communion*, and then only so long as the energy of faith continues in the mind of the receiver :

“ XXXIV. That Bread and Wine are *not* to be offered at the consecration of the Mysteries :

“ XXXV. That Christ’s Body truly present in the Eucharist, or, which is the same thing, the Eucharist itself, *so far as it is Christ’s Body*, is *not* to be adored :

“ XXXVI. That *in no manner nor sense* is it true to say that bad Christians, who have not a lively energy of faith in the very act of Communicating, receive or eat the Body and Blood of Christ :

“ XXXVII. That bad Christians, who have not a lively faith, eat and drink *only a bare and empty sign, and not a true Sacrament* of the Body and Blood of Christ :

“ XXXVIII. That the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, when received by bad Christians, who have not a lively faith, are *in no manner nor sense* Christ’s Body and Blood :

“ XXXIX. That *although* the bloody Sacrifices of the Old Testament were both true, proper, and propitiatory, the unbloody Sacrifices of the New Testament are neither true, proper, nor propitiatory :

“ XL. That the Priest, when he celebrates the Liturgy, *in no manner nor sense* makes any intercession, expiation, propitiation, or satisfaction for his own sins, and the sins of his people :

“ XLI. That *in no manner nor sense* is it true to say that the Priest offers Christ in the celebration of the Liturgy for the whole Church, for the remission of sin and its penalties :

“ XLII. That the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, *simply and absolutely*, is *neither more nor less than a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit* :

“ XLIII. That the traditions and ceremonies of the Church may rightly be broken and despised by any man *who thinks them* to disagree with the Word of God :

“ XLIV. That the government of the Church in all causes, whether of faith or discipline, belongs *to the Civil Magistrate*.”

“ *Here follow those Propositions respecting Discipline, the Synodical re-assertion of which is desired.*

I.

“ I. No person *has a right* to receive the Holy Sacraments in Christ’s Church, unless he has first been approved and admitted by a lawful act of the Ecclesiastical Authority.

“ II. There are two distinct kinds of lawful admission, one by which Members of the Church, another by which Proselytes, obtain the Sacraments.

II.

“ III. Not even Members of the Church, who have been Baptized and Confirmed, have any *right* to receive the Sacraments even from their own Curate or Bishop, (to say nothing of others), unless they have previously obeyed the Discipline of the Church; that is to say, unless they have previously given in their names, or presented themselves to the Curate, and satisfied him, on his examining them, so far as may be necessary in order to prevent any persons being improperly admitted to the Communion.

“ IV. Members of the Church going from one Curate or parish to another within the same diocese, even though they may have given in their names, and satisfied the Curate, yet do not hereby acquire a *right* to the Communion in the place to which they have removed, unless they also bring a Certificate from their former Curate; so that there be no danger lest a person refused the Sacraments by one Curate be improperly admitted by another.

“ V. Members of the Church going from one diocese to another, even though they may have presented themselves to the Curate of the place, and also brought a certificate from their former Curate, yet do not hereby at once acquire a *right* to the Communion, unless they have also previously brought Letters from their former Bishop to the Bishop of the new diocese; so that there be no danger of a person refused by his Bishop in one diocese being improperly admitted to Communion by the Bishop or Clergy of another.

“ VI. If a Bishop receive Christians coming from another diocese and bringing no certificates, or allow them the Communion in his own diocese, such Bishop offends against the discipline of the Church, and incurs the penalty of deposition, *unless so far as* it may be supposed by mutual indulgence or negligence of the Bishops on both sides that Christians going from one diocese to the other either actually have with them the certificate of their former Bishop, or at least can easily procure it if required.

“ VII. If a Presbyter admit to Communion Christians from another diocese without the pass or permission of his own

Bishop, (even though they may bring certificates from their former Curate or Bishop,) such Presbyter offends against the discipline of the Church, and incurs penalties by the Canons, *unless so far as*, by the indulgence or negligence of both Bishops, it may be supposed that Christians coming from one diocese to the other have either actually performed all that canonical discipline enjoins, or at least can easily do so if required.

“VIII. If a Presbyter admit to Communion Christians from other parishes in the same diocese without any certificate from their former Curate, such Presbyter offends against the discipline of the Church, and incurs the penalties of censure, suspension, or deposition, *unless so far as*, in the silence of the other Curate, and also of his Bishop, he may suppose that the parties coming to him either actually have with them the certificate of their former Curate, or at least can easily procure it if required.

“IX. If any Presbyter give the Communion even to Christians of his own Church, whose Curate he is, without previously examining them, or making them give in their names, such Presbyter offends against the discipline of the Church, and incurs canonical penalties, *unless so far as* by indulgence or negligence, in the silence of the Bishop, he may suppose that in the case of Christians whom he knows well, and who are frequent Communicants, he can without risk of sacrilege dispense with the exact letter of the Canons.

“X. If any person, however otherwise he may think himself qualified, condemn the discipline of the Church, and attempt to take to himself passive Communion *as a matter of right* in spite of the Curate, either in his own, or in any other parish or diocese, such person is to be turned out of the church by the Deacons or the Churchwardens, and is to be held and treated as one excommunicate by all good Christians.

“XI. If any Presbyter or Bishop be unwilling either himself to use his authority, or to support others who use theirs, and so knowingly and willingly *allow passive Communion* as a right to persons who condemn the discipline of the Church, such Presbyter or Bishop only makes himself a party to sacrilege: nor does any right accrue from such acts of sacrilege to the parties Communicating, to enable

them to obtain the Communion of other more religious Priests or Bishops.

III.

“XII. Proselytes are admitted to the Sacraments in two ways ; either by Baptism (which must here be understood to include Confirmation), or by Reconciliation : and Reconciliation, again, may be either simple, or joined with the reception of Confirmation.

“XIII. No person can become a Proselyte by the mere act of his own will, without any act of Ecclesiastical authority.

“XIV. Not even members of the Church, still less Proselytes, have the right to determine every one in his own case what he is to reject as false, and what to embrace as true and pious : for men must come to the Church humbly as disciples, not presumptuously as judges.

“XV. Whether any one, on coming to the Church, is to be received by Baptism, or by Reconciliation ; and if by Reconciliation, whether he is to be Confirmed also, or merely admitted by the Absolution or blessing of the Church, are questions, the right of determining which lies not with the Proselyte himself, but with the Bishop, or the Priest whom he appoints. Nor again, in determining such questions, is even the Bishop free to follow his own private judgment, but he must follow the public law of the Church ; of which if there be doubt in any case, the right of deciding is with the Bishop, but still so, that what he determines must afterwards be submitted to a Synod.

“XVI. A Presbyterian alone has no authority to baptize or reconcile adult Proselytes, *unless so far as* he be commissioned thereto by the Bishop.

“XVII. If a Presbyterian, without a Bishop, presume as of his own authority to reconcile any Proselytes, however otherwise fit subjects for Reconciliation, such Reconciliation is invalid and null, *unless so far as* the want of authority be afterwards made good by the consent and blessing of the Bishop to whom it may pertain.

“XVIII. If any Bishop, or any Presbyterian commissioned by a Bishop, presume either to re-baptize, or to re-confirm, or to reconcile as Proselytes Christians holding the true faith, and coming from the dioceses of other faithful Bishops, such an act is to be accounted and treated as mere sacrilege.

“ XIX. If any Bishop, or any Presbyter commissioned by a Bishop, admit to Communion, contrary to the public law of the Church, strangers needing Baptism or Reconciliation, either without Baptism by Reconciliation alone, or without Reconciliation as if already brethren and members of the Church, such an act is sacrilege: nor does any right whatever accrue to the parties so Communicating, to enable them afterwards to obtain the Communion from other more religious Bishops

“ XX. The determination of any one Bishop concerning the admission or rejection of a Proselyte binds all other his fellow-Bishops, *unless so far as* any Bishop may move a controversy by appealing against the judgment of his brother to a Synod.

“ XXI. If a stranger, who has never by any lawful act of authority been admitted to the Communion of the Church, attempt to invade the rights of the faithful at his own will, calling himself either a member of the Church, or a Proselyte, such a person is to be turned out of the church by the Deacons, or by the Churchwardens.

“ XXII. If any Bishop or Presbyter knowingly and willingly allow either unconditional Baptism or passive Communion to strangers who pretend to make themselves members of the Church by their own will, such a Bishop or Presbyter only makes himself a party to sacrilege: nor does any right whatever accrue to strangers so Baptized or so Communicating, to enable them to obtain the Sacraments afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

IV.

“ XXIII. No persons can be so admitted to the Communion of the Church, as to leave it uncertain whether they receive the Communion as brethren, or as proselytes: nor is this a question which the parties Communicating have the right to determine for themselves; but it must be determined by the Bishop, or the Priest whom he appoints, according to the public law of the Church; or, if there be in any case room for doubt, then the decision lies with the Bishop, but still so, that whatever he decides must afterwards be submitted to a Synod.

“ XXIV. If a stranger attempt to invade the Communion of any Presbyter or Bishop, without his knowledge, or against his will, in such wise, as to leave it uncertain whether he

Communicate as a brother, or as a proselyte, such a person is to be turned out of the church by the Deacons or the Churchwardens.

“ xxv. If a Bishop or Presbyter knowingly and willingly allow passive Communion to any stranger, in such wise, as to leave it uncertain whether he Communicates as a brother or as a proselyte, such a Bishop or Presbyter only makes himself a party to sacrilege: nor does any right whatever accrue to the person so Communicating, to enable him to obtain the Sacraments afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

V.

“ xxvi. If any man Communicate in prayers or sacraments with societies alien from the Communion and obedience of his Bishop and Church, he is, if a layman, to be treated as excommunicate, or, if a Clerk, to be deposed; and, unless he repent, afterwards excommunicated.

“ xxvii. In like manner, if any man either himself wilfully withdraw from the Communion or obedience of his lawful Bishop, or Communicate in prayers and sacraments with others who so withdraw, he is to be treated by all good Christians as excommunicate.

“ xxviii. If any Bishop receive to his Communion, *without appealing to a Synod*, any Clerk or layman who has withdrawn from the Communion or jurisdiction of his lawful Bishop, both alike, the Bishop receiving and the person received, are to be treated as excommunicate, inasmuch as they are workers of confusion.

“ xxix. If any man passing from one diocese into another wilfully neglect to seek the Communion of the Bishop of the place, or to pay him Canonical obedience, he is to be treated as excommunicate.

“ xxx. If a Bishop, *without appealing to the Synod*, take up and defend any person who has come into any diocese, and there wilfully refuses the Communion or jurisdiction of the lawful Bishop, both alike, the Bishop defending and the person defended, are to be treated as excommunicate, inasmuch as they are workers of confusion.

“ xxxi. If any man condemn the Bishop's sentence, and *without appealing to a Synod*, Communicate in prayers or sacraments with a man deposed or excommunicate, both alike are to be treated as excommunicate.

“ XXXII. If any Bishop, *without appealing to a Synod*, take up or defend any Clerk or layman deposed or excommunicated by another Bishop, both alike, the Bishop defending and the person defended, are to be treated as excommunicate, inasmuch as they are workers of confusion.

VI.

“ XXXIII. The communities of those who call themselves Evangelical, and take the title of Churches apart from the Apostolical Episcopate, whether on the Continent or in our own Islands, are not Churches in the true or strict sense of the term, inasmuch as such societies have never held Communion as Churches with any part of the Catholic and Apostolic Church : nor is it possible, in the nature of things, for them to do so, any more than it is for anarchy to become one with authority.

“ XXXIV. Persons who come from no Bishop, but from societies which call themselves Churches apart from our Apostolic Hierarchy, cannot be admitted to Communion by our Bishops, unless they first withdraw from the society and Communion of anarchy, and are joined as Proselytes to the unity of the Apostolical Episcopate, receiving at the same time Confirmation.

“ XXXV. If a British Bishop admit to brotherly Communion any person coming from the societies of those who call themselves Evangelical, but refusing to withdraw from them for the future, such an act is null and void : nor does any right whatever accrue to the person so Communicating, to enable him to obtain the Communion afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

“ XXXVI. If a British Bishop admit, as by an act of Authority, to Communion any person coming from the societies called Evangelical, but refusing to separate from them for the future, in such wise, as to leave it uncertain whether he Communicates as a brother, or as a proselyte, such an act is null and void : nor does any right whatever accrue to the party so Communicating, to enable him to obtain the Communion afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

“ XXXVII. If a stranger coming from any society of those who call themselves Evangelical, and refusing to separate from it for the future, attempt to invade the Communion of any British Bishop or Priest, without his knowledge or

against his will, such a person is to be turned out of the Church by the Deacons or the Churchwardens.

“XXXVIII. If a British Bishop or Presbyter knowingly and willingly allow passive Communion to any stranger from the societies of those who are called Evangelical, either as to a brother, or as to a proselyte, or lastly, so as to leave it uncertain, by what they call “Occasional Communion,” such connivance is sacrilege: nor does any right whatever accrue to the person so Communicating, to enable him to obtain the Communion afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

VII.

“XXXIX. The great and Apostolical Churches of the Easterns, which were once united with ourselves in Faith and Communion, cannot, without a Synodical act, be made heretical or excommunicate, howsoever they may seem now to differ from us in opinion, in ritual, or in feeling.

“XL. Even though there may be room for suspicion that the Easterns of the Greek rite have fallen away into some heresy since the schism, still *they* are of all people the worst possible witnesses of this, who come deserting and reviling the Church of their Baptism, and boasting to have re-originated the Faith from themselves. Further, even though any suspicion or accusation against the Easterns should have grown up among our own brethren, still it is not for any single British Bishop to decide on such a question, but for the whole united Synod.

“XLI. As the Easterns of the Greek rite have never hitherto been condemned as heretics by any Synodical act of our Churches, it follows that Christians coming from them to any British Bishop would be of necessity to be received to brotherly Communion, if only they brought Letters of peace, according to the Canons. It follows too, on the other hand, for the same reason, that they certainly cannot be reconciled to our Communion as proselytes.

“XLII. If a Christian, Baptized and Confirmed, come from the Easterns to any British Bishop, and satisfy him, on examination, *that he holds that Faith of the Eastern Church by which she was one with us down to the time of the schism*, and is further free from all just bond of excommunication, such a person is to be received as a brother, even though he may

have been unable, in consequence of the schism, to bring Letters of peace from his Eastern Bishop.

“XLIII. If a Christian, Baptized and Confirmed, and free from all just bond of excommunication, come from the Easterns to a British Bishop, and satisfy him, on examination, that he has been unjustly condemned by his Eastern Bishop, as, for instance, if he should have been excommunicated for holding the controversy about the Procession to be rather verbal than essential, or for denying the exclusive Catholicism of the Eastern Church, or for denying with Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, that there is any “carnal and physical transubstantiation” in the Eucharist, such a one is to be received by us, not as a Proselyte, but as a brother, whom it is our duty to support and defend against the unjust excommunication of a particular Church.

“XLIV. If any person should come from the Easterns neither seeking brotherly Communion, nor pretending to have been unjustly excommunicated, but of his own will deserting the Eastern Church, and condemning her as heretical (while we have never hitherto by any Synodal act condemned her as such), such a runaway is on no account to be received, lest we set a precedent of confusion against ourselves. If any British Bishop receive such runaways, he merely makes himself a party to their sin: but no right whatever accrues to persons so Communicating, to enable them to obtain the Communion afterwards as Proselytes, from other more religious Bishops.

“XLV. If a British Bishop or Presbyter of his own will solicit any members of the Eastern Orthodox Church to desert her Communion, or reconcile them authoritatively as Proselytes, or admit them as such to the Communion, such an act is null and void: nor does any right whatever accrue to the persons so Communicating, to enable them to obtain the Communion afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

“XLVI. If a British Bishop or Presbyter admit authoritatively to the Communion any person coming from the Easterns, in such wise, as to leave it uncertain whether he Communicates as a brother, or as a Proselyte, such an act is sacrilege: nor does any right whatever accrue to the person so Communicating, to enable him to obtain the Communion afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

“ XLVII. If a British Bishop or Presbyter knowingly and willingly allow any person coming from the Easterns to take passive Communion, either as a brother, or as a Proselyte, or uncertainly, and by what they call “ Occasional Communion,” such connivance is sacrilege: nor does any right whatever accrue to the person so Communicating, to enable him to obtain the Communion afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

“ XLVIII. If any person coming from the Easterns attempt to invade the Communion of any British Bishop or Presbyter without his knowledge, or against his will, either as a brother or as a Proselyte, or uncertainly, and by what they call “ Occasional Communion,” such a one is to be turned out of the church by the Deacons or the Churchwardens.”

“ In confirmation of all which things above written, I again subscribe my name, and set my Seal.

“ † MATTHEW † Bishop of the Scots, English, and others of the same Communion resident in France.

“ *Thursday in Easter Week, A.D. 1844, at Paris.*”

[And again authenticated “ *June 23, 1846.*”]

SECTION LVIII.

SEE EACH OF THE OTHER FIVE BISHOPS, BUT WITHOUT FORMALLY PRESENTING THE APPEAL TO THEM: HOUSE OF THE PANTONIAN TRUST AT EDINBURGH: THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS WRITES TO THE SYNOD IN FAVOUR OF THE APPEAL.

AFTER the Appeal had been thus formally presented to the Senior of the Scottish Bishops, and taken up by him, I left with him an unauthenticated printed copy of the above Letters, in the original Latin, in lieu of *the authenticated Document* which he returned to me, and went round to each of the other five remaining Bishops, namely, the Bishop of Aberdeen (the Primus), the Bishop of Brechin, the Bishop of Ross (the Senior of the five, and sole surviving consecrator of Bishop Luscombe), the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Edinburgh, in succession, making the same verbal statements to each of them in conversation as had previously been made to the Bishop of St Andrews; and leaving with each of them an *unauthenticated* printed copy of Bishop Luscombe's Letters. But as these five Bishops all expressed their intention of being pre-

have been unable, in consequence of the schism, to bring Letters of peace from his Eastern Bishop.

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“ XLVIII. If any person coming from the Easterns attempt to invade the Communion of any British Bishop or Presbyter without his knowledge, or against his will, either as a brother or as a Proselyte, or uncertainly, and by what they call “Occasional Communion,” such a one is to be turned out of the church by the Deacons or the Churchwardens.”

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SECTION LIX.

AN EXPLANATORY STATEMENT, SUCH AS MAY BE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN MADE TO EACH OF THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE EPISCOPAL SYNOD.

“*MDE. A.*, by birth a Member of the Russian or Eastern Church, having, under circumstances of great notoriety, renounced the true faith for the profession of heresy, calling herself a convert to Anglicanism, and as such invading the Communion of a Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church, at Paris, and having been refused a certificate of Communion by that Bishop, but still persisting in asserting her right to take the Sacraments from all Clergy of his Communion, and being about to return to St Petersburg, there to invade his Communion, and to profess heresy in its name in the face of the Eastern Church which she had deserted, the above-mentioned Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church, in the autumn of the year 1842, sent me as his Deacon to St Petersburg, charged to demand of her, in his name, an acknowledgment that she had no right nor claim to his Communion, or, at the least, a promise that she would not take the Sacraments in Russia from any British Clergy without first speaking to them, and obtaining their consent ; and, in case of her refusing to satisfy him in either of these ways, charged to present publicly to the Russian Synod, in his name, Letters disavowing those heresies which she professed as a proselyte to his Communion, and seeking to Communicate with the Eastern Church in virtue of a profession of that same faith, which she had renounced, and by renouncing which she had separated herself from the Communion of the Eastern Church, and joined herself, as she pretended, to his. Upon my arrival at St Petersburg, as the Lady refused to do any one of those things which the Bishop required of her, and had already begun again to take our Communion at the Chapel of the British Factory ; and as the case was notorious, and spoken of to our disadvantage in the higher circles of society ; I presented the Bishop's Letters, as had been intended ; and was told, that the Russian Prelates present in their Synod heard them read with strong signs of sympathy and emotion, and expressed the conviction, that if there were only a few in the British Churches of similar belief, they must look forward sooner or later to unity. But in the mean time, they objected that the testimony of one Bishop was insufficient to prove the doctrine of his Church : that it seemed to them, and it was the custom of their Church to suppose, that it was only too true that the Scottish and other British Churches taught or favoured those heresies professed by the Lady, and allowed such apostates from the true faith as Proselytes to their Communion ; instancing the recent amalgamation of Anglicanism with the Luther-Calvinism of Prussia ; which the Lady also had instanced in her favour : And they called upon me to say Anathema at their bidding to the above-mentioned heresies, and to some others. And when I had answered by confessing the faith which I believed, and anathematizing at their bidding the heresies imputed to us, they declared that I had by so doing cut myself off, not indeed perhaps from the personal opinions of my Bishop, but from the public faith and legitimate Communion of his Church. Whereupon I appealed back to him, and to the Scottish Bishops who consecrated him,

for a Synodical justification or disavowal of his and my acts and professions against the Lady. And the Russian Authorities, after having enquired into the circumstances of Bishop Luscombe's consecration, and after having heard from me that both he, and I myself had anticipated their objection, and had applied for support a year previously to the Bishops in Scotland, and had been answered that it would be time enough to come to them *and to their Synod* when the objection should have been actually made in Russia, allowed the reasonableness of that Appeal and told me that I might send to them copies of such acts or documents as should afterwards ensue in consequence, either at Paris, or in Scotland, through their embassy in London.

"Having returned to my own country, I prepared, after a long delay occasioned by ill health and a weakness of the eyes, a Report of all that had passed for the Bishop at Paris. He approved of it, and gave me a Letter sending me on, both with my own personal Appeal, and with other Propositions on Discipline, relating to the same cause, in his own name, to the Synod of his brethren the Bishops of the Scottish Church; which had consecrated and sent him in the year 1825 as her Missionary Bishop, and had then solemnly warned him to be careful of the peace of other Churches. Copies of both these Documents, my own Report to Bishop Luscombe, and Bishop Luscombe's Letters to the Scottish Synod, have been already forwarded to the M. H. Synod at St Petersburg through the Russian Embassy in London.

"As there are certainly some considerable motives which must be anticipated as likely to stand in the way of any attempt to bring this Appeal to a hearing, it may perhaps be necessary to the completion of the above statement to add a few words, shewing what would be one's own personal position, and the position of the case itself, if it should be finally refused a hearing, without there being any prospect of re-opening the matter. I should, in that case, be obliged to acknowledge that neither I, nor that Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church whom I served, had been able to obtain any stronger testimony than that of our own private judgment either against the claim of our antagonist, or in favour of our own; either against her pretension to have become a member of the British Communion by embracing heresy, or in favour of our own pretensions to remain legitimate members of the same Church, though we have said Anathema to her heresy. Further, I should be obliged to acknowledge that, while we could plead only our own private judgment against her opinions and acts, and could only take, in common with her, a passive Communion from British Bishops and Clergy, she must seem on the other side to have then obtained a Synodical act countenancing both her acts and her opinions: for the summary refusal of a Synod of Bishops to co-operate with a Missionary Bishop of their own Church, or to support his acts against her, or even so much as to examine the case, when yet they had at the time, as individuals, full knowledge of it, could be viewed in no other light.

"Under such circumstances it might perhaps seem that I should be left without any good reason for refusing to acquiesce, passively at least, in the judgment of the Eastern Church, and of the Russian Synod, that the Lady my antagonist is right, and I am wrong: that I have in fact by anathematizing at their bidding those heresies which she has embraced cut myself off, not indeed perhaps from the license of passive Communion, nor from the indiscriminate toleration of contrary Creeds, but from the

true and legitimate doctrine and Communion of the Scottish Church; and that so I ought to redeem my pledge by going back to Russia, and renouncing the Scottish Church and Communion in whatever words may be put into my mouth, as being really, as the Easterns object, heretical; or, at the least, as having in her Synodical capacity suffered judgment to go against her by default.

Nevertheless, as the Apostle enjoins that even the Authority should use much long suffering with an individual soul that is a heretic, not rejecting him till after the first and second admonition, much more surely must it be allowed (to suppose the worst that can happen to me) to be reasonable and proper that an individual under authority should shew at least a like patience towards that which he had, up to that time, regarded as a true and orthodox though particular Church, before he submitted to the voice of another similar particular authority accusing and condemning her, and calling upon him to renounce her Communion. I should hope, therefore, in any case, and whatever happened, that I should not be thought by the Authorities of the Eastern Church to be merely trifling, or shrinking from the performance of my pledge, if I said, that before I definitively submitted to the sentence of the Eastern Church, I would once and again, under circumstances of greater publicity, and after some interval of time, if God gave me life and opportunity, renew the application to the Scottish Bishops, even though it were, the first time, to be ever so summarily or decidedly dismissed.

SECTION LX.

A FULL ACCOUNT OF ALL COMMUNICATIONS THAT PASSED WITH THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS IN M.DCCC.XLVI, BOTH PREVIOUSLY TO THE MEETING OF THE EPISCOPAL SYNOD, AND AT THE MEETING OF THE SYNOD ITSELF ON THURSDAY SEPTEMBER III, AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE MEETING.

[As the printing of all these details would not be likely to conduce to the purpose in view, but might give pain to many amiable and religious minds, and for other reasons, this whole Section is for the present omitted. It is enough to mention here a few particulars, as for instance,

I. To refer to Section XLV. p. 293, and to state, that all fell out exactly as had been foreshewn two years before (June 27-28, 1844), according to the spontaneous remark or acknowledgment of two at least of the Bishops themselves, who were present. For the Bishops had all knowledge of what is related in Section XLV. previously to its accomplishment.

II. At the opening of the Synodical Meeting, those five Bishops who then met in Bishop Jolly's Library, and under the eye of his picture and that of Archbishop Laud, seated themselves round a table on which there were lying before them three things only, the juxtaposition of which seemed somewhat remarkable. These things were the last Number of a Roman-Catholic Review containing an Article by Mr Newman on the "*Lyra Innocentium*," representing the religion of Archbishop Laud and of Bishop Jolly as an unreality, and resolving the present religious movement itself into the imagination of one amiable Poet: On the other hand, there was the last Number of the "Record Newspaper," recalling to mind

that religionism which beheaded Laud, and which persecuted the Church of Bishop Jolly : And thirdly, it may have been lying between the two, there were pens and ink, and a sheet or sheets of blank writing paper, with Archbishop Laud's and Bishop Jolly's eyes looking down upon it from their pictures.

iii. At the meeting of September 3, 1844, *nothing* was formally presented in Bishop Luscombe's name to the Synod, nor consequently made the subject of any formal decision, *but* a short Letter of Credentials [*"Notum sit omnibus, &c."* as below in English, at p. 334], in which there was no explanation of Bishop Luscombe's ulterior purpose in so commissioning me to represent him as he did, beyond this, that I was stated to be sent "on matters of importance." The longer Document containing the Appeal itself, which has been previously said to have been formally presented to the Senior Bishop, *was not presented* to the Episcopal Synod at all ; nor had it been communicated before, otherwise than in the way of private information, to any of the five Bishops who were present at that Episcopal Synod at Edinburgh.

iv. In the first draft of the Minute to be entered on the Synodal Journals the bearer of Bishop Luscombe's Letters was described as "a Deacon of the Church of England," but on explanation his own designation of himself, as "Deacon to Bishop Luscombe," was admitted ; with the passing remark however, that "one has never heard of such a thing as being Deacon to a Bishop."

v. After things had passed in the Synod in such manner as is detailed in this Section LX, as I was retiring, one of the five Bishops present, the late Bishop of Glasgow, followed me to the door of the room, and reminding me of a previous invitation "to meet the Bishops" at his house on that same day, which had been half-declined from anticipation of what would take place, said, "We dine at half-past six ; and shall hope to see you : " To which it was replied, "To be left cut off from your Communion" (cut off, that is, unless I waived Bishop Luscombe's right to send on the Appeal, and consented to take passive Communion together with the Lady, against whom his acts were directed) "is too serious a matter to be dined upon."

vi. The next day, September 4, the Primus having been reminded in conversation of June 27-28, 1844, and having acknowledged that thus far all had fallen out exactly as was then foreshewn, especially in that point of the Document containing the Appeal not having been as yet so much as presented to the Synod ; and being asked further, what then, did he think, could be the meaning of Bishop Jolly's Blessing, and of the encouragement apparently given to persevere, with the hope held out of a good final issue, if he and his brethren were so fully determined to refuse the Appeal that they were not willing even to receive further information respecting it, or so much as to think of it ? he replied good-humouredly, as if at random, "Perhaps other men may stand in our shoes, and you may get on better with them : " Which some one hearing, observed, that "if the Scottish Church were a Church indeed, and this matter had really anything in it, there might be more than was meant or wished in such words, even though they had been spoken ever so lightly : and that we might probably hear of changes before long, beyond what were otherwise to be expected in the natural course of things."

vii. A few hours later, (that is, on the same day, after the conversation with the Primus) the Bishop of Glasgow good naturedly observed, "We

were sorry for not having your company yesterday at dinner ; but I think you did right in not coming after all." And then alluding *jocosely* to the exact accomplishment of what had been foreshewn, even as to some minutenesses of tone and manner, he continued, " You must have been reminded of [what you told me], and must have recognized a spice of [so and so] in [what passed] in the Synod ? I confess, I don't think you owe us, the Bishops, any thanks. What passed was unpleasant to my feelings ; but we should do just the same, if we had it to do over again. We shall be very happy to see you even if you *do* come back to us with a beard, though then you'll be a *barb-arian*."]]

SECTION LXI.

LETTERS CREDENTIAL PRESENTED TO THE EPISCOPAL SYNOD AT
EDINBURGH : AND EXTRACT FROM THE SYNODAL MINUTES.
DEATH OF BISHOP LUSCOMBE.

" Matthew, Bishop, to the Scottish Bishops our Brethren, and to their whole Synod ; also to all other faithful Bishops, to whom these presents may hereafter come, together with their Priests and Deacons, wishing health in the Lord :

" BE it known to you, that we authorize by these Letters our Deacon, N. N., whom we have sent on matters of importance to the Scottish Synod, to represent us in the aforesaid Synod, or Synods, (should there be more than one to be holden), whether in Scotland or elsewhere ; and to do for us, in our name, all that we might properly do, were we present ourselves ; and in particular, to add our subscription to any Synodal Acts. Farewell."

" Done at Paris, this 23d day of June, in the year of our Lord M.DCCC.XLVI.

" MATTHEW, † (Bishop of the Scots, English, &c.)"

The above Credentials in the original Latin Document, having been alone presented to the Episcopal Synod at Edinburgh, September 3, 1846, were returned to me by the Bishop of Edinburgh on the following day, together with a verified extract from the Synodal Minutes, as follows :—

" *Edinburgh, September 3, 1846 :*

" ' Mr N., the Deacon of Bishop Luscombe, was admitted, and presented to the Synod a Letter from Bishop Luscombe, at Paris, Missionary Bishop from this Church, in which the Bishop requests the Bishops of the Scottish Church to receive Mr N. as his representative in the Scottish Synod.

“ ‘ While the Bishops desire in every way to treat their Right Reverend Brother Bishop Luscombe with affectionate respect, they decline receiving Mr N. as the representative of Bishop Luscombe in the Synod.

“ ‘ They do not acknowledge that Bishop Luscombe has by right a seat in the Synod of Scottish Bishops ; and they cannot allow that he has a right to act by proxy, which right is by Canon denied to themselves.’

[“ *Extracted from the Minute-book of the Episcopal Synod, September 4, 1846, by*

“ C. H. TERROT, *Bishop and Clerk.*”

How it came to pass that the longer Document stating the whole business sent by Bishop Luscombe into Scotland, which had been already presented to the Senior Bishop, and had been accepted by him, was never presented at all to the Episcopal Synod, but only the above short Letters Credential, it is unnecessary here to explain ; a full account of the whole being given in Section LX ; (though that Section is for the present omitted). But so it was.

On the same day, September 4, 1846, the London newspapers delivered in Edinburgh contained an announcement of the *death of Bishop Luscombe* ; an event, which he himself had spoken of as being probably very near, when I parted from him two months previously at Paris. The Bishop of Glasgow, in allusion to this announcement observed, that he was “ sorry to see Bishop Luscombe’s death in the papers to-day, but not at all sorry that that *link* should be broken.”

And thus, while the Appeal had been brought into Scotland before Bishop Luscombe’s death, and had been there accepted and sustained by the Senior of the Scottish Bishops, who undertook to claim for it, as he still claims for it, a Synodical decision, it was not at that time (owing to a concurrence of different circumstances), presented formally to any of the other Bishops, either individually or at their annual meeting ; and so consequently, neither has it been *formally* refused a hearing ; nor is there at present any the slightest *formal* pre-judgment of the case, which can be objected to deter any successors of those five Bishops from dealing with it in whatever way they may be moved to deal with it by the fear of God, or the love of His truth.

SECTION LXII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM RUSSIA, RELATING TO THE
“HARMONY OF ANGLICAN AND EASTERN DOCTRINE.”

WHILE staying at Edinburgh just at this time of the meeting of the Synod, I received from the Bishop of Glasgow a Letter inclosed to him from Dundee; on opening which, I found it to be of the date of July 10, O. S., and to contain an acknowledgment from M. Mouravieff, at St Petersburg, of his having received a copy of the “*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*.” The following are extracts:—

“‘*Beati pacifici*:’ This is the thought which has filled my heart in reading the book you last sent me. Assuredly this work of yours will be well-pleasing to God, in that you have brought out elements of agreement between our Churches, which, even if they have not their effect now, yet infallibly will in that day, when the Lord shall be pleased to gather all His flock around Him in one: For you disclose in it the sources of union, which nobody so much as imagined to exist, and which may become springs of living water, which shall flow to eternity.

“I cannot help thinking that some of your Dignitaries will open their eyes wide, when they read in this book the true doctrine of their fathers, which they have forgotten; and many of ours too, when they see how that the Anglican doctrine is not so irreconcilable with theirs as they suppose. The points of the respect to be paid to Icons, and Prayer for the Departed, are well explained; but those of the Procession and of Transubstantiation, in spite of the quotations you adduce, and which look favourable, may still cause difficulties, and there will need a reasonable charity on both sides, to harmonize this difference.” [In fact, on the one point, that of the Procession, the attempt made in the “*Harmony*” to harmonize the Greek and Latin doctrines together is now felt to have been a failure; and on the other point, that of Transubstantiation, (which however is fully treated in this present volume,) there is in the *Harmony* only one Extract from an Anglican Divine, *Dr Donne*, clearly to the point. See the *Harmony*, Section xxviii. p. viii.] “It will be very useful if you would get the book translated and printed in Russ and in Modern Greek, so that our Clergy may be able to read it, as well as the Prelates of the East, and especially these latter; as they have much more vehement prejudices against you than ours here.”

SECTION LXIII.

ABSTAIN FROM ATTENDING PUBLIC WORSHIP IN FIVE OF THE
SCOTTISH DIOCESES: COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE BISHOP OF
ST ANDREWS.

ALTHOUGH the Appeal, as has been said, was never formally presented to the Episcopal Synod, and so no mention of its having been refused a hearing could be entered

on the Minutes, it had nevertheless, in point of fact, (as will appear from Section LX), been refused a hearing by the Synod in the most unmistakeable manner; not merely so as to justify Mde. A., by seriously disallowing the opposition made to her claims, and leaving her in possession, but even, and rather, so as to place the opposition made to her claims in the light of a troublesome and impertinent absurdity.

It seemed then that the Controversy was pretty well decided: that the Scottish Bishops had Synodically avowed themselves either to hold, or deliberately to tolerate those heresies, and that passivity of Communion which was imputed to them equally by Mde. A. on the one side, and by the Russian Synod on the other; and that nothing now remained (unless one were to play fast and loose) but to return to the Russian Arch-Priest, and to confess that there was no longer any thing to be pleaded against his imputations.

I ceased therefore at once, after the Synodal act of September 3, to go to church for Public Worship in the Dioceses of those five Bishops; and found that this conduct was noticed with several slight expressions of surprise and annoyance; and was attributed to some sort of pettishness or irritation; the fact being, that the force of negative acts is little understood, and enters not into the calculations of such persons as from very intelligible, but not praiseworthy motives, seek to avoid committing themselves positively. And so in the present instance it had been assumed and expected, quite as a thing of course, that as the Synod ignored and passed over Bishop Luscombe's application, so the bearer of Bishop Luscombe's reference would also ignore and pass over the act of the Synod, and would continue to take passive Communion in common with Mde. A., without attributing to the act of the Synod any ecclesiastical importance, or any consequences whatever.

At the same time there were two considerations which forbade my signifying at once to the Russian Arch-Priest the result obtained as the final issue of the Appeal, namely,

1. First, that there was one Scottish Bishop, and he the senior and consecrator of all the rest, who had both himself from the first received and sustained the Appeal in a serious and religious manner, and claimed for it a hearing from the Church: And though he seemed, no doubt, to be concluded

by the clear and summary unanimity of his colleagues, it would still have been disrespectful and injurious as well as ungrateful towards him, to impute to him in common with the rest the wilful toleration of heresy and of passive Communion, without first hearing from himself that he either acquiesced in the decision of the Synod, or at least must submit to be concluded by it, without having any hope or prospect of bringing the matter to a better issue.

II. Secondly, this also was a consideration, that what is called the Annual Episcopal Synod, not having the accompaniments of public worship, nor of the presence of the Clergy of the Second Order, or of the lay Communicants, but being a mere meeting of the Bishops, sitting round a table in a private room, with closed doors, seemed scarcely to answer so far to the qualifications of a Spiritual or Apostolical Synod, as to prove any thing for the sense of the Church. The Clergy of the inferior Orders, no less than the Bishops, and even the religious laity, have an interest in all matters affecting their religion; and though Bishops only can *vote* in Synods, yet Presbyters also in the larger, no less than in the smaller Synods, have a right to be heard consultatively; and the laity have a right to know what is going on, and to be present. So that the judgment of the Presbyters, and the knowledge of the laity as witnesses, seemed still to be wanting, before the act of that Synod which met at Edinburgh on September 3, could fairly be said to have carried with it the sense of the Scottish Church.

The matter standing thus, the first step to be taken was to return to the Bishop of St Andrews, and to communicate to him all that had passed at Edinburgh, together with the fact of Bishop Luscombe's decease, by which the Appeal (except so far as I might be personally concerned), seemed to devolve entirely upon that Bishop who alone had received and sustained it, to be dropped or continued upon his responsibility; and by which I myself also, as an individual Clerk, was left unconnected with any Bishop, unless he who had received me as the Clerk of another, were willing to retain me for the future as his own.

Of the application made at this time to the Bishop of St Andrews, (to say nothing of the mere narrative of what had occurred), the following Letter may be a sufficient representa-

tion. It was written *September 15*, from *Aberdeen*, where the writer was detained by illness, being at the time on the way from Edinburgh to Peterhead :—

“MY DEAR LORD,— . . . Since you invite me to state whatever I have to state in writing, I will do so without more preface.

“It seems to my own conscience, and, no doubt, it must seem to the Authorities in Russia, that if a Synod of Scottish Bishops had either distinctly approved any or all of those Propositions which I, at the bidding of the Easterns, have anathematized, or even had merely refused the Appeal without giving any reason, or shewing that it was needless and illegitimate, I should remain pledged to return to Russia, and to let the Church there put her own sense upon what I have done, and make me repeat it formally in the same sense, if she pleased. Even though one or more Bishops, as individuals, had been willing to entertain the Appeal, or, at least, had desired that it should not be set aside at once without some Synodal examination of its nature and origin, still they would seem to be concluded by the act of the Synod ; and I could not reasonably, I think, plead their favourable dispositions to the Easterns, as any bar to the performance of my pledge ; at least not unless they had some prospect of inducing the Synod to reconsider its decision.

“But in the present case the Scottish Episcopal Synod has done nothing more *formally*, than to declare itself incompetent to receive me in that capacity of Bishop Luscombe’s representative, in which I came. Whether every Orthodox Bishop, in or out of Scotland, may not, in certain cases affecting the common Faith or Discipline, have a necessary and Divine right to deal synodically with the Scottish as well as with all other Bishops as a brother and an equal, and that too, if need be, by his representatives ; whether, again, the present were not such a case ; and if so, whether the Scottish Bishops and their Church cannot, and ought not, to provide some other way for its entertainment and decision ; these questions are not *formally* even touched upon by that Answer which I have now received.

“It may indeed be said that the *animus* of the Synod was sufficiently clear ; and that this, in matters of conscience, is enough. But I confess that as for my own part I cannot think without the keenest pain of renouncing as heretical that Church which, even in the very act that has brought me to this point, I was labouring faithfully and undoubtingly to serve, so neither, on the other hand, can I bring myself to think that the Bishops whom I met in the Synod do as yet fully understand the bearing and importance of their decision. At any rate, I should be most desirous of finding any good ground for keeping the matter still open, and for gaining time. If I am to renounce the Church after all, still it must be both excusable and reasonable, even in the eyes of the Easterns themselves, that I should do so only when the case is clearly hopeless ; and when it is evident that the Bishops have had full knowledge of what they did, and ample time for reconsideration.

“And in fact it does seem possible for me to maintain my ground some time longer at least, if not to look forward to ultimate success, if your Lordship should feel justified in still extending to me your favour. For since you expressed yourself favourably at least for the examination of the Appeal ; and the Synod has by no means declared that your judg-

ment was wrong, but only that it was itself incompetent to receive me as the representative of another Bishop, (leaving it quite open for me or for themselves, as individuals, to attempt any other form or course of proceeding, though certainly they were unwilling to suggest or provide any other at the time), since, I say, this is so, I do not see why you should not, if you pleased, judge my case yourself, first as an individual Bishop, and afterwards with your Diocesan Synod; through which others also might possibly be influenced in the sequel; especially if the matter were drawn out, as it probably would be, over a number of years. A decision indeed, I well know, by one Bishop or by one diocese only, *if the matter were ultimately to rest there*, would be *nugatory*; but if so asserted as to bear upon the rest, through the interest which one diocese has in the joint legislation of all, it might be the very best kind of beginning: especially if the matter had real importance, and grew gradually into notice, and were treated slowly, reasonably, and religiously, without party-spirit or discourtesy towards others who had not yet joined in it. This attempt, if it could be made, would certainly give me some reasonable ground for continuing in the Communion in which I now am, and from which I cannot bear the thought of severing myself; though I have no manner of intention of playing fast and loose with the Russian Authorities either.

"If, upon consideration, you should feel justified in giving me any further support in this way, the idea which now suggests itself as to my future course is as follows: I would come, as I proposed, to Peterhead, and settle myself there for the present. I would present [again] to you the original Documents with which I came into Scotland, begging you,

"I. First, to examine fully, and decide whether there be just ground for my own *personal* Appeal, with which I was sent on by my late friend and Bishop, Bishop Luscombe; and whether such Appeal lay legitimately to the Scottish Bishops:

"II. Secondly, I would ask you, if you judged the Appeal to be legitimate in its nature and origin, to seek the assertion of the same your judgment by the Synod of your Diocese, with a view to moving ultimately the Church, in some form or other of Episcopal or General Synod, to sustain and enter into it.

"III. Thirdly, I would ask you to examine those Propositions on Discipline for which Bishop Luscombe desired a Synodical confirmation, and on behalf of which it was that he authorized me to represent him to his brethren in Scotland. And if you judge that he was right in seeking to have them re-asserted and enforced, then that you would do the duty of a brother to the deceased, and commend them also to your Diocesan Synod, with the same view of their being ultimately considered and enforced by our whole Church.

"IV. Fourthly, since I have now lost the Bishop to whom I was attached, and with whom I was joined in this whole matter, and since a Deacon ought to belong to some Bishop, I would beg you (without prejudice to the Appeal, which I suppose to be still going on under your protection) to receive me as your Deacon and servant, to be enrolled as such among your Clergy, and to serve in the Church of your Diocese, so long as you and I may live, in all matters which belong properly to my Order, and more especially in all that belongs to it as exercised in personal connection with the Bishop.

"V. Fifthly, and lastly, though perhaps I should have set this, so far

as your Lordship is personally concerned, before the preceding), I would beg you to examine and judge the details of my personal Appeal, proposition by proposition, taking first those which clearly need no deliberation, and so proceeding with the rest. And if you should eventually justify and support me on the whole Appeal, then that you would refer these Doctrinal Propositions also, and the Appeal itself, to your Diocesan Synod, in like manner as you had previously referred, or determined to refer, the preliminary examination of the legitimacy of the Appeal, and the Propositions on Discipline, desiring that the Synod also should follow the same method of dealing first with what was clearest, and so proceeding gradually to the most delicate or difficult questions, and taking time to any extent that might be necessary to ensure full conviction and unanimity.

"I have now stated all that is in my mind, and refer it to your fatherly consideration. At present I will add no more than my thanks for your condolence on the loss of my late friend and Bishop, Bishop Luscombe, for whose memory I shall certainly be bound all my life to feel gratitude and attachment. I remain, &c. &c."

"N. N." (*Deacon*.)

In replying to this and other subsequent communications, written and verbal, the Bishop of St Andrews expressed the following opinion: "It is indisputable that your Commission from the late Bishop Luscombe" (meaning the short *Letters Credential* presented to the Episcopal Synod, which *he* had not seen before,) "was not technically correct and valid. He could not as our Missionary claim a right to a seat in our Synod, having no *portio gregis* committed to him in Scotland; and far less could appear *there* by a representative, a privilege not conceded to any of ourselves." He added, that "the canon referred to was not the original canon; but had been altered and brought to its present form, probably in order to induce the Scottish Bishops all to attend personally if possible." He said, that nevertheless he thought "they ought to have given me a full hearing;" "a fair and full hearing; though not in the form in which it was applied for." [But see Section LX.] He did not seem to understand what should oblige me in any case to Reconcile myself to the Easterns, of whose tone, as manifested in their late dealings in the matter, he expressed himself with some severity of disapprobation. Still less did he understand or approve of withdrawing from Public Worship and Sacraments in other Scottish Dioceses, saying, that "they were all one in Communion"; and that "he must not make himself leader of a Sect: And though he was disposed to assist me all he could, consistently with his own judgment, he feared he should be making his own a separate Communion, if he sup-

ported me, while I was refusing the Communion of the rest." In fine, he requested two or three Presbyters of friendly dispositions towards the Appeal, and not of his own Diocese, to talk this matter over with me.

These urged that "either the Synodal act, formally or virtually done at Edinburgh, concluded *all* the Bishops and Dioceses, or *none*: that therefore one ought to put a *lenient construction* upon it; and consider the matter still open; and being supported by the Bishop of St Andrews, Communicate with all the rest of the Bishops and Dioceses also." It was replied, that if I were to put my '*lenient construction*' upon what had passed, and to do as was now recommended, the Episcopal Synod would certainly continue, on the other hand, to put its own contrary construction on the same, and to regard the Appeal as closed, and finally shelved: and I, and the Bishop of St Andrews too, should be, in fact, doing the very thing most desired by the opposite side, namely, acquiescing in the continuance of things *in statu quo*, and taking passive Communion *together with Mde. A.*, allowing Bishop Luscombe's interference against her to have been, and to be, nugatory, and their Synodical refusal even to examine into the Appeal referred to them to have left things just as they were, without making any change in the relations of the Appellant to them or to their Church. After a pretty long discussion, it was observed, that though I could not say I would Communicate, nor saw how I *could* Communicate in those five Dioceses, without throwing up or ruining the cause in hand, yet if the Bishop of St Andrews, while sustaining the Appeal and keeping the cause open, thought proper to make this a condition, so that I should do it not of my own '*lenient construction*,' but of submission to him, there was nothing to prevent me from doing what he enjoined. And this proposal removed the whole difficulty.

Against a suggestion that the requirement in writing "should be shewn to the other five Bishops," it was objected that "they would be sure to reply that the bearer could of course Communicate, and ought to Communicate, like every body else, (that is *passively*), without taking any cognizance whatever of the Bishop of St Andrews' assertion that the Appeal was still pending." They thought that this was "wronging the Bishops."

The result will appear below in the next Section.

SECTION LXIV.

AM RECEIVED TO CLERICAL COMMUNION, AND SUPPORTED IN THE
APPEAL BY THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS ; WITH THE CONCUR-
RENCE OF THE CLERGY OF HIS DIOCESE.

ON Wednesday, October 7, the Bishop of St Andrews gave me the following Document, intended to be used publicly both within his Diocese, and beyond it, as well as a Certificate of my being now his Clerk, as in furtherance of that Appeal which I was for the future to prosecute under his protection :—

“ *To the Reverend N. N. Deacon :*

“ Having read with all the attention of which I am
“ capable those Documents in Latin which you put into my
“ hands on the 14th of August last, I give it as my deliberate
“ judgment, that you have not cut yourself off from the Com-
“ munion of the Church in Scotland, or of the British Church
“ generally.

“ As the object of your mission into Scotland concerns
“ the common Faith and Discipline, and the acts of our late
“ Brother and Missionary Bishop, Bishop Luscombe, in re-
“ pelling strangers from the Lord’s Table, and in disclaiming
“ certain imputations cast by them and by others upon our
“ religion, may still need that support which he commissioned
“ you to seek for, I think that your Appeal has a just claim
“ to be examined into, and if found legitimate, to be heard
“ and judged by the Bishops of this Church in whatever way
“ may be most convenient, and open to them by our Canons
“ to allow or provide.

“ In the mean time, as one Diocesan Bishop, I commend
“ you for the stand you have made in Russia in favour of our
“ faith : And I hereby receive you to Communion ; And autho-
“ rize you to assist any of my Clergy who may desire it ;
“ And in particular to Preach ; while you may be resident in
“ my Diocese : provided only that, *so long as I consider your*
“ *Appeal to be still pending*, you do not withdraw from the
“ Communion of any other Scottish Bishop or Diocese.

“ Given at Peterhead, this eighth day of October 1846, by

“ PATRICK TORRY, *Bishop of St Andrews,*
Dunkeld, and Dumblane.”

Having received this Document, I went round, with the Bishop's sanction, to each of the Clergy of his Diocese, making known to them the general history of the Appeal ; giving them printed copies in English of the Letters brought into Scotland ; and repeating to them the words of the above Document, which had just been given by their Bishop : And from every one of the Clergy, without exception, I received a general verbal expression of concurrence in the Bishop's opinion, " that the Appeal had a just claim to be examined into, and if found legitimate, to be heard and judged by the Bishops of their Church." Indeed, they all but one expressed their anticipations that when the details of the case should have been printed and laid before them, (as was proposed), the Synod of the Diocese would be found very well inclined to concur formally with their Bishop in claiming a hearing from the Church at large.

In one single case, which has been alluded to as an exception, the Presbyterian applied to, it must be confessed, said frankly, and with the utmost good humour, that " for his part he should be inclined to agree rather with the Lady [Mde. A.] ; for that certainly it is our custom to give the Communion indifferently to all applicants ; and he should do so himself : It was impossible to tell who Communicated." But even in this case it was added, that "*still* he should probably not be unwilling to say with the other Clergy of the Diocese, and, so far, with the Bishop, that the ' Appeal ought to be examined into, and if found legitimate, heard and judged.' Every case," he said, " should have a fair hearing."

SECTION LXV.

AM CALLED UPON TO ASSIST AT THE OPENING OF A MISSION AT PERTH ; TO ANSWER AN OVERTURE FOR UNION WITH NON-EPISCOPAL EPISCOPALIANS ; AND TO PREACH THE FIRST SERMON.

ON Tuesday, October 27, having come to a place at no great distance from Perth, I was told that on the following Sunday, being All Saints' Day, a Mission was to be opened in that town ; that the Bishop desired the attendance of as many Clergy as could conveniently attend ; and had men-

tioned myself by name, as likely to be about that time in the neighbourhood. I therefore stayed on purpose; and was desired to prepare a Sermon, which, as it eventually fell out, was to be the first or opening Sermon preached on the occasion.

Thus, no sooner had the Appeal against Mde. A. and her Religion been seriously taken up by one Scottish Bishop, and summarily dismissed by the rest, than the bearer of the Appeal found himself called upon not only to Communicate equally in all the six Dioceses, but to preach and teach some Religion, whatever that Religion could be, as if to members of one united Communion; either, that is, to teach as in the name of the Church a Religion which seemed to have five out of six Bishops against it, or to pass off upon his hearers some diluted mixture of the two contrary Religions, so as to exhibit a false appearance of unity. Nor was this all; he was to preach not only, nor even chiefly, to such as were already members of the Scottish 'Episcopal' Church, but rather, as on a mission, he was to recommend to Christians of all 'other Denominations' the duty or propriety of coming over as proselytes to the joint Communion and Religion of the six Scottish Dioceses.

There had been at Perth for many years past a Congregation using the same form of worship with that of the 'Established Church of England,' with a 'Minister' or 'Clergyman' of English Ordination. This Congregation had refused to accept of union with the Scottish Church, though the terms of union offered by her thirteen years after her civil emancipation in 1792 had been such, that in offering them she had been conceding every thing to the separatists, and exacting no real submission to herself in return. They had remained ever since, with the 'Ministers' whom they hired for themselves, unconnected with any Bishop whatever, Non-Episcopal 'Episcopalian Protestants:' and in consequence of this their isolation (an isolation which, of course, did not prevent them from Communicating freely throughout the whole extent of the Anglican Communion), they were occasionally branded, somewhat harshly, with the epithet of '*Schismatics*;' I say, somewhat harshly, because the name '*Schismatics*' seems to imply a knowledge of the duty of spiritual obedience, and of the mystery of spiritual unity, with a wilful breach of

the one, and rejection of the other ; things of which these poor Protestants at Perth (not all however poor in this world) had no idea. Indeed, in belief and in principles of conduct they differed nothing from the dominant majority within the Anglican and Scottish pale, from which they were only accidentally disunited ; and with which they could not in that particular Diocese coalesce without seeming to slight the cause of Evangelical Protestantism, and to aid in spreading, rather than in extinguishing the 'semi-Popish Scottish Communion-Office.' And yet not only were they loftily condemned as Schismatics by an unpopular minority, themselves much deeper Schismatics, if five out of the six Bishops were rightly representing their Religion, but even members of the majority, who were manifestly one with themselves in principle, but within the pale, would sometimes mix with their regrets that the Bishop would not submit to the 'Schismatics' a few somewhat less audible regrets that the 'Schismatics' were not *de facto* in union with the Bishop. At length, less to the annoyance of these so-called 'Schismatics' than of their brethren within the pale, who have their own reasons for disliking any open collision of the two opposite Religions, the Bishop sent a Presbyter of his own Communion to Perth, charged to collect any scattered Church-people who might be there, and to offer union by submission to any of the Non-Episcopal Episcopalians, who might be accessible to the doctrine of unity.

On the Sunday morning itself, while we were in the vestry, before the commencement of Divine Service, one of the good people so questionably denominated 'Schismatics' entered, and with the air certainly not of a returning proselyte, but rather of one who sought to mediate and to oblige, and even to patronize, expressed for himself and for some others of the non-united 'Vestry' the wish that some agreement might be come to ; as they would much regret, he said, that the new comer should find himself without a Congregation ; and they thought that the Congregation already existing would readily consent to unite with him and the Bishop ; in which case, of course, the Bishop and the Church, whose connection they accepted, would submit to the rules of their 'Trust-Deed' or of their 'Vestry,' which were very positive and stringent *on certain points*. Nothing could be more bland, nor more

evidently well-intentioned, according to his light, than the language of this gentleman; and it was with some surprise that the writer found himself turned to by the other Clergymen who were present, and requested to give an opinion on the proposal.

The opinion, it need scarcely be said, was to this effect, that "if unity was felt to be a duty, and separation to be blameable, they who had so long neglected the one and persisted in the other, had nothing to do now but to confess their fault, and to shew their sincerity by receiving reverently from the Church her conditions, without seeking to impose on her theirs: that if the acknowledgment were only distinct and sincere, and the submission for the future real, the terms in which the acknowledgment should be couched might be made as lenient as possible." This answer, with which the proposals offered were then met, would be considered, no doubt, as sufficiently unpractical and offensive by those well-intentioned persons who were humourously, but quite innocently, seeking to Reconcile the Bishop and the Church as proselytes to their Religion, and to *the Religion of Mde. A.*

The Sermon which was preached (though in an unfinished state) on this occasion, shall here be given entire, both as having been composed with a view to the peculiar circumstances of the writer, and as having been delivered under circumstances strikingly adapted to bring out the impropriety, not to say dishonesty, of undertaking to teach mankind, as with authority, any one Doctrine or Religion as the way of salvation, when the Authority itself, with the knowledge and acquiescence of the preacher, is halting between two contrary Religions, or what is worse, caring for neither of them, and worshipping only popular opinion. For whatever holds of teaching in a settled congregation, is most clearly perceptible in the case of forming a new one. All is contained in the beginning, as all must flow from it. If the Apostles had not known on the Day of Pentecost what to teach, but had been divided between Sadduceism, Pharisaism, and a worldly mixture which may be called Herodianism, we can easily imagine the development which must have ensued. And in the same way, if in beginning a Church or Congregation now the principles of Congregational Independency, of Erastian 'Episcopalianism,' and of *'the Catholic*

Remainder, are all to be mixed up together, the result can be only a double religious development, held together by worldliness and scepticism; in which all humble and docile spirits among the laity must be imposed upon by their teachers; and all preachers, irrespectively of the shade of their opinions, must be more or less imposing upon their hearers, happy, comparatively, if they impose also upon themselves. The Sermon was as follows:—

ROM. x. 15. “*How shall they preach, except they be sent?*”

“When he who now speaks was first asked to preach on the present occasion, the thoughts which immediately occurred to his mind were these: *What is this which I am asked to do, to preach? Is it right for me to do it, or is it my duty? What is it which the Preacher has to announce? Whom will he have to address here? and What ought he to say to them?* The examination of these questions, which must naturally present themselves to any person under similar circumstances, may not perhaps be unprofitable for those who come to hear, any more than for him who is asked to speak; and therefore no apology shall be offered for making them the topics of the present discourse.

“*To preach;*” let us repeat within ourselves ‘What is *Preaching?* Is it merely to present oneself before an assembly of listeners, and to speak to them on any casual subject of curiosity or interest?’ No, surely: all people are agreed to confine the word to public-speaking on matters of spiritual interest; of belief and obedience, and hope towards God; in one word, of religion. But is this all then? we ask again: Will a man be *preaching* if he merely speaks in public on matters of religion? If he tells the audience what he himself thinks, what he believes, what he wishes to do: what he would advise and persuade others to believe and to do in like manner? No, not this either. All men will say that this does not come up to the idea of *Preaching*. This would be only to *discourse* or *lecture* about religion, as people lecture upon various other branches of knowledge, either of their own zealous interest, or for hire: but to *lecture* is not to *Preach*. What then do we want more? Is it that he must not only speak of religion, but must draw what he says out of a certain Holy Book, called the Bible? This will not do either; for if what he says be all simply taken from the Bible, this will be reading the Bible, or reading extracts, and not preaching: every body knows that these two things are not the same. And if he expounds or comments upon the Bible, or upon any part of it, out of his own mind, this will be in fact only to *discourse* or *lecture* upon the Bible, or upon some part of it, instead of lecturing upon religion generally: and *lecturing*, as was said before, is not ‘*Preaching*.’ We have still then to ascertain what may be the distinctive idea implied in the word *Preaching*; and to get at this will not be difficult, if we go back to the original Greek words, of which the Latin *prædicare*, and the English *preach*, are translations. These words are κηρύττειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, to herald the Gospel, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι to evangelize, compounded of εὖ good and ἄγγελος Angel or Messenger: so that to *preach* means to do the part of a messenger in delivering a certain good message: a Preacher is an ‘Evangelist,’ a man sent to deliver a good message: to *preach* is to evangelize, to deliver the message: and the *preaching*, or the sermon itself is in Greek εὐαγγέλιον, in English

the *Evangel*y or Gospel, that is, in plain words, the good message which is delivered by his mouth.

“If we attend now to this original sense of the word, we shall at once see that we have obtained in it a new idea, which was wanting before. To preach is to speak as one *sent*, to deliver a certain good message. A holy writer who takes to himself the title of an Apostle or Messenger (for it is one and the same word in sense) says thus: ‘*How shall they preach except they be sent?*’ How shall they deliver the message except they have been sent as messengers? There cannot be a message without a messenger; there cannot be a messenger without a sending; there cannot be a sending without authority. Whatever may be the authority of those who claim, like this holy writer, to be Apostles or Messengers, the words just quoted seem to be no more than the plainest common sense: And indeed it may once more be assumed that all will readily agree in the result which we have obtained. For this is precisely the difference which every body makes in common thought and speech between mere *speaking* or *lecturing*, and *preaching*, that the *preacher* speaks as a *Messenger*, as one *sent* not in his own name, but *in the name of some authority*; and that he delivers a message received from that authority, a message to mankind in general, and to different states and classes of men in particular, with a view to their everlasting salvation.

“He, then, that is to preach the message, must have received the message; and must be a messenger really sent to deliver it. But here arises another and most vital question. Who is it, or what is that authority, which sends? And has it sent this or that individual? Is he who speaks really its messenger? Has he received the message? Does he know distinctly what it is? Is it his duty to deliver it? Now all will agree at once that the Message to be delivered is from God, and that the Preacher must in some sense or other have been sent from Him, else he will be a messenger running *un-sent*, that is, no messenger at all. But beyond this, matters do not seem so clear. Some there are, who think the Preacher ought to be sent by a direct and personal revelation. As for us we certainly cannot pretend to any thing of the kind; so if this is necessary, we ought not to be here; and he who now speaks ought to be silent. Others seem to think that the *Bible itself* is at once the *primary Messenger* and the *Message*; that God addresses the world through it, and through it sends inferior and subordinate messengers to deliver partial and subordinate messages or sermons, drawn from the one great Message of Scripture. But certainly, as a matter of fact, the Bible is a *Book*, and not a *Messenger*: it does nothing, speaks to no one, and sends nobody: it is preserved, transcribed, translated, printed, sold, distributed, studied, commented, and lectured or written upon, by men; and yet when they have done all this, as we have shown before, they do not by all this become *messengers* or *preachers*.

“‘But,’ it may be asked, ‘though the Bible does not actually send any one of itself, may not God, through reading the Bible, move men to feel that they are sent by Him, and so really send them?’ No doubt many speak as if this were the case; but as for us who are here, we have never yet been so moved by the Bible, and it is doubtful whether we should be believed, if we announced ourselves as commissioned in such a way. All sects and all parties seem agreed to deny that this is the *ordinary* call. They may indeed allow it, perhaps, for a few individuals, who have been in

past times, or may hereafter become founders of new '*Denominations*;' but as a general rule they require that the inward personal call and mission, whether directly from God, or indirectly through the Bible, *should coincide with another outward call of an outward authority*. Practically speaking, men are agreed that God calls and sends Preachers or Ministers either, i. through the *public voice of the Congregation*; or, ii. through the *Civil Power*; or iii. through the *ministerial authority of those who were Preachers and Ministers before them*. With regard to the *first* of these three opinions (which is that of the Independents), and the second (which is that of a numerous party in the Establishments of Scotland and England) it is enough to say, that if the Congregation or the Civil Government really pretend to have authority from God to call and send *messengers*, they ought to assert and prove their commission more distinctly than they have ever yet done; else no man who is at all religious, or who is not in want of a piece of bread, will listen to them. Especially, since they profess to act only in subordination to the Bible, they should shew us where the Bible teaches that the *Congregations* of Corinth, Galatia, Crete, or Ephesus, had authority to call and send their own Preachers; or that Nero, if he had only called himself a Christian, and professed to venerate the Bible, would have become thereby immediately *in all causes, and over all persons ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme*. As for us, we can find nothing at all like this in the Bible; and certainly we have not been sent here either by a local Congregation, or by any authority or law of Civil Government. The last opinion of the three above-mentioned still remains; namely, that God sends His messengers through the ministerial authority of others who were messengers before them. This opinion, one may be willing to suppose, is common to all the older communities both of the Protestants and of the Reformed; that is, both of the Lutherans and of the Calvinists: And here in Scotland, more especially, the very names of *Presbyterians* and *Presbyterianism* seem to sanction or imply it. For they who contend against what is called 'the Episcopal Church' that 'Presbyters' are all one with 'Bishops,' and that not Bishops only, but Presbyters also, have by right the power of ordination, these seem plainly to agree with their opponents, that the Preacher or *Messenger* of Christ is to be sent ministerially by other Preachers, who had the same office before him. This opinion, thus maintained by Presbyterians, is also ours; and not ours only, but it is the doctrine of that community to which we belong. We have not originated it for ourselves; nor has any one else ever originated it for our community, as a new interpretation, or as an after-thought, for the better controversial defence of our position: we have received it from our fathers, who received it from theirs, who received it from the beginning. It may indeed be agreeable to the Bible: we think that it is so: but it did not come to us originally from thence. It is as old among us, nay older, than the possession of the Bible itself. And, in accordance with this doctrine and tradition, we have certainly been sent or commissioned by those who had been both sent themselves before us, and commissioned to send others. So far, he who now speaks may fairly call himself a *messenger*, and ask you, even though you be Presbyterians, to hear him in God's name: for his mission, though through men ministerially, yet in its origin (even in its outward and formal origin), is from Christ Himself.

"But here again another question arises, no less important than the

last. For, granting that Scottish Presbyterians, as well as the other 'Protestants' and 'Reformed,' all allow the validity of Episcopal Ordination or Mission for a Preacher, granting that one might be capable, by virtue of such Ordination, of preaching in any Presbyterian Community, if only he were in brotherly Communion with such a Body, and allowed by its regular Authorities ; still, what right have we, or the Bishop who now commissions us, to preach in this place, without first uniting in Communion with other Presbyterian or Episcopalian Preachers who are here before us, and who have been sent and Ordained by such as were Preachers before them, no less than ourselves. Christ is not the Author of confusion, but of Peace and Unity. Discord and strife are the marks of Babylon rather than of the City of God. The Holy Spirit which came down, on the day of Pentecost, to unite the hearts and tongues of men, and especially of their teachers, not to divide them, cannot send in one place two or more Preachers, to be separate one from another. But here there were, even before we came, many separate pulpits, all occupied by Preachers who have been ministerially sent. There are the Preachers of the Established Presbyterian Kirk, the Preachers of the Free Presbyterian Kirk, the Preachers of the Secession, the Preachers of the Relief, and the Preacher or Preachers of the 'Episcopalians.' This division of itself must be wrong, must more or less vitiate the Mission of all, or of all but one of the parties ; must make it difficult for simple people to know which party, if any, has its Preachers sent from God. But whatever fault there may thus be in others, whatever difficulty or confusion in consequence of their divisions, What right, let us ask ourselves, have we, or the Bishop who commissions us, to come here and preach separately from them all ; to repeat and multiply their fault ; to increase the uncertainty and confusion already existing ? Is it right, is it really our duty, to persevere in resisting that Act of the Civil Government which proscribed the Episcopate, and set up the present Established Kirk in its room ? We may *prefer* 'Episcopacy,' as established in England ; we may deny the power of the State to commission Preachers ; but the Preachers of the Establishment having been ministerially commissioned by others, who were Preachers before them, what right have we to refuse to submit to the will of the majority, and of the State, as to the mere 'form,' as it is called, 'of Church Government ?' Or, again, if we think that notwithstanding the outward ministerial commission of the Established Teachers, the Civil Government has *virtually* usurped that power which Christ never committed to Cæsar, but only to His Apostles and Clergy ; still, what is there to justify a small minority in refusing to unite with the 'Free Kirk,' which is confessedly one in formal doctrine with the Establishment, while it so plainly and nobly resists the Erastianism of the State ? Lastly, even though we find a reason for keeping separate both from the Established and from the Free Kirk, yet there are others here who have been 'Episcopally Ordained,' no less than ourselves, who are practically in full Communion with a large body of the Anglican Clergy, and who are further said to be countenanced by the English Government. What can justify us in refusing to unite with these ? They are here before us : it is for the new-comers to submit to those who are in possession ; at least it would seem to be so, if there is any law of unity in the Church. Here at least, then, we should seem to be originating a needless division. All these questions

must naturally arise in other men's minds, as well as in ours; and they have a fair claim to be answered.

"And first, with regard to the Messengers or Preachers of the Established and of the Free Kirk, and with regard to Presbyterian Ordinations generally, without moving the question of the interpretation of Scripture, on which there may be contrary opinions, what occurs is this: If any one had been sent by a Presbytery, he would naturally ask in his own mind, and in order to satisfy himself, 'Who gave them authority to send? was it the People? was it the King? If so,' he would say, 'I am no messenger of God, but of the People, or of the Government.' But, 'No;' he would answer, 'they were duly authorised by the Presbyteries and Presbyters which were before them;' and so he might run up the steps by which authority to preach had descended to him, as far perhaps, as to the sixteenth century, but there he would arrive at a break. He would come to the first Presbyterian ordination—an ordination in which Presbyters sent or ordained his predecessors, without having been commissioned to do any thing of the kind by those who were Presbyters before them. Let us go back in thought, then, to this time. We ask those Presbyters, Whence have you this authority to send either us or our predecessors? They answer, We received it from one who was a 'Presbyter' before us, who was commonly called a 'Bishop.' We ask again, Did he really give you this power when he made you Presbyters? They reply, He did not indeed profess to give us any thing of the kind; quite the contrary; but he gave it nevertheless in fact, and could not avoid giving it, in spite of his own error. We ask once more, If he had professed to give it, would his act have been according to the law of his Church, or would it have been disallowed as null and void? They answer, It would have been contrary, no doubt, to the law of the unreformed Church; but it would have been right and valid in itself, notwithstanding. We ask again, Would such an act have been recognized by the law of any Church or Churches existing at the time in any parts of the world; for instance, by the Greek or Eastern Church, which has now been separate from the Roman nearly 1000 years; or by the Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches, which have been separate from both the Greek and the Latin for above 1400 years; or by the Nestorian Church, which has been separate for a still longer period? They answer, If the Bishop or 'Presbyter' (as we prefer to call him), who ordained us, had professed to give us authority to call and send others, he would no doubt have been acting contrary to the law of all those Churches, for they had all fallen into the error or novelty of *Episcopacy* from very early times. What then, we ask, is that authority which is to satisfy our consciences in receiving from you a commission, which you, by your own confession, never received power to give, but have taken to yourselves that power against the law of the Church which made you Presbyters, against the law of all Churches which have ever existed for more than 1400 years back from this time? They reply, The authority you seek is to be found in the Bible, and in the very earliest Ecclesiastical History. But to this we answer, In that case we are, in fact, to be sent *by you only*, and *in opposition to the Bishop or Presbyter who was before you*; and this does *not* satisfy our conscience. Even if we read the Scriptures or early history with your eyes, we should tremble to be sent only by *your* new interpretation to preach in the name of a new community, to be in fact *your messenger*, to war against the older interpre-

tation and law of the 'Episcopal' Community, and against its teachers, who seem to have been divinely commissioned from the beginning.¹

"This then is the ground on which we stand in disallowing the new and self-asserted power of Presbyters or Preachers to ordain, and in recognizing those only as truly sent who have been sent by Bishops. But on what principle is it that we refuse to submit to, or even to unite with those who are called 'Episcopalians', who are here before us, and who have a Minister or Preacher 'Episcopally ordained?' This still remains to be explained; but there need not many words. One word, the very name of '*Episcopalians*,' is enough. For the word 'Episcopalian' denotes those, who make it the distinctive mark of their religion to be governed by the Bishop. A Preacher therefore and a Congregation who call themselves 'Episcopalian,' while they submit not to their Bishop, need not to be blamed by any other man; for they themselves, while they disobey, proclaim the duty of obedience, and condemn themselves by proclaiming it. The utmost that can be said against such is what they say of themselves, that they are *Non-Episcopal* 'Episcopalians.' May they have the grace to be ashamed, and to be so no longer! May they have the grace to repent towards God, and towards the Bishop; and in submitting themselves to the Bishop, to submit themselves also to the Scripture, and to God!

"To return to our enquiry. We have proceeded so far as to find reason to think that the true Preacher must have been sent and ordained by the Bishop, and must be an 'Episcopalian' not in word only, but in deed. But after all, is this enough? Is it enough that one is commissioned by some one Bishop, or association of Bishops? Are there not a number of 'Episcopal' Churches with their Bishops divided one from another, excommunicating and disowning one another? Is not there the Roman-Catholic 'Episcopal' Communion; the Eastern Orthodox or Greek Catholic Communion also 'Episcopal'; the Nestorian 'Episcopal' Communion; the Monophysite 'Episcopal' Communion, comprehending the Armenian, Syrian, Indian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches; and lastly,

¹ It may be worth while here to remark that, so far as the present writer can learn, it is not true that even the Lutherans or Protestants, still less that the Calvinists or Reformed, and least of all that the Reformed of Scotland, did ever honestly and distinctly, in the first instance, put forward the peculiar doctrine of Presbyterianism, (that Presbyters and Bishops have in common the power of sending others), or base the validity of their own new ordinations or commissions upon this ground. On the contrary, the Protestants and Reformed sometimes excused what they had done on the ground of necessity, and of an extraordinary commission given directly from God, or from the Bible. Sometimes they allowed the ordinary Clergy and the Bishops, and defended themselves against the charge of anarchy, by declaring that they had made only Preachers, Pastors, or Ministers, of a different kind, without pretending to make or send Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, which they confessed themselves incompetent to do. Sometimes they defended their new Clergy as warranted by the Civil Government, to which they ascribed supreme power in spiritual things. Oftener they ascribed the Mission of their Preachers to the call of the People, or to some immediate and secret inspiration. It was only in conjunction with these and other similar pleas, that they occasionally put forward their assertion of the parity of Ministers, and of the actual legitimacy of their own, by uninterrupted succession, in virtue of such parity. And more particularly in Scotland, which has given the name to Presbyterianism, this plea was altogether an afterthought, as any one may see, who will take the trouble to examine the history of her Reformation. But in truth nothing more is necessary to shew the utter unreality of this theory, than the bare mention of the fact, that Calvin himself, the Star and Leader of one whole Branch of the Reformation, was confessedly neither Bishop nor Presbyter, nor even Deacon; whence it is manifest, that whatever may be thought of Ministerial ordination for the sake of decency, it cannot consistently be maintained by the adherents of the Reformation, that the essential mission of Clergy or Preachers is confined to any such channel.

what is sometimes called the 'Reformed-Catholic' or 'Protestant-Episcopal' Communion in the British Empire, in Scotland, and in America? are not these all separated each from the rest? Nay, and even in what is called the 'Reformed Catholic' or 'Protestant Episcopal' Church are there not the very deepest dissensions? And does the Holy Spirit of God, the Spirit of truth and unity, authorize a separation of one Bishop from all others, any more than the separation of Presbyterians or others from the whole Episcopate? Or does He really send and commission one Bishop and his Clergy to preach against other Bishops and their Clergy; to invade their dioceses; or to proselytize their people? No, certainly; this can never be. All the Bishops and all their Clergy evidently ought to be in unity both of Doctrine and Communion. In whatever degree this is not so, they must all inevitably lose somewhat of the clearness and efficacy of their mission. And *in whatever degree* any particular Bishop, or Communion of Bishops, may be the cause by which this offence cometh, *in the same degree* such Bishop, and such Communion of Bishops, have fallen from their original Mission, are teaching in their own name, are destitute of Authority, are unsent of God, and have no power to send others. This may be clearly seen from the original record of the Apostolic Mission in Scripture. For Christ sent His *Messengers* or Apostles *as a body*, not separately: He promised to be *with them*, that is, with *their united company*, in teaching; not with this or that *part* of them against the others: and the *Message*, of which He saith that '*whosoever believeth shall be saved, but whosoever believeth not shall be condemned*,' is not that which one or other of the Apostles should deliver apart from the rest, but that which *they*, that is, which *their united body*, was sent to deliver; and which, by Christ's promise, *they* shall continue to deliver to the end of the world. Manifestly, then, if at any time the Apostles seem to differ, as Peter may have differed for a moment from Paul at Antioch, there must arise a great scandal, and a great difficulty, not only to hearers, but even to teachers, even to Apostles: for 'Barnabas also,' it is written, 'was carried away' to the wrong side. And they who come, as we come now, accredited only by one portion of the divided Church, certainly cannot pretend to preach on all points with that same fulness of authority with which they ought to preach, and with which they would be able to preach, if, in coming from any one Bishop, they were the undoubted Messengers of all. What then is to be done? Has the Preacher no authority to preach at all, because he adheres to one side in the divided Church? Or is the hearer to refuse to listen to him on all points, because his accuracy in delivering the message may be controverted on some? No, surely. The difference of Peter and Paul on one point, though it may lead to scandal and perplexity, though it may even deceive Barnabas, or such as Barnabas, yet invalidates not their common mission, nor the certainty of their Divine Message, *so far as* they are agreed upon it, *so far as* they deliver it with one mouth: rather, any sensible person would say, their very difference, where they differ, renders their agreement upon the whole the more striking. And the difficulty, whatever it may be, which is caused by the apparent schism of three or more 'Episcopal' Churches in our day, is still not nearly so great in fact, as it appears at first sight, or as it is often, for evil motives, represented to be. For no Apostle, no Bishop, no 'Episcopal Church,' whether in the East or in the West, has ever yet sent Messengers to teach, or baptized Christians to

believe, its own separate message or faith, or theology, *as such*, but the common faith of all. No 'Episcopal' Church, neither the Roman, nor the Greek, nor the British, nay, nor even the Nestorian, or the Monophysite Church, sends or ordains Clergy *in its own name*, as a separate or particular Communion, but in the name of the whole Episcopate of the Universal Church, whatever that may be. So long, then, as the Preacher preaches that which is the common doctrine of all these Churches, to go no further, so long as the hearer receives that which is the acknowledged doctrine of all, the worst that can befall him will be to be deceived, like Barnabas, upon some ulterior point, or to mistake, unwittingly and innocently, the person of some feigned Apostle for the true. Oh, that we were all agreed *even so far* towards the unity of the Faith, towards the assurance of everlasting salvation!

"[But there still remain other questions to consider, and those too of no little importance, if we are to have an adequate idea of Preaching. For suppose that we have satisfied ourselves thus far; that we have found who is the true *Messenger*, or at least who may reasonably be regarded as such here in Scotland either by 'Episcopalians,' or by others who may be drawn to feel the authority of the Episcopate; it follows naturally to ask, *What is that 'Message', that 'Apostolic Faith', or 'Doctrine', or 'Gospel', which the Preacher ought to teach, and to desire to teach as accurately and perfectly as possible? Where is it to be found? Is there any authoritative Summary of it, which he must use himself as his rule in teaching, and to which he must send others who are willing to learn? Is it simply the printed volume of the Bible in the original tongues, or in a translation? or that of the New Testament? or the text of the Four Gospels? Or is it rather the sense and spirit of the Bible and of the Gospels, which he must collect for himself from thence, and from the decrees of the Universal Church, and teach in his own words? Our answer to these questions is easy. There is such an authoritative Summary as we are inquiring after; a Summary not of any private composition, nor peculiar to any one part of the Apostolic Church; a Summary expressing indeed the very pith and marrow of the whole Bible, yet not compiled out of the Bible, but of independent origin, and older than the Books of the New Testament; a Summary which is the key to all the riches of the Bible, while the fulness of the Bible is its complement and illustration; which is proved and confirmed by the testimony of the Bible, yet gives proof and confirmation reciprocally even to the Bible itself. This Summary is the Baptismal Creed, or 'Symbol of Faith.' One says '*Creed*,' because, though we sometimes speak of '*The Creeds*,' there is in fact but *one* original traditionary Creed, which was authenticated and fixed for ever for the whole Church by the First and Second Œcumenical Councils in the fourth century. Before that time there may have been some very slight variations in the Forms of particular Churches, though the substance was the same. The particular Creed of the Church of Aquileia, which we now call *The Apostles'*, may have been one of these earlier varieties, or, as is more probable, an abridgment made afterwards. That which we call '*The Athanasian*' is not strictly speaking a Creed at all, but a Hymn, originally of private composition, received into the Ritual of the Church as expressing the true Faith, and embodying the rejection of certain heresies which were later than the First and Second Œcumenical Councils. But '*The Nicene Creed*,' as we call it, unchanged and uninterpolated, as it was fixed for*

ever by the Councils, is alone emphatically '*The Creed*' of the Apostolic Church. This is the authorised expression, the sign and sacrament of that saving Faith which consists not in any outward letter, nor in any mere intellectual assent, but in the union of the whole man, both mind and heart, with the grace and Spirit of God. This is that '*good Confession*' implied briefly in the acknowledgment that the Son of Man is the Son of God, which was revealed to Peter first from heaven by the Father, and which is the sure foundation of the Church. This is that good *message* which the Twelve were sent as heralds to announce, and which is signified under that '*Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*,' in which they were commanded to *Baptize all nations*. This is that *deposit* which was 'delivered once for all to the Saints' (to the men, not to the books) on the day of Pentecost; that *New Law* which was then graven by the Holy Ghost not on tables of stone, nor on paper with ink, but on fleshy tables of the heart, in the Baptism of fire. This is that *saving Tradition* which has been ever since, now for 1800 years, handed on by word of mouth from the Apostles downwards, and *delivered to all converts and their children* in Baptism to hold, to all *Bishops and Clergy* at their Ordination to *preach and teach*. All catechisms, all sermons, all doctrinal articles and canons, all commentaries and expositions, all readings even of the Scriptures themselves, are resolvable into this '*Faith*' and '*Creed*.' And if we compare with it any of these things, we shall find that *they* all may in certain cases be dispensed with; but '*The Creed*' can never be dispensed with. This is what we require of infants coming to Baptism even before they can speak, repeating it, though in an abridged form, and asking, '*Dost thou believe?*' and '*Wilt thou be baptized in this Faith?*' This all are required to learn by heart, and to profess before they can be admitted to Confirmation and to the Holy Communion: This we recite in our daily Offices and devotions: This we require from sick and dying persons, reciting it word for word, and asking, '*Dost thou believe?*' in order that so they may be admitted to the Sacraments of the Church and to Christian burial after death. Lastly, it is of this *Message*, and *Faith*, and *Creed*, that Christ Himself, our future Judge, says that '*Whosoever believeth It and is baptized, shall be saved, but whosoever believeth It not, (that is, sinfully rejects It, or any part of It), he shall 'perish everlastingly.'*' This Creed then, not in the bare letter, but in its fullest sense, as held and enforced by the Church, is emphatically '*the Gospel*,' or '*the good message*,' which the *Preacher* is sent to deliver; and it implies in itself, under the root of faith, both hope and charity, the right worship of God in Christ, and the keeping of His commandments.

"But inasmuch as this medicine of immortality is for all mankind, and the Preacher is sent to all, and there are in the world many distinct states and classes of men differing much one from another in their spiritual needs and capacities, it is absolutely necessary that the Preacher, besides knowing generally *what 'the Gospel' is*, should know also *to what states or classes of men he will have to communicate it*, and should be able to adapt his delivery of the message, and in some sense even the message itself, to the measure of their capacity or need. So we come to the last of those questions which we asked of ourselves at the outset, *Whom will the Preacher have to address here?* and *What ought he to say to them?* For it will not be the same thing whether he who preaches speaks to Jews, or to Mahometans, or to Heathens; nor whether he speaks to people who

are only preparing for Baptism, or to such as have been already Baptized; nor whether he speaks to such as have been converted and Baptized as adults, or to such as have been Baptized in their infancy. Nor, again, will it be the same thing whether he speaks to people who have never yet been members of the Church, or to such as have been members, but have revolted; nor whether he speaks to such as have personally revolted, or to their children and descendants, who may have inherited no more than a traditionary separation. Nor, lastly, in addressing members of the Church, will it be the same thing whether he speaks to Christians who have continued hitherto in 'the state of salvation,' or to such as have fallen from grace. Examples of such differences are frequent in Holy Scripture; and all who read may observe how the true and Divine teachers address themselves to their hearers, communicating such part of 'the Gospel' as may be most necessary for their state or capacity; in such manner and method as may be suitable; and in every case building upon that which is already known and received. Thus Christ Himself and His Apostles in addressing the Jews refer them to the testimony of John the Baptist, to the Law of Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets, bidding them to search those Scriptures '*in which they thought they had eternal life,*' and commending such as searched them with an honest mind. But when Paul preaches to the Gentiles of Lycaonia, and of Athens, he makes no appeal to the Scriptures; still less does he come inviting men to read them, or distributing copies, as is now done by many: but he takes occasion from inscriptions on heathen altars; he quotes from heathen poets and philosophers; he engrafts his 'message' upon those attributes of God which are manifested in the visible creation, and upon that law of conscience which is naturally engraven upon the hearts of all men. Again, it is one thing when the same Apostle builds up Baptized believers in faith and love, '*not laying over again the foundations:*' another thing it is, when he rebukes and corrects the Galatians for error in belief; or the Corinthians for divisions, for abuses in worship, and for carnal sins; when he directs excommunication to be enforced against sinners, and exhorts to repentance: and yet again another thing, when, upon repentance, he restores the fallen by forgiveness, and comforts them, lest they '*be swallowed up by over-much sorrow.*' From such precedents the Preacher may learn that neither now is it fit for him to scatter Bibles to the Heathen; nor to invite the unbaptized, or self-made Christians of 'other Denominations' to participate in the Sacraments or Offices of the Church; nor to preach to the Faithful and their children the need of pardon for original sin, instead of growth in grace; nor to announce to fallen Christians 'Justification by faith and New Birth,' instead of the possibility of repentance, and the need of Absolution; nor to urge worldly and careless multitudes, laden with excommunicable sins, to frequent attendance at the Lord's Supper; nor lastly, to attempt to lay over and over again, or rather to unlay, those 'foundations' which have been laid once for all in the Baptized, and from which if any have utterly departed, '*it is impossible to renew them to repentance.*'

"But without dwelling further upon such reflections, or attempting to make a full enumeration, it will be enough for our present purpose to recapitulate under four chief distinctions all those classes and states of hearers, to which the Preacher may have at any time to accommodate his message. First, there are those to whom it is his duty to impart the first

'elements, of repentance that is, from dead works, and faith towards God, of the doctrine of Baptism, and of Layings on of Hands, of the Resurrection of the Dead and eternal Judgment:' Secondly, there are such as have already been Baptized, but apart from the Church; whom it is the Preacher's duty now to 'take unto him, if well-disposed, and expound to them the way of God more perfectly,' drawing them, if possible, to the 'doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles, and so also to the Breaking of the Bread, and the Prayers:' Thirdly, there are devout Church people, the sheep and lambs of Christ's flock, whom it is his duty to feed, 'giving them their portion of meat in due season,' leading them on both by doctrine and example 'towards perfection:' Fourthly, there is a multitude of persons who are nominally only, and not really of the Church, who having fallen after Baptism into excommunicable sins have thereby lost their *right* to the Sacraments, and have never yet repented, or, if they think they have repented, have constituted themselves the sole judges of their repentance, and their own absolvers and restorers. To such persons it is the Preacher's duty to teach the distinctions of sins venial, and deadly; how gross and wilful sin is in Christians doubly heinous, as being committed against Grace; how it cuts them off from the capacity and the *right* to Communicate even in the outward Sacraments or Prayers of the Church; how when this *right* is once forfeited, however secretly, it is as impossible for any one to regain it by his own act or presumption, as it was impossible for him originally to Baptize himself; lastly, how very difficult it is to recover from any habit of deadly sin. By such representations the Preacher should strive to recall sinners to sincere repentance and amendment, and to make them sensible of their state, and desirous of restoration; so that finally, being admitted to the benefit of Absolution, they may regain the Grace of God, together with peace to their own consciences, and a *right* to take their place among the Faithful.

"And thus we have gone through all those questions which we proposed at the beginning, both concerning *Preaching itself, and the Preacher, and the Message, and the adaptation of its delivery to different classes of men.* It remains only to address a few words, by way of conclusion, to those who are now hearers, in whatever state they may be, to whatever '*Denomination*' they may belong. What he who speaks would say is this; that] after all, the pressing question for every individual conscience is not general but particular truth; not abstract, but immediate duty. None of us, neither preacher nor hearers, are at any moment in an isolated position, free to take a general survey of different Communions, or capable of settling beyond a doubt for ourselves at once, which is absolutely perfect, or most perfect. We are all by birth or Baptism, by education, by social influences and traditions, by personal convictions and habits, attached to some actual form of belief and practice. All of us, even if in error, have more or less of truth mixed with our error. All are progressing from day to day both intellectually and morally, one way or another, for good or for bad. All feel more or less of growing certainty on some points, of growing doubt or misgiving upon others. Let us all then try to lean to the good side, where we are. Let us not stifle the suggestions or misgivings of our consciences; but let us follow wherever they may lead us, in the fear of God, with prayer, and with a full trust in His mercy. Truth is like the palace of a great King, to which we must ascend by many steps, and by many landing-places. And at every landing-place there are doors,

and guards set : Whoever approaches unworthily finds the door shut against him : but whoever first duly tries to purify his heart and cleanse his hands, to him *that door, which is next to him*, opens of itself : And at every step which he ascends, his soul becomes more spiritual, and the eyes of his mind more enlightened : (For even in the body the higher we ascend, the wider and more complete is our view.) So ascending, we may hope to come at the last even to the Palace Hall itself, even to the Guest-chamber of the Great King, and to sit down with the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Apostles and Martyrs, ‘*with the Women, and Mary the Mother of Jesus,*’ and with All Saints, (whom the Church this day commemorates, and with whom she *still ‘continues with one accord in Prayer’*) before Him ‘in Whose presence is the fulness of joy, and at Whose right hand there is pleasure for ever more.’

“To which blessed company may He of His infinite mercy vouchsafe to bring us all, Who is the Father of all mercy ; to Whom, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed from all Saints, and from every creature under Heaven, all praise, glory, might, majesty, and dominion, henceforth and for ever. Amen.”

Not long after the above Sermon had been preached, the writer was requested to publish it, being informed at the same time, with whatever accuracy, that it had influenced certain individuals ‘to join the Church.’ The writer declined to publish it, at least on his own responsibility, for these reasons, that the general outline of religion embodied in that Sermon was the subject-matter of an Appeal which he was at the time seeking to bring before the Church, and that the contrary system of religion, (that of Mde. A.) to disclaim which the Appeal was brought, was at present countenanced, the rather of the two, by nearly all the Bishops. That, under such circumstances, to publish as truth, or as the doctrine of the Church, what were only the writer’s private opinions, besides being an improper presumption, would tend rather to prejudice the Appeal, by reproducing in an informal way, the same controversy, and substituting the tribunal of popular opinion for that of Ecclesiastical authority. The announcement too, that individuals (perhaps from other Dioceses) had been influenced by this Sermon to adhere to the ‘Episcopal’ Communion, could not but strengthen the reflection or misgiving expressed above, that so to teach *one’s own belief* as truth, or in the name of any Church, when the living Authority of that Church was not clearly in its favour, was neither more nor less than to deceive simple and docile minds, and to send them to adhere in virtue of a certain private belief to a Bishop, who had per-

haps been only just before publicly dismissing that very belief with impatience as a species of monomania. Clearly then, if any one sees that there are two contrary Religions struggling at present among us for ascendancy, the only legitimate business for such a one must be to procure, or to labour to procure, a settlement of this difference. The first thing is to have the controversy settled: and then, whichever party have the decision on their side, *they* may teach afterwards: but while things are in their present state, it is impossible for one to teach any thing, either on the one side or on the other, with authority; and therefore the less one teaches at all, the less one pretends to an authority which one has not, the better. There is indeed another course, namely, to believe nothing one's-self, and to teach others to believe nothing; to preach openly conformity to the world and to popular opinion, to receive one's salary from a Vestry, to eat and drink, and, to-morrow perhaps, to *die*: But this is shocking to think of. And yet, with poverty, and a family to support, and a social atmosphere such as we now breathe, the temptation may be dangerous.

SECTION LXVI.

PREPARE MS. ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE APPEAL: AM ADVISED TO DETACH THE FIRST PART OF THE INTRODUCTION, AND TO MAKE IT THE BASIS OF A SEPARATE WORK FOR PUBLICATION.

BEFORE leaving the Bishop of St Andrews, it had been settled, with his sanction, that the writer should spend the ensuing winter in England (where he could have the use of his papers, journals, and correspondence,) and prepare a full account of the Appeal from its first origin. This, it was hoped, might be finished early in the spring; and as soon as it should be ready, he was to return into Scotland, and there print it, and send it to the Clergy before the meeting of the Diocesan Synods. If the Presbyters of the Bishop of St Andrews' Diocese, after having read what should be submitted to them, judged the Appeal to be legitimate, and really to implicate their Church, it would be competent for them in their Diocesan Synod to express their concurrence in opinion with their Bishop, or rather (to speak more accurately) it would then be for the Bishop himself in his

Diocesan Synod, after having taken counsel with his Presbyters, and having their concurrence, to give a more formal utterance to his judgment, and to invite a similar expression of opinion for the Synods of other Dioceses, to be communicated to the Bishops as a Body. And if the Diocesan Synods, or a majority of them, concurred in demanding a hearing and decision for the Appeal, there could be no doubt but their demand would eventually be attended to. Indeed, any one Diocese alone, being a perfect Church in itself, and having full power of internal legislation, could always force any matter of common interest to a common decision, if not by reason, yet from fear of its being made an occasion for separate legislation. But if, on the other hand, the Diocesan Synods should make no move in the matter after the Presbyters had all full knowledge of the Appeal, it might then be fairly asserted that the previous decision of the Episcopal Synod had carried with it the sense of the Scottish Church. In *either* case, the Appeal would obtain its decision.

When at length the MS. was finished, which however was not in time to admit of its being printed before the meeting of the Diocesan Synods for 1847, it was shewn to three friends of the writer, members of the Church of England, two of whom concurred in remarking that it was a case in which 'High-Church' or 'Anglo-Catholic' principles had been very fairly and fully carried out and tested, and that the result seemed to be, that they would not hold; upon which the one added further, that the inference would be in favour of Roman-Catholicism; the other, that we must fall back upon a more general Protestantism. The third, after reading the MS. through, said that he agreed with, and approved of, every thing except the conclusion, (that is, the pledge given, in case of failure, to renounce the Scottish and Anglican Communion); and when it was shown that this pledge had resulted necessarily from what had preceded, and from the first step of all, unless the whole matter were mere trifling, he varied the expression of his feeling, and said, that in that case he should be obliged to disapprove of the beginning. They all concurred in recommending the omission of certain Sections, the details of which have accordingly, at least for the present, in deference to their judgment, been omitted.

At that time the Introduction to the Appeal had four Parts. What stood originally as Part I, contained a succinct account of the circumstances under which the writer first went to Russia; and how, when there, in accordance with Dr Routh's advice, he professed a desire to Communicate with the Russian Church; which, as had been expected, ended in nothing. This first Part the writer was advised to detach, as being only indirectly connected with the origin and history of the Appeal, and to make it the basis of a Work for publication, which it was thought might tend rather to draw a favourable attention to the Appeal itself, inasmuch as the Appeal, though not to be sold by the booksellers, might obtain an indefinite degree of publicity. When this change of plan was first suggested and acceded to, the writer still proposed to complete and publish the Work intended for publication, and to give it time to become known, before printing and circulating the Appeal among the Scottish Clergy. But it soon appeared that this would be impossible. The change of plan drew after it other changes and additions; and that which had been first written as mere preliminary information, to introduce the narrative of the Appeal, began to grow into an extensive Work, which is even now, in 1848, far from finished.

In the mean time circumstances occurred to cause some further postponement of the printing of the Appeal itself, irrespectively of the composition of the other Work for publication, and of the desire that it should appear first. What these circumstances were will appear in the next Section.

SECTION LXVII.

RENEWAL OF COMMUNICATIONS WITH MDE. A.: OFFER OF AN INTERVIEW, AND OF THE SIGHT OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE APPEAL IN MS., BEFORE IT SHOULD BE PRINTED.

JULY 12, being at Oxford, engaged on the Work above-mentioned, I received a letter from my Father, communicating another addressed to himself by a near relative (a lady), and dated from *Paris, July 3*, with the following passages:—

“ Among my acquaintance here is Mde. A., concerning whose desertion of her own Church N. has been so much

occupied. . . . I confess she has interested me deeply in all the suffering she has had for her religious opinions. . . . She thinks N. may do her much harm ; and she fears he may consider himself obliged to do so. . . . Do you think you could obtain from him a promise not to interfere further in her affairs?"

Since it had become necessary to print in English the history of the Appeal, the thought had repeatedly suggested itself, that it would have been desirable to communicate first with Mde. A. ; but not knowing where she was, it seemed impossible to do so. Now, however, that the receipt of the above seemed to open a channel of communication, I immediately sent to my cousin for Mde. A. a printed copy of *Bishop Luscombe's Letters* as taken into Scotland, a copy of the *Extract from the Minutes* of the Episcopal Synod held at Edinburgh September 3, 1846 ; and a copy of the *Document given subsequently by the Bishop of St Andrews*, inclosing them all together in the following Letter :—

" MY DEAR N.—I have just received from my Father part of a letter from you to him relating to Mde. A., who, it seems, is now again at Paris. Notwithstanding the tone of what you report, I think she knows pretty well what are my personal dispositions towards her, and that I should be very sorry to do any thing unnecessarily to annoy or to disoblige her. At the same time, she is quite right in anticipating that I shall do what I think my duty towards the Church, without respecting any merely personal considerations ; though I do not myself see those grounds for apprehension which it seems she sees in what I may be likely to do. I feel this, that she has a right to be fully informed of all that I have done, or am still doing, since our last mutual communications ; [that is, since she sent Bishop Luscombe's Sermons with the XXXIX Articles, and the Popish Refutation of them, to the Russian Synod, which occasioned the Appeal,] and I should be most happy to come to Paris immediately, and to put her in possession of every thing, if I thought there was the least chance of her desiring it, or of her even being willing to see me or speak to me, if I were there.

" Without blaming her in any way, you must yourself see, that however willing one party may be to act in a friendly and generous spirit in a controversy or suit with another, it is impossible that they can so arrange as to do what is to be done with the least possible mutual annoyance, unless they can both endure to deal with one another reasonably and patiently, and where either cannot allow the justice of their opponent's views, yet at any rate to try to understand his point of view. Now Mde. A. cannot understand why I should think myself obliged either to disprove her claims to our Communion, or else to give up my own. She cannot understand this : and I can sufficiently enter into her religious views to see why she cannot. But I really do not see any cause why she should attribute to me any personal ill-feeling towards her, or

why she should refuse to confer amicably with me, in order to enable me to do all that I feel I must do in such a manner as may be as little annoying to her as possible.

"I inclose for her a copy of the *Appeal*, which after three years delay (occasioned by a weakness of the eyes), I took last autumn to present to the Synod of the Scottish Bishops. I must confess that the reception met with from them was sufficiently discouraging, and went far to allow her claims and opinions in opposition to those maintained by the late Bishop Luscombe and by myself against her. And it is very possible that such may be the ultimate result. However, the issue is as yet undecided, five of the Bishops having declined at present to enter at all upon the matter, while the sixth, who is the Senior of them all, has given me a Document, which I also herewith inclose.

"At the same time that I received this document, it was understood by the Bishop of St Andrews, who gave it me, that I should print (without publishing through the booksellers) the details of the controversy from its beginning, and lay them before the Scottish Clergy, in order to enable them to form a judgment whether the Appeal has arisen naturally and legitimately, and so implicates their Church, that she cannot avoid hearing and deciding it Synodically.

"And here I must observe, that the increased publicity which will now probably be given to all the details of our controversy, and which will no doubt be disagreeable to Mde. A., might perhaps have been avoided if we had been acting in concert, or at least with an amicable understanding on both sides. For she might have agreed with me on the terms in which I should take the controversy before the Scottish Bishops, and might have written a few lines to them in her own name, so making herself distinctly a party to the Appeal : in which case it would have been of course superfluous to require of me to shew its justice and necessity on my own side.

"I have written all this expressly to be communicated to her, together with the printed documents, and that given by the Bishop of St Andrews, and the Extract from the Synodal Minutes (which I also enclose). All these I shall be much obliged to you to give to her, if she will take them, because, as I have said above, I think she has a right to know all, if she pleases. If however she should not choose to receive them, or even to hear them read, I wish you to burn or destroy them.—Believe me, &c."

"N. N."

A Postscript written afterwards, July 14, in a separate Letter:—

"On looking again at your note to my Father, it strikes me that I ought not to have left what seems to be the chief point in it unanswered, as I have ; I mean your desire to obtain from me for Mde. A. 'a promise not to interfere further in her affairs,' or to 'attack her in Russia.' I confess I do not quite understand what this means : but if Mde. A. seriously desires to have such a promise, you may tell her from me that I will readily give her any promise she pleases *with respect to Russia*, if she will indulge me in a contrary request, which may seem to her equally unintelligible or superfluous, namely, that she *would* 'interfere in my affairs,' which are also her own, and 'attack me in Scotland,' by writing a letter herself to the Scottish Synod, either in French or in English, to the effect of that which I enclose herewith, and in which I suppose that I have pretty well anticipated her sentiments : (though, I doubt, she will *not* do

any thing of the kind.) Of course, if she desired any further explanation of my reasons for proposing to her to take such a step, I should be most happy to offer it, or, as I have before said, to come to Paris at once and see her, if she could endure to see me without too much annoyance or excitement to herself."

Sketch of such a Letter as Mde. A. might address, if she were pleased to do so, to the Scottish Episcopal Synod.

'RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS,—Having been informed of all that has hitherto passed in the matter of the Appeal taken by the Deacon, Mr N., to your Synod (an Appeal which concerns me no less than himself), I desire to thank you for your Christian charity and discretion in refusing to entertain it.

'It has always been my opinion (in opposition to that of my denouncer), that any such Appeal as he has been making to the Authorities of our Communion was both superfluous and vexatious: superfluous, because what is already recognised by public opinion and practice needs no further allowance or justification; and vexatious towards myself, because, however exaggerated on one side he may think my view of the Anglican Church and religion, or however exaggerated I may think his view on the other, it is manifest that the full mutual toleration of these two contrary tendencies or religions has long been irreversibly established by necessity, by public opinion, and by ecclesiastical usage; and that such toleration is studiously maintained by the highest Authorities. And even if this were otherwise, it is self-evident that those who advocate a certain liberality and development of Protestantism, represent much more truly the sense of the living Anglican Communion, than the opposite faction, a small minority, which so fanatically preaches an impossible and Anti-Protestant re-action. And even if it were right or desirable that some Synodical decisions should put an end to that mutual toleration which has hitherto existed, and fix absolutely for the future one definite doctrine and discipline, still this ought to be done, and no doubt would be done, on general and public grounds, without making any personal attack either upon any individual 'Puseyite' on the one hand, or upon any individual Protestant on the other. Least of all should such an attack be made upon a poor woman, who desires above all things to live in peace, and who claims no more latitude for herself, either in belief or in practice, than is already practically recognised and allowed to all throughout the whole extent of our Communion, whether in Scotland, England, or America.

'In conclusion, I will only thank you once more for having added to the sanction of the other high Authorities of the Anglican Church the testimony of the Scottish Synod in my favour, and to express a hope that you will continue to reject all applications which may be made to you with the view of inducing you to reconsider your determination, and of depriving me of that free Communion, which is now my greatest privilege and blessing.—I have the honour to be, &c.'

'N. A.'

August 4, I received a note from Paris acknowledging the receipt of the above Letter with its inclosures (*not* of the *Postscript*, which was sent later), and expressing a "hope that I would gladly embrace any opportunity, which the decision

of the Scottish Bishops or other causes might afford to my conscience of ceasing further proceedings." Another passage was the following :

"When I know from others than herself, that any further denunciation of her, or greater publicity given to her case, would cause the Emperor to withdraw the protecting hand, which . . . he has hitherto held over her, and suffer her to be proceeded against according to the law, the law being *death*, or at least perpetual imprisonment with flagellations, or banishment to Siberia, when I know all this, I cannot but tremble for the future : and I know that the future is in your hands. . . . [So once more] I may be allowed to hope that you will avail yourself of any excuse for putting her aside, that your conscience can accept. . . . I say nothing of her present movements, since she has written herself all she wishes to be said : &c. &c."

The following (in French) from Mde. A. being inclosed, as intended for communication :

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—I have read attentively the letter of the Deacon Mr N. It makes it necessary for me to give three answers, as follows :

"I. Mr N. thinks that I may take his salutations as an impertinence. He knows me very little. My rule is *charity, peace, concord*. Nothing of what he has done, and wished to do, against me will ever prevent my holding out the hand of brotherhood ; and I forgive him, as I desire to be myself forgiven by God.

"II. I *accept* the Interview which he asks for of me, on condition that he sets aside all irritation and ill-will. The Interview shall not be till the month of October ; and I will myself let Mr N. know *where* it is to be. . . .

"III. . . . After having sacrificed all to our Saviour Jesus Christ, I have besought Him to *correct* my faith if it is wrong ; in answer to which the Lord has every day *confirmed* me in it more and more. And I have maintained this faith in the midst of a hundred dangers suspended over my head, &c. &c."

"N. A."

Upon the receipt of the above, I wrote again to Paris the same day two letters, (the second being addressed to Mde. A. herself) and inclosed in that to my cousin, as here follows :

“MY DEAR N.—I owe you many thanks for your letter just received, and still more for the inclosure from Mde. A., which pleased me much. It has emboldened me to write a letter addressed directly to herself, which I inclose (open, that you may read it) herewith. Perhaps you will have the kindness to let her have it. . . . I must say something in answer to your suggestion that I should ‘*gladly embrace any opportunity, which the decision of the Scottish Bishops may afford, of ceasing further proceedings.*’ Gladly enough, in many respects, I would : for instance, to please Mde. A., or to spare her some possible future annoyance : gladly, too, for my own ease in many ways, or for my pocket’s sake, &c. : but not gladly, if the alternative is renouncing myself, and despairing of, the Anglican Church and Communion, separating from all my family, and becoming to my own kindred and people nearly as unintelligible a fanatic, as if I were to turn Chinaman, and wear a Mandarin’s dress and tail. I hope, indeed, I am ready to do this, whenever it becomes my duty, or seems to have become so ; but I do not think that what has taken place at present, namely, the refusal of the Scottish Synod to examine the Appeal at the first attempt made to bring it before them, would alone, and of itself, so compromise their Church in the matter, as to justify me in renouncing her Communion. Of course you can see, that whether it were Mde. A., or any other person, X, Y, or Z, who originally raised that question which has been raised with and against myself, matters nothing to the Controversy. And therefore I should always be desirous to avoid, as far as possible, all recurrence to details relating to the individual who happens to be one’s opponent. I was at first in hope that the printed Document inclosed to you in my former letter for Mde. A. (and that, too, only in Latin, but it was desired in Scotland to have it in English), might have been enough, and that I should have no occasion to submit to the Clergy any detailed statement of the origin and history of that controversy which has ended in the Appeal. And this, I think, ought to have been so. But the Bishops, by their summary refusal even to examine the matter, have thrown it back upon the second Order of the Clergy in the different Dioceses. And now, unless the two parties can hit upon some plan (such as has been suggested in a Postscript which has crossed your present letter on the way,—and yet that too would most likely fail,) to assist one another, and to bring the matter to an issue by joint consent, as an amicable suit at law, before the Scottish Synod, I am afraid that I must print all the details, which will make a large 8vo. volume. And though there is no design to publish them in the ordinary way, or let them be sold by the Booksellers, they will yet have to be communicated to so many of the Clergy and others, that one cannot foresee any limit to the publicity which the whole may ultimately acquire. Of course one need not print names at full length, perhaps not even initials, though I know not whether that can make any great difference.

“In the note you send me from Mde. A., she says she will let me know herself *when* and *where* she will see me, but that it is not to be till after the month of October. My own intended movements were these. I was about to return into Scotland very shortly, and to print there all the details for the Clergy ; and then to come here again for the winter, to complete another Work, for which I require the use of my Russian Library in England. But if *she thinks it worth while* that we should see one another,

and cannot see me at present with comfort to herself, or without its interfering with other family matters, I will wait her time. With my compliments to her, and thanks for her not taking them amiss before, believe me, &c. &c.”

“N. N.”

With the following for Mde. A. inclosed:—

“DEAR MADAM,—I have read with so much pleasure the note forwarded by my cousin in reference to my previous communication, that I am emboldened to acknowledge it by writing directly to yourself, to thank you for the generous and charitable feelings you express. It is always a pain even to suspect that one is the object of displeasure; and I assure you I am not a little grateful to you for the tone in which you now speak of me, even consenting to see me again, and to confer amicably about my present and future proceedings.

“You must not suppose that I have now any sort of wish to seek a discussion with you respecting any of your acts or opinions. That is all past. After all that I have hitherto done in Russia and in Scotland, appearances are certainly much in favour of your pretensions, and much against mine: and I am willing to concede for argument's sake, in all that may hereafter pass between us, that you are *probably* in the right, and I in the wrong. My cousin writes to me expressing her ‘hope that I will gladly embrace any opportunity which the decision of the Scottish Bishops, or other causes, may afford to my conscience of ceasing farther proceedings:’ and I should be very glad, for your sake, to be able to cease farther proceedings. But still I cannot with a good conscience, after what has been done, either consent to take *in common with you a passive* Communion within the Scottish and Anglican pale, or, as yet, go back to the Russian Synod, and say, ‘I have nothing now to object against your call upon me to renounce the Scottish and Anglican Communion as heretical, and therefore am ready to be Reconciled,’ until the Appeal has been more deliberately rejected, or judged against me, by the Authorities of the British Communion, than is at present the case.

“I have already mentioned through my cousin that though I had in the first instance dropped in Scotland all the earlier history of the affair, it has within the last year become necessary for me to print the whole for the fuller information of the Bishops and Clergy, that they may at least know what the case is which they decide against their late Missionary Bishop, and against me, and in your favour, by refusing to entertain it; and that they may have in their hands my apology or justification for any step which they may make it incumbent on me to take afterwards. I can quite understand that the printing of all these details, and the prospect of their obtaining an indefinite degree of publicity, will be disagreeable to you: and I should myself wish, if it were possible, to find some other way of bringing the matter to an end. To say nothing of other reasons, I will mention one, the force of which you will allow. The printing of all these details, as they are voluminous, and are not intended to be published for sale, will be a very heavy expense: and you will not suppose that I can wish to throw away a large sum of money merely out of blind obstinacy, or from a desire to persecute a Lady whom I had no expectation of ever coming across again. Now it seems to me just possible, that I might *by your assistance and co-operation* (if we were good friends, or even generous or fair opponents), be enabled to dispense with all this printing, and to obtain from the Scottish Bishops a Synodal

Act (either negative or positive, either in your favour or in mine) which should sufficiently declare the sense of their Church, and supply both you and me, and all others interested, with that answer and direction in our controversy which we have both, and either of us, a right to ask for, and which cannot rightly, nor indeed at all eventually, be refused. And however this might be, I should of myself be inclined to wish to put you in possession of the whole case, nay, even to read over to you beforehand, or give you to read, all that I am going to print, if you should desire it.

“It was with these views, and these only, that I suggested in my first letter to my cousin the idea of my coming to see you, not having at that time, I confess, the remotest expectation that you would entertain the proposal for a moment. But since you express yourself so kindly and mildly on the subject, and are not averse from the proposal, you must allow me to beg of you to understand clearly that I made, and make, this proposal not for any object of my own, but merely and solely on your account, in case you should be inclined to hear from me, for your information, a full account of my proceedings and object, (which I think I cannot do less than offer you); and further, in case you should be willing or desirous to concert measures with me, so as to assist me to obtain a decision of the Appeal, if possible, without all that printing of the details of its origin and history, which would be disagreeable to you and expensive to me, and which we are both of us apparently anxious to avoid.

“Before I received my cousin’s letter with your note inclosed, this morning, I had already sent her a proposal which I had then much less hope of your listening to than I have now, namely, that you should address some such Letter as I sketched to the Scottish Synod, taking cognizance of what I and they have done hitherto, and thanking them for refusing to entertain the Appeal. The Sketch I sent was such as I supposed would represent your sentiments, if you were inclined to deny the reasonableness or necessity of the Appeal. [See above, p. 365.]

“Another course, and one far more acceptable to myself, (though I can scarcely venture to dream of your dealing with me in such a spirit) would be this: that you should authorise me to act for you, and in your name (that is, *against myself*) with the Scottish Bishops, representing to them, that though you felt grateful to them for having hitherto rejected the Appeal sent to them by the late Bishop Luscombe, you yet have strong reasons for wishing that no further publicity should be given to the details of its origin and history; and that on this account you have consented to join me in requesting them to decide the controversy upon those data only, which have been already sent to them by their late Missionary Bishop, Bishop Luscombe. In that case, I would pledge myself to use my utmost efforts to obtain a decision of the question raised in the Appeal with as little reference to its origin and history as possible: I would plead the cause of your opinions and pretensions to the very best of my ability, even against myself; and if I obtained a decision against my own belief, and in favour of yours, (though I should in that case probably be Reconciled to the Eastern Church) I would promise that no further publicity whatever, involving you, should be given to the origin or history of the controversy, so long as you lived, and were not a consenting party. And even if, after all, I failed in this attempt (as I confess would be probable enough), and the Scottish Bishops treated your request for a decision in the same manner as they have already treated that of

Bishop Luscombe, and of the Senior of their own College, I would still promise to delay one whole year at least, (and perhaps two or three) and to try some other measures, before I had recourse to printing.

"I have now said enough to enable you to judge and determine for yourself whether you will accede to either of my two proposals; and also, how far you may be able or willing to confer with me, in such a spirit as I desire; and how far a personal interview is likely to be attended with any good result. If you think it will be too troublesome, or tedious, or irritating, to converse about the past, though it be only for information, or to confer about the possibility of terminating the present Appeal in Scotland without having recourse to printing, then pray do not accept the proposal of an interview; but if you are satisfied with the assurance that there shall be no controversy, no discussion, no ill-will on my side, then accept the offer by all means: I shall be very grateful to you; and will come and meet you whenever and wherever you appoint, and will confer with you in the same spirit as if you were my sister or my mother.

"With the greatest consideration, I remain, Dear Madam, your most obedient and humble servant, &c. &c." "N. N."

("Deacon to the late Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church, Bishop Luscombe, and now Appellant in Scotland under the protection of the Bishop of St Andrews, and received as one of his Clergy.")

Sketch of a Communication which Mde. A. might address to the Scottish Synod, inclosed in the above:

'RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS,—While I thank you for having hitherto refused to entertain the Appeal made to you by your late Missionary Bishop, Bishop Luscombe, and his Deacon, Mr N., against myself, and while I am very well pleased to learn that I am countenanced by your Synod in regarding that Appeal as unnecessary and vexatious, I have yet some strong reasons for wishing that no additional publicity may be given to the circumstances under which that Appeal originated, or to those of its subsequent history, as involving myself: And therefore, without receding from my opinion that the questions raised against me are abundantly determined in my favour by the public opinion and recognized usage of the whole of our Communion, I have consented, on Mr N.'s proposal, to make a joint and amicable reference to your Synod, and to request you to decide the questions sent to you by your late Missionary Bishop upon those data only which he has supplied.

'Having certainly disregarded as unauthoritative, and as proceeding merely from the private judgment of one Bishop, the declarations made against me by Bishop Luscombe, and having continued since to take his and your Communion upon the same terms, so far as I can see, and by the same right that all others take it, I acknowledge that if he, or his Deacon, or any other member of your Communion really thought themselves and their Church aggrieved by my acts and professions, (little as I can understand such a view of the Anglican religion as that implies), they might very naturally and properly appeal to the Bishops and Synod of that Church which had consecrated Bishop Luscombe for some further declaration, to which they would expect me to yield.

'And now, though my own conscience needs not any such appeal, yet in consideration of your late Missionary Bishop, and in deference to the conscience of his Deacon, my accuser, and for other sufficient reasons of my own, as a Christian, who believes herself to be rightfully of your

Communion, I request of you, as Ministers of God, to give me answers and directions upon those points on which my denouncers have already asked the same. Even though it be not strictly necessary for my conscience, yet it may be due to the consciences of others ; and it is certainly no more than we are all enjoined to do by the Apostle in Holy Scripture, to 'give an answer to every man that asketh us concerning the hope that is in us.'

'And for myself, since I am accused as a heretic, and as a lawless intruder upon the Sacraments of our Communion, and since the Apostle commands all Bishops to admonish a first and second time, and then to 'reject' or 'cut off' heretics, I beg you to take cognizance of the accusations made against me by your late Missionary Bishop, and referred to your Synod for a more authoritative decision : And if I am, in your judgment, a heretic on any of the points objected, (and I am willing for convenience's sake to allow that the Propositions rejected by Bishop Luscombe, and by his Deacon, represent well enough my principles,) then I beg of you to admonish me, according to your judgment, of what is erroneous, and to teach me in God's name what is true doctrine and right discipline ; and if I finally reject your decisions, then to 'reject' me, as the Apostle commands, from your Communion.

'And further, to facilitate ulterior proceedings consequent upon this application, I authorize the Deacon Mr N. (notwithstanding that he is himself seeking my ejection from your Communion) to confer and act on my behalf in this my application and joint Appeal to your Synod, trusting that he will do so in the spirit of fairness and generosity, and so as to obviate, if possible, that necessity, which he now supposes to exist, for giving increased publicity to the origin and history of his Appeal ; also that he will refer to me for further explanations, if there should be occasion for them.

'This application, suggested to me by the Deacon Mr N., and drawn up by himself, with the view of meeting in some degree my wishes, I now make to you, Right Reverend Fathers, and to your Synod, for the reasons stated above, and subscribe myself with my own hand, this . . . day of . . . A.D. 1847, at Paris.' 'N. A.'

But before these Letters, and even before the Postscript of July 14, was delivered in Paris, Mde. A. had left France, and was in Germany ; from whence she afterwards went to Geneva ; and it was not till a day or two before our personal meeting in the month of October following, that she received them. A letter dated from Paris on the 6th of August, acknowledging the receipt of the former Postscript of July 14, contained the following passage :—

"I cannot give Mde. A. your inclosure, because she is not now in France : but I hope before very long to have an opportunity of *giving* it to her in person. In the mean time I shall keep it till further orders. I have read it, and fancy she would say that 'the wolf wears the sheepskin very cleverly.' It is, however, very just ; and, I fear, too like

what *she* thinks, and what, unfortunately, many of our own Clergy would encourage her in thinking. I am sure she would sooner be burned alive than retrace her steps."

In another letter, written a week later with the date of the 12th August, my cousin acknowledged the receipt of mine of August 6, with its double inclosure, thus :—

"Here is an acknowledgment of your three letters; but it is only to give myself the opportunity of telling you that I have carefully read them all through; that as the end is really most important to a vast multitude of others, as well as yourself, so nothing can be fairer, more honest, or more clear, than the means you take, and propose taking, to accomplish it. I shall be greatly disappointed in my friend, if she does not think so too; or rather, if she does not, or if she shrinks from acting upon such thoughts, I shall attribute it not to her want of liberality, for she has plenty, but to the prejudices which she has unfortunately imbibed, and to the irritation which recollection of past sufferings, and the fear of future, may produce. . . . And now I rely on what you give me to understand, that as all your real business with her is contained in your letters, so you will wait on your oars perfectly innocuous, (pardon the expression), till you receive her answer, written or verbal : &c. &c."

"N. N."

SECTION LXVIII.

LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, COMMUNICATED BY HIM TO THE EPISCOPAL SYNOD OF 1847.

AUGUST 12, the following letter was addressed to the Bishop of St Andrews, with a request that he would communicate it to the other Scottish Bishops at their approaching annual Synod; a copy of it, at the same time, being sent to Paris for Mde. A.:—

"MY DEAR LORD,—I write to give account to your Lordship of some recent communications which will probably delay the printing of any detailed statement of the Appeal till the spring of next year.

"I mentioned in a former letter, that when I was ready to return into Scotland last spring, some friends suggested that it might perhaps be serviceable to *publish* the Introduc-

tory part of the MS.: and after having once admitted this idea of publication, the Work began to grow upon my hands, and is still far from being completed. However, I had resolved to intermit this Work, and to go into Scotland about the present time, to print only that which was to be circulated among the Clergy, and which has now long been ready. But just as I was preparing to move, there came an indirect communication from the Lady against whom Bishop Luscombe's acts were chiefly intended.

“ I had thought it right and due to her, to communicate to her copies of the Documents which Bishop Luscombe gave me to take to Scotland, and which I submitted last autumn to the Bishops. I had also sent her a copy of the Extract which I received from the Synodal Minutes, and a copy of your Lordship's Letter given me afterwards, in which you say that, ‘ As the object of my mission into Scotland concerns the common Faith and Discipline, and as the acts of your late Brother and Missionary Bishop, Bishop Luscombe, in repelling strangers from the Lord's Table, and in disclaiming certain imputations cast by them and by others upon our religion, may still need that support which he commissioned me to seek, you think that my Appeal has a just claim to be examined into, and if found legitimate, to be heard and judged by the Bishops of the Scottish Church, in whatever way may be most convenient, and open to them by their canons to allow or provide.’ I had explained at the same time, that in consequence of the Scottish Synod's having declined at present to entertain the Appeal, there was no other course open to me than that of laying the whole case before the Scottish Clergy generally; that so the refusal to entertain it, if adhered to, might express, as far as possible, the deliberate sense of the Church.

“ The Lady had long before told me herself, that she regarded any interference with her on Bishop Luscombe's part as unjustifiable and vexatious, inasmuch as she took the Sacraments, whether from him or from other Clergy of his Communion, on exactly the same terms, and by exactly the same right, so far as she could see, as all others; and claimed for herself no greater latitude either of belief or of practice, than is allowed to every body by public opinion and established usage throughout our whole Communion:

that she had every right to disregard any act or declaration against her proceeding from the arbitrariness or private judgment of a single Bishop, and had no need to appeal against him to any higher Authority, being borne out by the public opinion and usage of Anglicans wherever she went : that *they* indeed needed Appeals, and new decisions, who were attempting to innovate upon the established maxims of their own religion : as for her, she had a decision already ruled in her favour before the question was raised against her : she needed nothing more than what she already possessed : and if any one appealed against her, nay, if she herself were so unnecessarily scrupulous as to appeal in her own behalf to any ulterior Authorities, she doubted not but those Authorities would have ‘*tact*’ enough to *evade* the appeal made to them.

“ Now, however, that she has learned that the matter is not likely to be dropped at once upon the first indication of reluctance on the part of the Scottish Synod to entertain it, she has given me to understand, that while she is so far from changing, or receding from the position she took up against Bishop Luscombe, that, on the contrary, she considers herself to ‘ have been strengthened from above to bear witness to the truth in the midst of a thousand dangers,’ and can now add to her former advantages the testimony of the Scottish Synod to the justice of her assertion, that the Information or Appeal made against her is causeless and vexatious, she is still apprehensive that some great mischief or inconvenience to herself may ensue from that printing of all the history of the case, which I have told her has become necessary to its prosecution. A friend of hers, who has written to me on her account, professes to be very anxious that I should ‘ embrace the opportunity which the decision of the Scottish Bishops affords, to cease further proceedings ;’ and enforces this suggestion by such passages as the following : ‘ When I know from others, besides herself, that any further ‘ denunciation of her, or greater publicity given to her case, ‘ would cause the Emperor to withdraw that protecting hand, ‘ which he has hitherto, on account of . . . held over her, and ‘ leave her to be proceeded against according to the law, the law ‘ being death, [an error], or at least perpetual imprisonment ‘ with flagellations, or banishment to Siberia,—when I know

‘ all this, I cannot but tremble for the future : and the future ‘ is in your hands :’ And again, ‘ I may be allowed to hope ‘ that you will avail yourself of any excuse for putting her ‘ aside that your conscience can accept. . . . I am sure she ‘ would sooner be burned alive than retrace her steps.’ . . . At the same time the Lady herself has given me to understand that she accepts my offer of giving her a meeting, and conferring with her upon the whole business, at some place which she is to appoint, before I actually print and circulate among the Scottish Clergy any detailed history of the Appeal. This interview, she has sent me word, cannot take place before the month of October.

“ In the mean time I have replied, that in the Appeal with which the late Bishop Luscombe sent me to Scotland, no more mention had been made of her (as she must have perceived) than was absolutely necessary ; and we had hoped that the case might have been gone into on its own abstract merits, and upon those data only which were then supplied, without any further publication of its origin and history : that the necessity which has now supervened of printing the details of the case, and communicating them to all the Clergy, is not of my making or seeking : that although I can by no means accede to the request made to me, ‘ to avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the decision of the Scottish Bishops, to cease further proceedings,’ (seeing that this would be for me neither more nor less than to give up at once my case against her, and with it to give up my belief in the orthodoxy of our Communion, and to offer myself, as already pledged in that case to do, to be Reconciled by the Eastern Church to that Faith from which she has apostatized), I am still quite as desirous as she can be that the case should be brought to an end, if possible, without the circulation of all its details in a printed form among the Clergy of the second Order and the laity : that this, however, does not depend on my will, but rests solely with the Scottish Bishops : that if *they* think the natural wishes of a Lady, who regards herself as having sacrificed every thing in this world for the sake of truth, and for the sake of their Communion,—or if *they* think her apprehensions of danger (such as they have been described by her friend in the passages quoted above) to afford them a suffi-

cient reason for reconsidering their opinion of last year, and now entertaining and deciding the Appeal with as little further publicity affecting her as may be, then, certainly, I shall be very well satisfied ; for that I shall be saved a heavy expense ; I shall obtain all I seek ; and I shall avoid all risk of hurting or annoying her.

“ I confess that I rather wish all these particulars to be made known to the Primus and the other Bishops, though I do not flatter myself that there is any probability of their paying much regard to the Lady’s apprehensions. Nor indeed, to say the truth, do I suppose that she would herself expect or desire it of them. She thinks, no doubt, that the question of pursuing or dropping the Appeal is for me only to consider ; but, *if it is pursued*, then that the right course, theologically, for the Scottish Synod and Bishops (if they favour her side), is to take no cognizance of it whatever.

“ I should probably have addressed this Letter, or a similar one, to the Primus, with a request to communicate it to the other Bishops at their next meeting, but that I am unwilling to make any formal renewal of the application for a hearing of the Appeal, until I have placed before the Clergy all the information I have to offer them on the case. If your Lordship should not think it an improper request, or otherwise unadvisable, I would venture to ask of you to send on this Letter to the Primus, merely as information for him and the other Bishops : And this, at any rate, will save me from the appearance of being prematurely importunate. I remain, &c. &c.”

“ N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

“ P.S.—I hope to be in Scotland in about ten days from this present date [*i. e.* so as to be at Edinburgh at the time of the meeting of the annual Episcopal Synod], though, owing to circumstances explained above, it will probably be only for a short time.”

SECTION LXIX.

VISIT FROM A RUSSIAN LAYMAN, M. KHOMIAKOFF ; AND EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

IN the mean time, however, there came for a short visit to England, and to the writer, who was then at Oxford, a Russian layman and Poet, Mr Kh. formerly a cavalry officer, and now generally resident at Moscow ; whose

published writings for their eminently Slavonian spirit are highly prized among peoples of that race far beyond the limits of the Russian Empire. Some portions of three Letters received from him during the two years and a half before August 19, 1847, when he visited Oxford, shall here be inserted. The Correspondence itself originated in the following accident :

A Professor of the University of Moscow, who had been at Oxford in July 1842, and in Scotland soon afterwards, and who had then received one or two introductions to Scottish Clergy from the writer, after his return to Moscow had communicated, as it seemed, to Mr Kh. some particulars of the Controversy which was then in progress with Mde. A., and had transmitted to the writer in England a small Collection of Poems by Mr Kh. with a message of civility from their author: Being unable at that time either to read or write more than a few words at once from a total failure of the eyes, the writer, by way of acknowledgment, sent a note with a translation of one of the shortest pieces of poetry in exactly the same rythm as the original. This piece itself, as well as two others from the same Collection, also in the same measure with the original, are here inserted :—

I. "*To my Children.*"

Time was when I lov'd at still midnight to come,
My children, to see you asleep in your room ;
The Cross' holy sign on your foreheads to trace,
And commend you in prayer to the love and the grace
Of our gracious and merciful God.

To keep gentle guard and watch over your rest,
To think how your spirits were sinless and blest,
In hope to look forward to long happy years
Of blithe merry youth, without sorrows or fears,
Oh, how sweet, how delicious it was !

But now if I go, all is silence, all gloom ;
None sleep in that crib, nothing breathes in that room ;
The light that should burn at the Image is gone :
Alas ! so it is, children now I have none,
And my heart how it painfully throbs

Dear children, at that same still midnight do ye,
As I once pray'd for you, now in turn pray for me ;
Me, who lov'd well the Cross on your foreheads to trace :
Now commend me in turn to the mercy and grace
Of our gracious and merciful God.

II. "*To England.*"

Isle of riches ! Isle of wonders !
Fairest thou beneath the moon,
Brightest gem of emerald verdure,
Set in ocean's azure crown !

Guardian dread of vaunted freedom,
Round thy battlemented shore
(Whelming fleets of strange invaders)
Ocean doth his billows pour.

Fathomless, unmeasured ocean,
 Foe to other lands is he ;
 But obedient and submissive,
 Fawns in blandishment on thee.
 Yes, for thee he tames the madness
 Of his storms that rage so high,
 Till the waves in sunlit dimples
 Kiss thy white cliffs lovingly.
 Albion ! Nature's darling daughter !
 Gracious land ! what gifts are thine !
 How with life thy streets are teeming !
 How thy fields with harvests shine !
 How imperially thy Standard
 O'er the billows rides afar !
 How victoriously thy armies
 Wield the flaming sword of war !
 What bright crowns of Art and Science
 Circle round thy laurelled brow !
 What high songs of heavenly rapture
 Hath thy harp pour'd forth below !
 Outwardly thou art all golden,
 Inward, all with mind do'st shine ;
 Thou art prosperous, thou art wealthy,
 Luxury and power are thine ;
 And far distant lands and empires
 Raise a timid eye to thee,
 From thy potent will awaiting
 Laws to mould their destiny.
 But *for this*, that thou art envious,
 But *for this*, that thou art proud,
That thou settest worldly greatness
Higher than the laws of God ;
That with sacrilegious daring
Thou God's Church hast trampled down,
Chaining her unto the footstool
Of a fleeting earthly throne,
 There shall come, O Queen of Ocean,
 There shall come, and soon, a day,
 That thy glory, gold, and purple,
 Like a dream shall pass away.
 From thy hands shall fall the thunder,
 Heav'n shall speed thy arms no more,
 Nor shall mind, or art, or science,
 Raise thy children as before.
 Thy Imperial Flag forgotten,
 Once more terrible and free
 Shall the waves, at will disporting,
 Lift the wide and stormy sea.

God then to a land *more humble*,
 Mark'd with *Faith*, and *Signs*, and *fear*,
 Shall the empire, and earth's thunder,
 And the Word of Heav'n transfer.

III. "To Russia."

' Be proud O Land' (thus tongues have spoken)
 ' Sitting with crowned front on high !
 ' O giant land ! whose sword hath taken
 ' Half the wide world beneath the sky !

' Bounds there are none to thy dominion,
 ' And Fortune's self obedient stands
 ' Slave-like, attentive to thy pleasure,
 ' Awaiting thy august commands.

' Fair are thy steppes of verdant pasture,
 ' Thy chains of mountains topp'd with cloud,
 ' Thy sea-like lakes, thy broad deep rivers,—
 Believe not, hear not, be not proud !

Grant that the waves of thy broad rivers
 Roll mighty as the azure main ;
 Thy mountains teem with diamond treasures,
 Thy steppes wave bright with golden grain :

Grant that before thy sovereign splendour
 The nations quail with timid eye :
 Grant that seven seas in one rough chorus
 Hymn sleepless thy supremacy :

Grant that afar thy battle-thunders
 Have peal'd from war's empurpled cloud,—
 At all this power, at all this glory,
 At all this *dust*,—Oh, be not proud !

More dread than thou was Rome Imperial,
 The Monarch of the seven-crown'd hill,
 Embodiment of iron forces,
 Embodiment of haughty will :

Resistless flamed the Tartar falchion
 That swept from Altai's plains of old ;
 The Queen that rules the Western Ocean
 Buries herself in heaps of Gold.

And where is Rome ? where now the Mongols ?
 And Albion, Empress of the Main,
 She too, 'mid gathering signs of vengeance,
 Hides in her breast a deadly pain.

Fruitless is every haughty spirit,
 Gold fails, steel breaks or rusts away ;
 But strong is the bright world of Martyrs,
 And mighty are the hands that pray.

And lo, *for this*, that thou wert humble,
 Childlike, and simple to believe,
 That in thy heart's deep silent treasure,
 Thy Maker's Word thou didst receive,
 To thee He gave a heav'nly calling,
 To thee He gave a glorious meed,
 To keep this heritage for nations,
 High sacrifice, and holy deed ;
 [To keep] the bond of holy kindred,
 The cup of quickening charity,
 Warm faith's unpurchaseable treasure,
 Law without blood, and equity.
 O then remember thy high calling,
 The spark within thy breast revive ;
 Ask the deep Spirit therein abiding,
 That Spirit, by Whom alone we live,—
 Attend to Him ! and so embracing
 All nations with affection true,
 Tell them of God's mysterious freedom ;
 Pour faith's bright beams upon their view.
 So shalt thou stand in glory peerless
 Above all tribes of earth, as high
 As this blue arch, which Heav'n's protection
 Veils and reveals to mortal eye.

The first of these three translations was acknowledged by the Poet himself in a Letter dated December 10, 1844, from which the following are extracts as written by himself in English ; (though he never was in England till 1847) :—

I.

“ It is a great joy to have met with sympathy; and the more so as I have met with it in the highest of all regions, in the communion of religious sentiments and convictions. In one respect it is even more than I could have anticipated ; as the Sign of the Cross, and the belief of a communion of prayers between the living and the dead are generally rejected by the over-cautious spirit of Reformation. You are, methinks, very right in approving of them. Those who believe that the Holy Cross has been indeed the instrument of our Salvation cannot but consider it as the natural symbol of Christian love : And if they reject a most natural and holy sign for fear of idolatry, they seem to be almost as inconsistent as a man who should condemn himself to voluntary dumbness for fear of idle words. In the like manner I think it rather reasonable to believe that no bond of Christian love can be rent asunder by death in the spiritual world, whose only law is love. The Episcopal Church of England seems in the last times to have admitted this principle.

. . . “ You say, ‘ Those who desire to be *true Patriots* and *true Cosmopolites* should repeat not with their lips only but from their inmost hearts these words ‘ *For the Union of all,*’ whenever they occur in the Services of the Church.’

“ Indeed, Sir, I think that many are the cultivated Russians who repeat that part of the Liturgy not only with their lips and breath, but from their heart and soul. I, for my part, having been educated in a very

religious family, and particularly by a pious mother still living, have been taught to join sincerely in that beautiful Prayer of the Church. When very young, almost a child, my imagination was often delighted by a hope of seeing all the Christian world united under one banner of truth. Later, that hope became less vivid, as the obstacles grew more and more visible. At last, I must confess it, what *was* once a hope has dwindled into a desire relieved from despair by nothing but a faint glimmering of a possible success after many and many ages. The South of Europe in its dark ignorance is out of the question for a long while. Germany has in reality no religion at all but the idolatry of Science. France has no serious longings for truth, and little sincerity. England, with its modest science and its serious love of religious truth, *might* give some hopes; but (permit the frank expression of my thoughts) England *is held by the iron chain of traditionary custom*.

"You add, that 'most serious people in England think only of *union with Rome*.' This conclusion seems to me very natural. *Union* cannot be understood by any of the Orthodox otherwise than as the consequence of a complete harmony, or of *a perfect unity of Doctrine*; (I do not speak of Rites except in cases where they are symbols of a Dogma.) The Church has in itself nothing of a State, and can admit nothing like a conditional *union*. It is quite a different case with the Church of Rome. *It is a State. It admits easily the possibility of an alliance*, even with a deep discordance of doctrine. Great is the difference between the logical slavery of Ultra-montanism and the illogical half-liberty of Gallicanism; and yet they both stand under one banner, and one head. The union of Nicene Symbol and Roman obedience in the Uniat Church of Poland was a thing most absurd; and yet that Church was admitted by Rome very naturally, because the Church of Rome *is a State*, and has a right to act as a State. The *Union* with Rome seems to me the more natural for England, as England in truth *has never rejected the authority of the Roman See*. Why should those who admit the validity of the Pope's Decree in the most vital point of Faith, in the Creed, reject it in secondary matters, or in Discipline?

"*Union* is possible with Rome; *Unity* alone is possible with Orthodoxy. It is now more than a thousand years since Spanish Bishops decreed the principle of the Inquisition (in the time of the Goths), and an addition to the Creed. It is almost as much, since the Pope confirmed that addition by his word of authority. Since that time the Western Communities have nurtured a deep enmity, and an incurable disdain, for the unchanging East. These feelings are become traditionary, and as it were natural, to the *Roman-German* world; and England has all the time partaken of that spiritual life. Can it tear itself away from the past? There stands, in my opinion, the great and invincible obstacle to unity. There is the reason, why so many individual attempts have met with no sympathy, and no success at all; and why communications on points of theological science have not even been brought forward to the knowledge of the public. It is an easy matter to say, 'We have ever been 'Catholics,' but the Church being sullied by abuses, we have 'protested' against them, and have gone too far in our 'Protest:' now we retrace our steps:' This is easy. But to say, 'We have been schismatical for ages and ages, even since the dawn of our intellectual life,' is next to impossible. It would require in a man an almost super-human courage to say it, and in a nation an almost incredible humility to adopt that declaration.

"These, Sir, are the reasons why in Russia the most ardent wishes for universal unity are so little mixed with hope; and why hope (where it exists) turns itself rather to the Eastern Communities of the Nestorians, Eutychians, and so forth. *They* are certainly farther from Orthodoxy than the Churches of the West; but they are not withheld from a return by feelings of proud disdain." . . .

To this Letter an answer was sent, which was a return in kind for the first Collection of *Short Poems*, being a thin printed pamphlet under the title of "*Short Poems and Hymns, the latter being mostly Translations,*" with a *Dedication* to the Russian Poet, Mr Kh., himself, and such others of the Author's acquaintance in Russia as were conversant with the English language, and a *Letter Dedicatory* dated June 4, 1845. The next following Extract is part of the Russian Poet's Answer to this *printed* Letter :

II.

"The [printed] reflections you have been pleased to address to me on Ecclesiastical matters call for a reply. They have not been inspired by a cold spirit of scholastic dispute, but by a warm and Christian desire of universal unity: and deficient as I think myself in many points of theological knowledge, I feel that I have no right to evade the duty of answering the questions you have proposed, and the opinions you have stated about the Church and Doctrine.

"Both your letters contain some friendly reproaches directed to me personally, and some which seem addressed to all our Eastern Communities. There is in them much of truth, which I will not attempt to extenuate; but I will take the liberty to say a few words of justification; as I think you are not quite right in the point of view which you have chosen.

"In the first place, I readily admit that the hopelessness, with which I consider the obstacles that oppose the return of the Western Communities to Orthodoxy, may prove, and proves indeed, but little of Faith, and a faintness in my desires for that return. Warmer feelings and a more Christian disposition would probably have shown me things in a different light; or at least would have turned my eyes from the calculations of worldly probabilities to the thoughts of Divine Providence and its inscrutable ways. This fact being once admitted, I may be allowed to say, that I think myself right in the statement of things as they stand at present, (the future being in the hands of a merciful God), and in the opinion, that the *greatest* obstacles to unity are *not* in the *visible and formal difference of doctrine* (as theologians are apt to suppose), but in the *spirit* which pervades the Western Communities; in their customs, prejudices, and passions; but more than all, in a feeling of pride, which hinders a confession of past errors, and a feeling of disdain, which would not admit that Divine Truth has been preserved and guarded for many ages by the long-despised and blackened East. My words have not been perhaps quite useless, if they have turned your attention to the latent feelings which widen the chasm between the Eastern and Western Communities.

"The reproach which you seem to address to all Orthodox Communities, and particularly to Russia, for want of Christian zeal and energy, and for evident indifference about the diffusion of true doctrine, is a bitter one; and yet I will not deny its justice. Perhaps we could find some excuses in the long sufferings of our country and of Greece, in the Mahometan yoke, in political excuses, and in the spiritual battle which is

unceasingly to be fought within the precincts of our own country against errors, schisms, and the continual attacks of modern Scepticism : but all such excuses are insufficient. More than half of the world is still in complete darkness : our nearest neighbours in the East live still in utter ignorance of the Word and Doctrine of Christ : and that could not have happened, if we had inherited the burning zeal of the Apostles. We have nothing to say as respects these people : we stand convicted : and should be quite unworthy of the grace and mercy which have been shown to us, if we did not confess how worthless indeed we are. Humility is a duty not only for individuals, but also for nations and communities. In Christians it is not even a virtue : it is simply obedience to the voice of reasonable conviction. We can only request and expect that the Faith which we hold may not be judged by *our actions*. The justice of your reproach being confessed in its full extent, I think I may add, that it cannot at least be inferred from our seeming indifference for the reconciliation or conversion of our Western brethren. Apostles brought to the world new tidings of joy and truth : our Missionaries might do the same in the Pagan or Mahometan East ; but what *can* we do in the *West* ? What new tidings have we to bring ? What new sources of information can we open to Europe, and particularly to England ? Is not the Holy Scripture as well, and (to our shame be it said) better known to the majority of your nation, than to ours ? Are not your Clergy, and even a part of your laity, as conversant with the Fathers and Ecclesiastical History, as our most learned Divines ? Is not Oxford a centre of science which we cannot rival ? What can a Missionary bring to you except unavailing eloquence, and perhaps some individual errors, from which no man is sure to be free, though the Church is ? There was a time, when the Christian Society preached by example even more than by word. The individual example of a Missionary would prove nothing at all : and as for national example, what shall we say ? Our only request should be that your eyes may be turned away from us : for our good qualities are hidden, and our vices are audaciously brought to show, particularly in the Capital, and in that part of society which is foremost to meet the observation of a foreigner. The Rites and Ordinances of our Church are despised and trampled under foot by those who should set the example of obedience. The only way left for us (though it may subject us to seemingly just accusations) is perhaps *to wait with anxious expectation for the result of the struggle which is going on everywhere, (and in Britain, certainly with more earnestness than any where else)*, and to express our sympathy by prayers to God that He may give victory to the better part of human nature.

“Now, to return to your reflections on matters of Ecclesiastical Doctrine : I am well aware that Luther himself was inclined to re-admit the Sign of the Cross and the Communion of Prayer between the Living and Dead, (which he had attacked many times) ; and that the Anglican Church has never *formally* rejected them : but a practical rejection seemed to me to prove that Anglicans had gone farther in the way of Protestantism than in earlier ages ; and I could not but rejoice in seeing any signs of return to good and Christian doctrines. Yet allow me here a remark which, though directed to a single point, seems to me extremely important, as it leads to conclusions about the whole spirit of the Western Churches :

“You say that ‘even those Anglican Bishops who are least inclined to

favour the spiritual movement called 'Puseyism,' do not fail nevertheless to acknowledge that their Church has never in any way condemned *Apostrophes* and *Poetical Addresses* to Saints and Angels; but that the real objection of intelligent and well-disposed Anglicans is against *prayers in prose seriously addressed to spirits and souls not present in the body as a service of homage and devotion.*' I think the word '*service*,' though certainly often used in the acceptation you give to it, throws some confusion on the question. The song of triumph which meets the victorious warrior on his return to his native land has never been called a '*service*,' though it is assuredly a joyful 'homage,' and an expression of gratitude and 'devotion.' In like manner, the homage paid by Christians to the noble warriors who have fought the spiritual battles of the Lord through age after age, and have held upright the traditions of the Church, should not perhaps be called a '*service*,' but an expression of joy and humble love. We cannot properly be said to '*serve*' our brother-'*servants*,' though their station be infinitely exalted above our own. The objection of the Anglicans and of other Protestants *has truth in it if directed against the word*, none if against the thing itself. No enlightened member of the Church Orthodox *could even understand it*, unless he was acquainted with the Roman definitions and theories, which have in fact given birth to almost all the errors of Protestantism. But another objection remains: We address to created spirits not only the homage of our praises, but *very earnest requests* (for this expression would be perhaps more correct than that of '*prayers*') asking for their intercession and prayers before the Majesty of our Saviour. 'Where is the use of such requests? Where is our right for them? Do we want any other advocate but Christ our Lord? There can be no serious meaning in our addresses to created beings; and we may as well reject all such useless and idle forms.' There is the question. I will answer it with another. Was the Apostle *serious* when he asked for the prayers of the Church? Are the Protestants serious, when they request their brethren (as they often do) to pray for them? Where is the logic of the distinction? A doubt about the possibility or reality of a communication between the living and the dead *through Christ*, and *in Christ*, is too unchristian to need an answer. To ascribe to the prayers of living Christians a power of intercession which is refused to Christians admitted into heavenly glory would be a glaring absurdity. If Protestantism were true to logic, as it pretends to be, I may boldly affirm that not only Anglicans, but all Protestant sects, even the worst, would *either admit serious and earnest addresses* to Saints and Angels, *or reject the mutual prayer of Christians on earth.* Why then are they rejected, nay, often condemned? Simply because Protestantism is for ever and ever protesting: because the semi-Pelagianism of Popery, and its Doctrine about the Merits, and, as it were, the self-worthiness of the Saints, is ever present to Protestant minds: because Protestantism is not, nor can ever be, *free*: in short, because, with its increasing cry of 'No Popery,' it stands on Popish grounds, and lives on Popish definitions, and is as much a slave to the doctrine of utilitarianism (which is the ground-work of Popery) as the most fanatical Ultra-montanism. Now *we are free*; and though well aware that we want no intercessor but Christ, we give vent to our feelings of love and to our earnest longings for mutual prayer and spiritual Communion not only with the living but with the dead, who have not been saved by their

own worthiness (for none even of the best was worthy save Christ alone), but by the Grace and mercy of the Lord, which we hope will be extended to us likewise.

“ I readily concur with you in the opinion, that if Anglicans would only practically re-admit and appreciate the beautiful *poetry* of Hymns addressed to the Saints and Angels, there would be no fear of any great difficulty remaining afterwards on this point in the way of peace; nor would I have spoken on the matter, if I had not considered it as an example and a proof of the constant subjection of all the Western Communities to the doctrines and spirit of Romanism. This subjection is as evident in the negations as in the affirmations of Protestants; and the illustrations of it which I find in the rejection of Prayers addressed to the Church Invisible might be further corroborated by many other examples, such as the disputes about *Faith and Works*, about *Transubstantiation*, about the *Number of the Sacraments*, or the *Authority of Holy Scripture and Tradition*; and, in short, by every question about ecclesiastical matters, and every Protestant decision respecting them. But it is certainly *most* evident in that all-decisive point which you agree with me in considering as the greatest obstacle not only to unity between Orthodoxy and Anglican Communities, but ‘even to the thought of union.’

“ I will not enter into the question itself, nor attempt to defend the Nicene Creed in its original form: I will not say that the Western Creed has no Authorities for it excepting falsified passages of the Fathers, or passages from them which prove nothing, as regarding only the Mission *ad extrâ*, or even passages which, rightly understood, would prove the contrary of the Roman doctrine. Such is that passage of St Augustine (if my memory fails me not) where he says, ‘*principaliter autem a Patre*; (that is, *quoad principium*);’ which, if rightly translated, means ‘the Spirit comes (*i. e.*, *ad extrâ*) from the Father and the Son, but originates from the Father.’ I will not recall the decisive approval given by an Œcumenical Synod to the Anathema of Theodoret against the doctrine of the Procession from the Father and the Son. (The absurd explanation given by Jager in his *Life of Photius*, and by other Roman writers, who pretend that the Anathema was directed against Monophysite tendencies, looks like any thing rather than the fair and Christian discussion of a theological question. All this I leave on one side. . . . I could add nothing to your knowledge, and to the strong attacks of the illustrious Zœrnikaff and Theophanes. I will only add an observation of my own. The Protestant world has been torn asunder by all sorts of errors. It has given birth to most strange sects, which differ most widely one from another on almost every point of doctrine. Now this point [of the Creed] every candid Protestant will admit to be at least a doubtful one, (though in my opinion there is not even room for a doubt.) How does it happen, I pray you, that *not one* of all these numerous sects has ever restored the Nicene Creed? How happens it, that some of them (feeling, evidently, doubts) *have preferred excluding the whole passage about the Procession altogether* to the necessity of using the Orthodox form, though it is literally transcribed from the words of our Saviour? Does not that circumstance go far to prove an undoubted, though unconfessed, *subjection to Roman precedents*, and a deep-rooted feeling of repulsion against any thing that could seem to confirm the truths of Orthodoxy? I hope you will not accuse me in this respect of judging unfairly our ecclesiastical adversaries.

“ This matter is most important in two respects, as it is not only a question of doctrine, but also a question of *morality*. Setting aside the first, I will consider only the second. In the seventh century the Catholic Church was One, in full unity of doctrine, in full Communion of love and prayer, from the depths of Syria and Egypt to the distant shores of Britain and Ireland. About the middle of that century (perhaps even at the end of the preceding one) a change was introduced in the Symbol by the Spanish Clergy. In the first Letter I had the honour to address to you I had added, that this change was made at the same time when the Inquisition was first introduced in its worst forms, and by the same Provincial Synods, with the intention to recall to your memory that the first step towards schism was taken by the worst, most corrupted, and most unchristian Clergy, sworn with the pride of exorbitant political rights. The innovation was left unnoticed, as having been made in a distant country, which was soon overrun and conquered by Mahometans. Still, unnoticed as it was in the East, and even in Italy, the new doctrine crept on farther and farther through the Western Communities. About the end of the eighth, and the beginning of the ninth century, the new Creed was admitted by many of them. We have no right, on that occasion, to accuse the Roman See. The Popes felt the *unlawfulness* of the proceeding: they foresaw its dreadful consequences: they tried to stem the flood, but *could not*. Their only fault (and a great one it was) was to have shown a want of energy in their resistance. *The West felt itself of age. It could speak for itself. It had no want of any body's opinion or assent in matters of Faith.* The innovation was solemnly adopted without a General Synod being held, without the Eastern Bishops being invited to give their assent, without even so much as a notice being given to them. The bonds of love were torn: the Communion of faith (which cannot exist with different Creeds) was rejected in fact. I will not say, Was this *lawful*? The idea of *law*, and *lawfulness*, may do for casuists and disciples of the *Jus Romanorum*, but cannot do for *Christians*. But I will ask, Was this *moral*? Was it *brotherly*? Was it *Christian*? The rights of the Catholic Church were usurped by a *part* of it. An unmerited offence was given to unsuspecting brethren, who till that time had fought with the greatest perseverance, and certainly with the greatest ability, for Orthodoxy. This act was certainly a most heinous sin, and a most shocking display of *pride* and *disdain*. The bad inheritance has been accepted, and is held till now. Must it be held for ever?

“ Let worldly societies deviate from moral law: let them glory in their sins, and in the temporary advantages they have gained by them: I am not, nor ever can be, a political man: therefore I will not judge political communities; though I do indeed suspect that every bad action of the fathers is, or shall be, visited on the children by the logic of Providential history. But I know for certain that every man must answer for his sins, and be punished for them, *until he confesses and repents*. Still more assuredly do I know that *there can be no sin in the Church of God*, in the holy, elect, and perfect Vessel of His heavenly truth and grace, and that therefore *no Community which accepts the inheritance of sin* can be considered as a *real* part of it.

“ You may remark, that I have not entered into the dogmatic part of the question, and have only considered the *moral* part of it. I may add that left alone, and rejected, as it were, by our usurping brethren, we have had a

right to decide all sort of questions by ourselves, and by the authority of our own Clergy and laity. Yet we have not used that right. We are unchanged. We are still the same that we were in the eighth century, before the West had rudely spurned its Eastern brethren. Let us be brought to the test. Oh, that you could only consent to be again what you were at that time, when we were united by unity of faith, and Communion of spiritual love and prayer!

“Some words more must be said in answer to the last part of your printed Letter. You are right in giving the following rule; ‘We should be jealously fair and charitable in ascertaining that we do not misrepresent or calumniate the belief of our separated brethren, and so wilfully make a difference where there need be none, or where there is one, make the difference greater than it really is.’ I do not think that we are much inclined to fall into the said error; and from the knowledge I have of my countrymen, I should rather suppose that they *lean to the opposite extreme*: Yet, if the thing be disputed, I will readily admit that no man can be impartial either in his own cause, or in the cause of his nation or community. In the present case I confess that I do not clearly see the possibility of an error. Either the Interpolation has the meaning generally ascribed to it by the Romans, as concerning the originary Procession of the Spirit, which cannot be considered by us *in any other light than as an heretical proposition*; or it expresses only the Procession *ad extrâ*, which none of the Orthodox can or dare dispute. On the first supposition, the difference is immense: and the question must be solved by Scriptural or moral proofs; namely, by considering whether the Western Communities have any authority for them in the Holy Scriptures, or in their early Commentators, or in the decisions of Œcumenical Synods; and whether there is any probability that the Grace of the Holy Ghost may have dictated a change, *which was accompanied by such an open usurpation of rights, and such an evident and unchristian disdain shown to a considerable part of the Church*. I think that both propositions would easily be negatived. In the second case, there is indeed no difference at all: but the duty of rejecting the addition becomes still more imperious. Who can continue to use equivocal expressions, when their double meaning has had, and has even now, such dreadful consequences? Who can hold up the standard of antient usurpation, condemning at the same time in his heart the usurpation itself? The line of moral duty seems in this case to be *quite evident*.

“My real opinion of the Anglican Church is in many respects very near to your own. *I believe seriously that it contains many Orthodox tendencies, perhaps not quite developed, but growing to maturity; that it contains many elements of unity with Orthodoxy obscured perhaps by nothing but by unhappy habits of ROMAN scholasticism; and that the time is at hand when a better understanding will be followed by real union between long-separated brethren.* ‘The equivocal, and at least seemingly heretical language should only be explained in an orthodox sense, and the language and spirit of heresy should be formally rejected and disused for the future.’ These are your own expressions. In the first place, the power usurped in the change of the Creed should be frankly condemned, as an offence against charity and love. But *there* stands the great moral obstacle. For such a condemnation would seem to be, and indeed would be, a confession, and an act of penitence: and sweet as penitence is in its consequences, it is at first *bitter* and repulsive, owing to

the gall of pride, from which no man is free (And yet, what good can be done without moral renovation ?), though from it every good consequence is sure to flow, as it brings with itself the perfect Grace of the Father of Lights. But it is indeed no easy thing. And *there* is the reason why, with so many apparent causes for Hope, my hopes are so faint and null. I know I am not right in giving way to my fears ; and yet I should be still more wrong if, entertaining such thoughts, I were not to express them frankly. Certainly my greatest joy would be to be convicted of error and pusillanimity by the event.

“ Having gone thus far, I will take the liberty to observe, that in my opinion many even of the best disposed amongst English Divines are apt to fall into a strange and dangerous delusion. This delusion is to suppose that *not only every particular Church can run into partial errors without ceasing to belong to Catholicity, but that the whole of the Catholic Church can likewise be obscured by temporary errors*, either the same in every part of it, or different in the different communities, *so that truth is to be distilled out of the corrupt mass by the rule of ‘ quod semper, quod omnes, quod ubique.’* I have lately had the pleasure of reading a book, which you are probably acquainted with, that of a Mr D. about German Rationalism. I consider it to be a specimen of very fair and sound logic, free from passions and prejudices. The sharp intelligence of the author has not only perfectly found out the reasons of the inevitable development of Rationalism in Protestant Germany, but has found its traces in Roman-Catholicism, notwithstanding its continued pretensions to the contrary. This is certainly a great truth, which might be corroborated by many other and even stronger words. But, strange to say, Mr D. *excepts the Anglican Church* from the general accusation, as if a Church *which confesses herself Reformed* did not stand *self-convicted of Rationalism*. Indeed, if the totality of the Church could ever have fallen into errors of Doctrine, individual criticism would have become not only a right, but an unavoidable necessity ; and that is nothing but Rationalism, though it may hide itself behind the well-sounding words of ‘ *Testimony of the Fathers,*’ whose writings are nothing but heaps of written pages ; or ‘ *Authority of the Catholic Church,*’ which has no meaning at all, if it could not escape error ; or ‘ *Tradition,*’ which once interrupted ceases to exist ; or even ‘ *Inspiration from Heaven,*’ which every man can pretend to be favoured with, though no one should believe his pretensions. The continual presence of the Holy Ghost is a promise given to us by Him Who is the truth itself ; and if this promise is believed, the light of pure doctrine must burn and shine brightly through all ages, seeking our eyes even when unsought for. If it is once bedimmed, it is obscured for ever ; and the Church must become a *mere word* without a meaning in it, or must be considered (as many German Protestants indeed do consider it) as a Society of good men differing in their opinions but earnestly seeking for truth with a total certainty that it has not yet been found, and with no hope at all ever to find it. These consequences are unavoidable, though some of your worthiest Divines do not seem to admit them. And this is a dangerous self-delusion.

“ If you find some expressions of this letter rather harsh, I beg of you not to judge them too severely. It is perhaps in my turn of mind to see obstacles more easily than the means by which they may be avoided ; and I hope I have been actuated by no desire of giving offence, but by an earnest wish that every difficulty may be rightly understood, that it may

the better be solved by the help of Him, Whose blessing is sure to illuminate hearts that are honestly and humbly longing for truth and moral perfection. Such hearts are certainly no rarity in your country." . . .

[From another Letter addressed at the same time to a friend of the Writer.

. . . "We [in Russia] have had our 'Revolution : ' we have fallen under a foreign and fatal influence (from the time of Peter). Now, the period of that influence is drawing to an end. Our mental fetters are breaking : our mental freedom is coming on rapidly : but the battle is *not yet finished*. Every one of us feels in himself either an inward struggle, or at least the traces of it." . . .

. . . "My forebodings, expressed now for more than fifteen years, seem true, in so far as the work of Protestantism is drawing to a conclusion. The Protestant communities are rapidly *thawing at both ends*, towards Romanism on one side, towards experimental analysis (or Infidelity) on the other ; towards *the Pope* and *Spinoza*. In that respect it would seem that this great historical event will have passed away without any serious traces. In itself (as 'a Church') Protestantism finds its condemnation, for it ceases to exist. In its influence on Rome it appears evidently null : for the principles of Rome stand unchanged, though linked with a greater tolerance ; which is at best (in the higher regions of Science and Faith) nothing but doubt and indifference. Yet the result of Protestantism will evidently be immense ; but only in a political sense. It will have given the right of civil liberty to Infidelity ; and will have severed the *State* from the *Church*, which is right in the contemporary ideas about the State : (I do not say they are the right ones). In another respect it will not be quite useless, in a negative sense. It will leave Romanism torn, and patched up, and self-convicted of inward weakness and rationalism. But will that be all ? I had expected another result. Nor have I quite given over my hopes.

"Is our century too far spoiled by the Sybaritism of material comfort to be capable of a moral renovation ? I do not think it worse than any of the preceding ones. But it is, and will always be, a difficult thing for man to break off his *habits* and *traditions*, and to undertake the task of *penitence*. Half-measures, half-concessions, are much more easy than total *renovation*. That was the reason why a conditional return to Rome was more to be expected in the majority at least of English and of other Protestants, than a decided step towards the restoration of that antient unity which existed between the East and West in the earlier centuries. Such was the thought I expressed in my first letter to Mr N. ; and events now seem ready to justify my suppositions. The history of our times will, in all probability, shew that the difference in the Creed is more important, (though so seldom remarked, or spoken of, and generally so very lightly treated) than all the other differences in Rites, Ceremonies, and Doctrines between Protestant and Roman Communities, which have been so much spoken or written about. The line of moral duty, as well as of dogmatical faith, seems to me quite evident ; but passions (individual, national, or hereditary) have a greater sway than is generally supposed." . . .]

The *printed Letter*, and Collection of "*Short Poems and Hymns*," acknowledged and replied to in the foregoing Letter to the writer, were made the subject of a very friendly Notice in a Moscow Periodical, and also in a Monthly Journal published by the Office of the Minister for Public Instruction ; in these Notices the two stays of the writer in Russia and

their connection with Ecclesiastical objects were spoken of as matters of which "nobody in Russia was ignorant." The next letter from Mr Kh., which here follows, was received in the spring of 1847 :—

III.

"Accept my heartiest thanks for your friendly letter, and my excuses for having been rather slow in answering it. I cannot but call it a friendly letter, though it contains some very severe attacks on us; but a truly friendly disposition lies, in my opinion, at the bottom of them, and is manifested by the honest frankness of their expression. I think your attacks generally wrong, but they are sincere, and show a serious desire to find out truth, and to come to a satisfactory conclusion in the debated question. Every doubt, every difficulty, and every accusation, let it be ever so hard for the accused party, should be candidly and clearly stated. This is the only way for establishing the difference between right and wrong. Truth must never be evaded. It should not even be veiled in truly serious questions.

"Permit me to recapitulate briefly your accusations. First, 'If we pretend' [as indeed we do] 'to be the only Orthodox or Catholic Church, we should be more zealous for the conversion of erring communities, as the spirit of Apostleship, which is the true spirit of love, can never be extinct in the Church: and yet we are manifestly deficient in that respect.' Secondly, 'Our pretensions are evidently contradicted by the admission (proposed by some of our most important Divines) of a Communion with the Latin Church on very easy conditions.' Thirdly, 'Slight errors (proved by a variation in some rites) have been admitted by our own Church; and therefore we cannot logically uphold the principle that the true Church can never have fallen into a dogmatical error (be it ever so slight), or have undergone any change (be it ever so unimportant).'

"I had fairly admitted our deficiency in Christian zeal; though, at the same time, I had exculpated our Church from that accusation with respect to the Western Communities. You explain that same faintness by a latent conviction of our Church, which, you suppose, feels herself to be no more than a part of the whole Church, notwithstanding her pretensions to the contrary. This explanation seems to me quite arbitrary, and has no right to admission, till it be proved that no other explains the case quite sufficiently. But the question stands differently. The distinction I had made between our relations to the heathens and our relations to Europe you consider rather as an evasive than as a direct answer: yet I think it is easily maintained by a very high Authority. I had said, 'What new tidings can we bring to the Christian West? What new source of information to countries more enlightened than we are? What new and unknown doctrine to men, to whom the true doctrine is known, though disregarded?' These expressions imply no *fear* of a contention, which indeed, would shew weakness and doubt; no distrust of the strength of our arguments and authorities; perhaps, even no great want of zeal and love. They imply, simply, a deep conviction that the reluctance of the West to admit the simple truth of the Church arises neither from ignorance nor from rational objections, but from a *moral obstacle*, which no human efforts can conquer, if it is not conquered by the better feelings of the better part of human nature in those who can know the truth, but do not choose to confess it. Such a disposition can exist, though it may be a question, whether it exists in the case I am

speaking of ? Did not the Father of Light, and Source of Love, say in the Parable by the lips of Abraham, 'Have they not Moses and the Prophets ? If they do not listen to them, they will not listen to Lazarus, even if he were to rise from the dead.' Do not, I pray, consider this quotation as being made with an intention of offence. I would not make injurious accusations : and having once confessed a want of zeal in our country and people, I would confess it again : but my conviction is, that indeed in the present case the words of Christ may fairly be applied ; and that you are separated from us by a moral obstacle, which I have tried in my former Letter to trace to its historical beginning.

" But does not this faintness of zeal, which I admit (with regard to the heathen nations) imply a defect in the Eastern Church herself, and prove her to be no more than a part, perhaps even not so much as a part, of the whole true Church ? This I cannot admit. It may be considered as a defect in the nations to whom the destiny of the Church is temporarily confided (be they Russians or Greeks), but can nowise be considered as a stain to the Church itself. The ways of God are inscrutable. A few hundreds of disciples in the space of about two centuries brought to the Flock of Christ more millions of individuals, than they were hundreds at the beginning. If that burning zeal had continued to warm the hearts of the Christians, in how short a space of time must not all the human race have heard and believed the saving Word ? Sixteen centuries have elapsed since that epoch ; and we are obliged to confess, with an unwilling humility, that the greater, and by far the greater majority of mankind are still in the slavery of darkness and ignorance. Where is then the zeal of the Apostle ? Where is the Church ? That would prove too much, if it proved any thing at all. Many centuries, particularly in the middle ages and at the beginning of modern history, have hardly seen some few examples of solitary conversions ; and not one national ; and not one remarkable effort at Proselytism. This would again inculcate the whole Church. The spirit of Missions is now gloriously awakened in England ; and I hope that that merit will not be forgotten by the Almighty in the days of trial and danger which England has perhaps to meet : but this noble tendency is a new one ; or at least has become apparent only very lately. Is it a sign that the Church of England is now nearer to truth than it was before ? Is it a proof of greater energy or purity ? No one can admit it to be so. Or let us take the Nestorian community, which you hold out as a parallel to us. I do not consider the parallel as a ' caricature ;' though you have added that word, probably with an intention to avoid offence. The Nestorians are generally ignorant : but ignorance (in point of arts and sciences) was our own lot not more than a century ago. The Nestorians are, generally speaking, poor : but that is no great blemish for any man, and particularly for a Christian. They are few : but the truth of doctrine is not to be measured by the number of its votaries. The Nestorians have been richer, and more learned, and more numerous, than they are at present. They have had the spirit of Proselytism. Their Missionaries have extended their activity over all the East, as far as the inner India, and the centre of China ; and that preaching was not ineffectual. Millions and millions had embraced Nestorianism. (Marco Polo's testimony is not the only one to prove their success). Was Nestorianism nearer to truth in the time of its triumph, than in our time ? Mahometanism and Buddhism would give us the same

conclusion. Truth and error have had equally their time of ardent zeal, or comparative coldness; and the characters of nations may certainly produce the same effect as the characters of epochs. Therefore I see no reason for accusing the Orthodox Church, in herself, of a defect or weakness, which may, and in my opinion evidently does, belong to the nations that compose her communities.

“ Having thus distinguished the notes of the Church herself from the national qualities or defects of the Eastern Community, which alone represents it temporarily, permit me to add, that the comparison which you institute between the zeal of the Romanists and the seeming indifference of the Eastern world is not quite fair. I do not deny the fact itself; nor do I express any doubt concerning the apparent superiority of the Latins in that respect: but I cannot admit their spirit of Proselytism to be any thing like a Christian feeling. I think it should be left quite out of the question, as being the necessary result of a particular national or ecclesiastical organization, and nearly akin to the proselytizing spirit of Mahometanism in the days of its pride. I will not condemn the zeal of the Romanists. It is in some respects too praiseworthy to be ill or lightly spoken of. I can neither praise, nor envy it. It is in many respects too unchristian to be admired, as having produced, and being always ready to produce, more persecutors than Martyrs. It is in short a mixed feeling, not dishonourable for the nations which belong to Romanism, but quite unworthy of the Church, and not to be mentioned in questions of Ecclesiastical truth. I am, I trust, far from any disposition to boast: and yet I cannot but call your attention to a strange and generally unnoticed fact, namely, that notwithstanding the apparent ardour of Romanism, and the seeming coldness of Orthodoxy at the present time, yet, since the time of the Papal schism, (which certainly begins not with the quarrels of Photius and Nicholas, but with the interpolation of the Symbol, when the West declared itself *de facto* sole judge of Christian Doctrine,) it has been the destiny of Orthodoxy to be happier in its conquests, than its rival Community. No one will doubt the fact, if he considers the numerical superiority of Russian Orthodox Christians over the inhabitants of Scandinavia, and about a third part of Germany, which have been called to the knowledge of Christ by the Latins since the time of Charles the Great. To this comparison you must add, that even of that lesser number more, far more, than a half have not been converted, but driven into the Latin Community by cudgel, sword, and fire. I repeat, that I am rather ashamed of our having done so little, than proud of our success: but in the unsearchable ways of Providence it is perhaps a particular dispensation of the eternal goodness, to show that the treasury of truth must and shall thrive, though confided to seemingly careless hands. No Anscar, no Wilfrid, nor Willebrod, nor Columban, came to instruct Russia. We met truth more than half-way, impelled by the latent grace of God. In after times we have had our Martyrs: we have had, and have still, our Missionaries, whose labour has not been quite fruitless. I admit they are few in number: but is not the voice of truth which calls upon you the voice of the whole Church? You have as yet seen no Russian or Greek Missionary: but did Cornelius reject the Angel's voice, and declare that he would not believe till the Apostle came? He believed; and the Apostle came only as a material instrument of Christian confirmation. And shall the Message of God, the emanation of the whole Church, the

voice of truth, be the less powerful, or the less acceptable, because no single individual has been found worthy of bearing it to you? The Church may have, and has undoubtedly, many different forms of Preaching.

"The second point of accusation concerning the easy conditions on which Communion was proposed to the Latin Community may equally be answered without difficulty. First, I readily admit that Mark of Ephesus went too far in his concessions: but in a fair trial of that great man and eminent Divine we should, I think, rather admire his undaunted firmness, than condemn his moments of human weakness. His was a terrible task. He felt, and could not but feel, that in rejecting the alliance of the mighty West he was literally condemning his country to death. This was more than martyrdom for a noble spirit; and yet he stood the trial. Are we not to be indulgent in our judgment over an unwilling error inspired by the wish of saving his country? and are we not to bless the memory of his glorious opposition? Other Divines of a later period may have consented to a Communion with the Latins requiring nothing but a restitution of the Symbol to its antient form, and other less material changes in doctrine. These you consider as too easy conditions. 'Would Athanasius,' you ask, 'have admitted Arius to Communion, and allowed him the liberty of teaching Arianism every where, excepting in the Symbol?' Very certainly he would not. But there is an immense difference between the heresy of Arius and the false doctrine of the Latins. The first rejects the true doctrine: the second admits it, and is only guilty of adding an opinion of its own (certainly a false one) to the holy truth. That opinion in itself has not been condemned by the Church, not being directly contrary to the holy Scriptures; and therefore does not constitute a heresy. The heresy consists in calumniating the Church, and in giving out, as her tradition, a human and arbitrary opinion. Throw the interpolation out of the Symbol! . . . Tradition is vindicated: opinion is separated from Faith: the key-stone is torn out of the vault of Romanism; and the whole fabric falls to ruins, with all its proud pretensions to infallibility, as if Rome were the sole judge of Christian truth: the rebel spirit is bowed down, and broken. In short, all is obtained that is to be obtained. A deeper insight into the question would show (and that observation did not probably escape our divines) that the human opinion, which is merely added to true traditionary doctrine, and implied in the *Filioque*, has indeed no other support but the decisions of ignorant Synods and the declarations of the Roman See. Being once rejected out of the Symbol, and consequently out of Faith and Tradition, it could not stand by itself, but would be sure to fall and to be forgotten, like many other partial and local errors, *e. g.*, like the error of considering Melchisedec as an apparition (though no incarnation) of Christ. The high majesty of the Church has nothing to do with individual opinions, though false, when they do not run directly against her own Doctrine. They can, and do, constitute heresy only when they dare to give themselves out as her doctrine, her tradition, and her faith. This seems to me a sufficient justification of the conditions proposed to the Romans, and a proof that they did not imply the slightest doubt of the Eastern Orthodoxy, or of its doctrine being the only true one.

"Your third accusation is not positively stated. It is rather insinuated by a comparison with the sale of Indulgences, than directly expressed:

but I cannot leave it without an answer. Your own expressions, that ‘the re-baptizing of Christians was prevalent for many years, and even sanctioned by *local* canons,’ would be sufficient for our justification. For *local* errors are not errors of the Church, but errors into which individuals may fall by ignorance of the Ecclesiastical rule. The blame rests on the individuals (Bishops or laymen ; that signifies nothing) ; but the Church herself stands blameless and pure, reforming the local error, but never wanting a ‘reform.’ Your admission of the error having been a local one is quite sufficient for the justification of the Eastern Church. The case is quite different with the sale of Indulgences. It was an error of the whole Roman Church, being not only sanctioned by her infallible head, but emanating directly from him. But I will be content to leave that argument aside, though decisive for a true Romanist ; and will admit that the sale of Indulgences was attacked by some divines who were never considered as heretics. It matters little whether it be so or not : the error remains the same. The sale of Indulgences cannot be condemned in a Roman point of view. As soon as Salvation is considered as capable of being obtained by external means, it is evident that the Church has a right to choose these means, considering the different circumstances of the Community. Charity to the poor may be reasonably changed into charity to the whole body of the visible Church, or to her Head, the See of Rome. The form is rather comical ; but the doctrinal error does not lie in the casual form : it lies in the doctrine itself of Romanism, a doctrine which is mortal to Christian freedom, and changes the adopted sons of God into hirelings and slaves.

“ I have thought it necessary to answer the accusation hinted at by the comparison you establish between two errors of Romanism and Orthodoxy ; yet I do not much insist on accusing Rome in that particular case. The only thing I wanted was to shew that we have a right to uphold the doctrine that no error, even the slightest, can ever be detected in the whole Eastern Church ; (I neither speak of individuals, nor of local communities). And permit me to add, that without this doctrine the idea itself of a Church becomes an illogical fiction, by the evident reason that the possibility of an error being once admitted, human reason stands alone as a lawful judge over the Holy Work of God, and unbounded Rationalism undermines the foundations of Faith.

“ I must add some observations concerning the remarks that conclude your letter. i. First: I have no doubts about the passage in St Augustine (*‘principaliter autem, &c.’*) being an interpolation. The reasons given by Zœrnikaff seem conclusive : but I am inclined to consider it as an antient interpolation, and no wilful falsification ; and therefore thought it not quite useless to shew that it contained nothing which was necessarily in favour of the Latin doctrine. ii. Secondly : I am quite aware that the doctrine attacked by Theodoret was not the Latin one, which was unknown at that early period ; but the expressions of Theodoret are directly opposed to the addition in the Symbol ; and this is quite sufficient to shew that such an addition would have been utterly impossible at the time of the Ephesine Synod, and is contrary to the doctrine then admitted as orthodox. iii. Thirdly : The Inquisition of the Gothic period in Spain is not known under that name, and is not united by any visible historical link with the later one. That is the reason why no historian has ever sought for the origin of that dark Institution in those remote cen-

turies : but the bloody and iniquitous laws which were so fiercely urged against Arians and Jews at the time of the predecessors of Roderic have all the character of a religious Inquisition in its most abominable form, and originated, as the later Inquisition, from the will of the Clergy. That is the reason why I have given them a well-known name, though that name was not yet used in the Gothic epoch. It is to be remarked that neither the Mahometan conquest, nor a struggle of seven centuries, nor all the changes of manners, habits, and civilization, which must have taken place during such a long space of time, could alter the national character, or the character of the Spanish Clergy. No sooner was Spain free and triumphant, but it renewed its old institutions ; a terrible and unnoticed example of the vitality of errors and passions, and of their hereditary transmission to the remotest generations. iv. Fourthly : There is no doubt, that at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century the *Filioque* was not yet generally admitted by the Western Communities. Zœrnikaff is right in that respect ; and a decisive argument may be derived from Alcuin's testimony : but the Spanish origin of the addition is an undoubted fact ; and I see as yet no conclusive reason to suppose that the Acts of the Spanish Synods have been falsified. The addition itself may be easily explained by the struggle between Arians and Catholics at the time of the Goths, and by a desire of attributing all the qualifications of the Father to the Son, whose Divinity was denied by the Arians. This is even, I think, the only reasonable explanation of the arbitrary change in the Western Symbol. After the Arian struggle, and at the time of the Arabs, I can see no reason nor occasion to suggest such a change ; and therefore have not the least doubt that the error originated from one of the Gothic Synods, though I am not quite sure whether it was from one of the earliest. At all events, it must have happened no later than the end of the seventh century.

“ Having thus answered your remarks, and your accusations, I will take the liberty to make some observations on the whole tenour of your friendly letter. It is a friendly one, not to me alone, but to all of us children of the Orthodox Church. We could not have asked for larger concessions, nor for a greater agreement in points of Doctrine. That yours is not a solitary instance may be inferred *not only from the quotations in the most valuable book about the Russian Catechism, but still more from the Letters and Professions of the Reverend Bishop of the Scottish Church at Paris.* Believe me, this assurance is a source of great and heartfelt joy for all who feel an interest in truth and unity. And yet, sad to say, what have we gained ? Nothing. We have been tried in our Doctrine, and found blameless : but now we are again tried in our morals (for zeal and love, which are the impelling motives of the Apostle, are nothing but a part of Christian morality), and we are found defective ; as indeed we are ; and our Doctrine is to be condemned for our vices. This conclusion is not fair. You would not admit it, if a Mahometan were to bring it as an objection against Christianity itself ; and yet you urge it against Orthodoxy.

“ Permit me to search into the latent causes of this fact ; and excuse me if you find something harsh or seemingly offensive in my words. A very weak conviction in points of doctrine can bring over a Romanist to Protestantism, or a Protestant to Romanism. A Frenchman, a German, an Englishman will go over to Presbyterianism, to Lutheranism, to the Independents, to the Cameronians, and indeed to almost every form of

creed or error. He will *not* go over to Orthodoxy. As long as he does not step out of the circle of doctrines which have taken their origin in the Western world, he feels himself at home, notwithstanding his apparent change. He does not feel that dread of apostacy, which renders sometimes the passage from error to truth as difficult as from truth to error. He will be condemned by his former brethren, who will call his action a rash one, perhaps even a bad one; but it will not be an utter madness, depriving him, as it were, of his rights of citizenship in the civilized world of the West. And that is natural. All the Western Doctrine is born out of Romanism. It feels (though unconsciously) its solidarity with the past. It feels its dependence from one science, from one Creed, from one line of life: and that Creed, that science, that life, was the Latin one. This is what I hinted at, and you understood very rightly; namely, that all Protestants are *crypto-Papists*: and indeed it would be a very easy task to show in Theology (as well as in Philosophy) that all their definitions of all the objects of belief or understanding are merely taken out of the old Latin system, though often negatived in application. In short, if it were to be expressed in the concise language of Algebra, all the West knows but one datum a , let it be preceded by the positive sign $+$, as with the Romanists, or with the negative $-$, as with the Protestants. The a remains still the same. Now a passage to Orthodoxy seems indeed like an Apostacy from the past; from its science, creed, and life. It is rushing into a foreign and unknown world. A bold step to take, or even to advise.

"This is, Reverend Sir, the moral obstacle I have been speaking about: this the pride and disdain, which I attribute to all the Western Communities. As you see, it is no individual feeling voluntarily bred or consciously held in the heart: it is no vice of the mind: but an involuntary submission to the tendencies and direction of the past. When the unity of the Church was unlovingly and lawlessly rent by the Western Clergy, (the more lawlessly, as at the same time the East was continuing its former friendly intercourse, and submitting to the opinion of the Western Synods the Canons of the Second of Nice), each half of Christianity began a life apart, becoming from day to day more estranged to the other. There was an evident self-complacent triumph on the side of the Latins: there was sorrow on the side of the East, which had seen the dear ties of Christian brotherhood torn asunder; which had been spurned and rejected, and felt itself innocent. All these feelings have been transmitted by hereditary succession to our time; and more or less, either willingly or unwillingly, we are still under their power. Our time has awakened better feelings, in England perhaps more than any where else. You are seeking for the past brotherhood, for the past sympathy and Communion. It would be a shame for us not to answer your proffered friendship. It would be a crime not to cultivate in our hearts an intense desire to renovate the unity of the Church: but let us consider the question coolly, even when our sympathies are most awakened.

"The Church cannot be a harmony of discords: it cannot be a numerical sum of Orthodox, Latins, and Protestants: it is nothing, if it is not perfect inward harmony of Creed, and outward harmony of expression, (notwithstanding local differences in rite). The question is not, Whether Latins and Protestants have erred so fatally, as to deprive individuals of salvation, which seems to be often the subject of debate; (surely a narrow and unworthy one, as it throws a suspicion on the mercy of the Almighty:)

The question is, Whether they have The Truth? and whether they have retained the Ecclesiastical Tradition unimpaired? If they have not, where is the possibility of unity?

"Now, permit me some observations not only on your Letters, but on your Book, (which I have received with the greatest gratitude, and perused with an unmixed pleasure); and on all the mode of action of those Anglicans who seem, and are indeed, nearest to us. You would show that all our Doctrine is yours; and at first sight you seem quite right. Many Bishops and Divines of your Communion are, and have been, quite orthodox. But what of that? Their opinion is *only an individual opinion*. It is *not the Faith of the Community*. The Calvinist Usher is an Anglican, no less than those Bishops whom you quote, and who hold quite Orthodox language. We may, and do, sympathize *with the individuals*; we cannot and dare not sympathize with a Church, which interpolates the Symbol and doubts her right to that interpolation; or which gives Communion to those who declare the bread and wine of the High Sacrifice to be mere bread and wine *as well as to* those who declare it to be the Body and Blood of Christ. This for an example. I could find hundreds more. But I go further. Suppose an impossibility: suppose all the Anglicans quite Orthodox: suppose their Creed and Faith quite concordant with ours. The mode and process by which that Creed is, or has been, obtained is a Protestant one; a simple logical act of the understanding, by which the traditions and writings of the Fathers have been distilled to something very near truth. If we admit this, all is lost; and Rationalism is the supreme judge of every question. Protestantism, Reverend Sir, is the admission of an unknown quantity to be sought by reason: and that unknown quantity changes the whole equation to an unknown quantity, let every other datum be as clear and as positive as possible. Do not, I pray, nourish the hope of finding Christian truth without stepping out of the former Protestant circle. It is an illogical hope: it is a remnant of that pride, which thought itself able, and wished, to judge and decide by itself, without the spiritual Communion of heavenly grace and Christian love. Were you to find all the truth, you would have found nothing: for we alone can give you that without which all would be vain,—the *assurance* of truth.

"Do not doubt the energies of Orthodoxy. Young as I am, I have seen the day when it was publicly either scoffed at, or at least treated with manifest contempt, by too many in our own society; when they who had been bred in religious families, and had never been ashamed of adhering strictly to the discipline of the Church, were supposed to be hypocrites; for nobody admitted the possibility of civilization and Orthodoxy being united. I have seen the strength of the Eastern Church rise, notwithstanding temporary oppression which seemed to be fatal, or temporary protection which seemed to be debasing. And now it rises, and grows stronger and stronger. Romanism, though seemingly active, has received the deadly blow from its own lawful child, Protestantism: and indeed I would defy anybody to show me the man with true theological and philosophical learning, who is still at heart a *pure* Romanist. Protestantism has heard its knell rung by its most distinguished teachers; by Neander (though unwillingly) in his letters to Mr D., and consciously by Schelling in his Preface to the Posthumous Works of Stephens. The Ark of Orthodoxy alone rides safe and unhurt

through storms and billows. The world shall flock to it. Let us say with the beloved Apostle, 'Even so, come Lord Jesus.'"

Some expressions in the above Correspondence shew that Mr Kh., previously to his visit to England in 1847, had already some knowledge of the Letters that Bishop Luscombe had sent to Russia, and had perused a copy of the "*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*." Subsequently, during his stay in Oxford in August 1847, he was fully informed of all that had passed since the writer's return from Russia in 1843 with the Appeal, excepting only the *details* of what had passed before the Episcopal Synod in Scotland. The extracts which have now been given from his earlier correspondence, besides that they bear upon matters remotely connected with the Appeal, will serve to throw a fuller light upon another later letter, to be given below in Section LXXV, part of which refers directly to the Appeal itself, as now prosecuting in Scotland.

By way of conclusion to this present Section, it may be mentioned, that the writer still continued to hear from Russia from time to time of different parties expressing interest or expectation as to the issue of the Appeal in Scotland. So, for instance, the present Bishop of Saratoff, who was then still Rector of the Spiritual Academy, after having received and read the '*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*,' observed to our Chaplain, that "what was wanted was not merely such a collection of passages and testimonies from individual Bishops and Divines, but Synodical Acts formally receiving the whole body of Orthodox Doctrine." And again, in the spring of 1847, Mr Blackmore wrote of the Archbishop of Poltava, with whom the writer had no personal acquaintance whatever, and who had become a Member of the Synod since his return from Russia, that he had been evincing the most friendly interest in the affair, seeking every opportunity to gain information concerning the Anglican, and especially the Scottish Church; praising highly the plan of the "*Harmony*," making more minute inquiries than it was easy or convenient to satisfy, as to 'what was the precise position of the Appellant in Scotland; what turn things were taking there with the Appeal; whether there was any prospect of its leading to another communication to the Russian Synod, as he really thought that some thing might be done; what was the effect produced by the death of Bishop Luscombe, of which he had been informed; and what were the causes of the delay in bringing the matter to an issue? &c. &c.'

SECTION LXX.

AM AT EDINBURGH AT THE TIME OF THE EPISCOPAL SYNOD IN 1847; AND SEE THE BISHOPS ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3. ALSO SOME ACCOUNT OF A VISION CAUSED BY ETHER.

ALTHOUGH the writer had no application to make to the Episcopal Synod of 1847, and was not to print any thing for the Clergy till the Interview agreed upon with Mde. A. should have taken place, he still made a point of being present if possible at Edinburgh at the time of the annual meeting of the Bishops, supposing himself to have been

bidden to come again that year, though he understood not why. [See above Section XLV, p. 293.]

Besides this merely ‘superstitious’ motive, at which the reader perhaps will smile, it seemed proper to be on the spot on account of that Letter which the Bishop of St Andrews had been requested to communicate to the Synod. For though nothing was likely to follow from it (if indeed it were so much as read), still there was no need to leave an opening for any one to say that nothing could have been expected even by the Appellant himself, seeing that he had altogether disappeared, and the Bishops did not even know where he was at the time of their meeting.

There was also a third reason for returning into Scotland about that time, namely, that the writer might not be absent too long together from the Bishop of St Andrews’ Diocese, in which he had been received. For though it was true that he absented himself on account of the Appeal itself, and *with the Bishop’s sanction*, there were still reasons for wishing to keep up outwardly, and to the eyes of others, his connection with that Diocese; and for this end, to make a point of Communicating there, at least once within the space of a year, unless there were any physical impediment, such as sickness, &c., to prevent it.

Having then, for these reasons, returned into Scotland, and reached Edinburgh late on Saturday, August 28, 1847, and having called on the Monday morning following on the Bishop of Glasgow, at Leith, the first words almost which the Bishop spoke were these: “You must come to us here on *Friday next* to meet the Bishops; You’ll have no objection this time?”; alluding good-humouredly to what had passed the year before. “Certainly I must,” was the answer, “You know I was bidden to do that three years ago: [See in Section XLV.] and now I am come, I may say, on purpose.” The Bishop laughed, and said, “Ah, I remember; it was to be on *Friday*; so it was:” and observed lightly that it was “very curious:” but of course he saw no meaning in it.

The next day, Tuesday 31, the writer having called on the Primus, the Bishop of Aberdeen, his first words or nearly so were these, or to this effect: “Mr N.,” he said, “I come from the discharge of a very painful duty, that of

assisting at the funeral of one of my colleagues :” [of the Bishop of Brechin.] No doubt *he* had long ago forgotten those good-natured light words which he had let fall at random on being parted from by the writer the year before in that same street, and which had then been received as a sort of prediction. [See above Section LX. vi. p. 333.] But the writer, who had by no means forgotten the words alluded to, was now very forcibly struck by finding himself after a year’s interval so accosted, almost on the same spot, by the Bishop who had uttered them.

The Primus also, on being asked the question, acknowledged having received from the Bishop of St Andrews the Letter given above in Section LVIII. And a day or two later, on Thursday the 2d, at the Meeting of the Episcopal Synod, the subject was mentioned by him to the Bishops; though in what manner, or with what dispositions, it was commented upon and dismissed may be best left to the reader’s imagination. At the same Synod the election of a Bishop for a new and Seventh Diocese was confirmed; and it was agreed that the successor to the late Bishop of Brechin, so soon as one should be elected, should be Consecrated at the same time.

On *Friday*, September 3, the day of the meeting of the Trustees for Trinity College, and the next *after* the annual Synod, the writer dined at the house of the Bishop of Glasgow by an invitation given four days before (and also three years or more before) “to meet the Bishops.” But he “found” *only three out of five* whom he had “seen” the year before in the Episcopal Synod; and heard remarks of condolence and regret for the recent death of one of their number, and for the absence of another, who was then unwell. But yet neither at the Interview with the Primus mentioned above, nor now, did the writer perceive what significativeness there had been in the *terms* of the original bidding to that meeting (in 1844); or what it was which he was to notice as containing encouragement in the meeting itself.

This Section being already of a somewhat ‘superstitious’ character, it will not be altogether out of place to conjoin with it some notice of an incident which occurred at this time, and which seemed to have a bearing upon several forms of superstition commonly ‘exploded’ by Anglicans, and objected against by them as prevalent in *un-Reformed* Churches.

It has been related above (in Section LII. iii. p. 302) how the Metro-

politan of Moscow, in 1846, in token of the interest he took in the Appeal pending in Scotland, sent to the Appellant, together with "the Blessing of the Catholic and Apostolic Church," two small Icons, as remembrances of a visit made in 1841 to the great Trinity Lavra of St Sergius, of which the Metropolitan is *ex officio* Archimandrite. On one of those two Icons was represented a vision said to have been seen by the Saint, who lived in the fourteenth century, the Blessed Virgin appearing to him with the Apostles St Peter and St John (the Apostles of faith and love), and promising her protection to his Foundation; a promise which, whether any believe it to have been made or not, seems certainly to have been performed; for that Monastery has not only been protected itself, but has even literally itself saved Russia.

On the subject of such reputed visions, dreams, and other supernatural occurrences, the writer more than once, when in Russia, had conversed with our Chaplain at St Petersburg, who, like nearly all Anglicans (however otherwise 'High Church' they may be) either simply laughed at such things, or blamed them sharply as gross and 'highly objectionable' impostures or superstitions. And afterwards in England it may probably have been unpleasant to some otherwise religious minds even to see the presents of the Metropolitan of Moscow shewn to young people without any mark of reprehension.

But on August 31, 1847, the writer being then at Leith, on the same morning that the Bishop of Glasgow bade him come on *Friday* "to meet the Bishops," and calling afterwards on a lady who lived at no great distance, he was asked in the way of chance conversation whether he had any knowledge or experience of the effects of Ether, or of Chloroform, with which the lady alluded to had become acquainted herself only a few days before, and in a manner which had left on her mind an impression of the greatest astonishment? It had been proposed to her, she said, by a Dentist, and she had consented to have it applied, merely to obtain insensibility to the pain. But no sooner was it applied than, without being asleep, after a moment of dizziness and indistinctness, she seemed to be borne up to the top of a high mountain: And she stood upon the top. And there came rolling towards her feet a great black cloud: and when it had come close, it cleft asunder; and disclosed in the midst of it the whole group of her family, who were at the time far distant, between one and two thousand miles off, and across two seas. "I saw them every one," she said, "as clearly and vividly as I now see you sitting opposite to me on that chair." And her father spoke to her; and she answered; and she repeated what was spoken on both sides, words which had both good sense and feeling, and other striking proprieties. And all at once they told her that the tooth was out; and she came to herself; and it was over.

Now let any Christian answer this question: Is it *reasonable* to scoff at the Russians, or at others, as superstitious for believing that spiritual grace, or the agency of good or evil angels, may do *at least as much* in the way of visions, as may be done by three drops of ether? If they feel in their consciences that it is *unreasonable*, then let not our incredulity in such matters for the future be so preposterously insisted upon, as to form a barrier of separation between brethren who ought to be one in Christ.

[The reader may notice how Bishop Bull has spoken of the history of St Gregory Thaumaturgus, "whose whole life was one tissue of supernatural

occurrences," especially of the dictation to him of a certain Confession of Faith by the Blessed Virgin, which he sees no reason at all for our disbelieving.]

On the other hand, (if these pages should by chance fall under the eyes of any Russian readers,) let not Russians imagine that the English have utterly cast off all popular belief in dreams, visions, and supernatural interferences. There is one large class of such things which occur just as naturally in the current conversations and in the newspapers of the day with us, and are just as readily received, as can be the case with any supernatural stories elsewhere. It is shocking indeed to be obliged to confess, as one must, that this popular readiness to believe confines itself among us to cases connected with *punishments*, and *crimes*; to such interpositions, in fact, as seem to befit societies separate from God and from His Church; and it is only supernatural dreams, visions, and occurrences connected with *grace* and *mercy* which are rejected. Dreams and visions of *Saints* are exploded; but revelations of *murders* by dreams (as in the well-known case of the Red Barn), and sudden judgments upon *blasphemers* are believed. Still, a popular belief in the supernatural is thus recognized no less than if dreams were allowed often to have meaning apart from murders, or our sick were sometimes healed through visions of Saints, or demoniacs (now declared indiscriminately to be lunatics) were sometimes brought with success to be healed by the touch of Relics, or by the Prayers of the Church. And sometimes too even Russians, 'superstitious' as they are, might profit by that popular belief of the supernatural in respect of evil which is retained among the English, no less than the English might profit by some re-admission of that popular belief of the supernatural in respect of good which they now object to in the Russians. The following shall be given as an instance:

On Sunday, July 14, 1845, the writer chanced to be waiting for half an hour for a friend in the Coffee-room of Long's Hotel in London, while there were in the same room a party of four or five Russian noblemen, (one of them the head of a great Polish family, and all of the very highest rank) eating and drinking riotously, and talking aloud in a tone of utter recklessness and irreligion. One of them with a laugh said of another of the party to their comrades, "*L'ame du Prince N. a été damnée depuis longtemps.*"

Just at that moment the writer's eye fell upon an account in the Times Newspaper of the day before of a party of cobblers and others drinking themselves drunk in some pot-house at Manchester, and vicing with each other in oaths and blasphemies, when one of the worst, who had just yelled out that "*he feared neither God nor devil*" suddenly stared up at the ceiling, and after a long pause exclaimed, "*The Lord forgive me!*" in such a tone, that the whole company of half-drunken wretches were petrified, and responded seriously "*Amen!*" After which the man was led away to an hospital *stone blind*. The name of the man was given, that of the place where it occurred, the date, (which was only a day or two before), and the name of the hospital to which he was taken. And though what is now written is only from memory, it will be easy for any one to verify the story by turning in a file of the Times Newspaper to the date above indicated.

It is more than probable that the same Newspaper was taken up within a few minutes after by one or other of that noble party of debauchees and blasphemers, who were so far from 'sabbatizing' on the Lord's Day, and who were so much the less excusable than the poor Manchester

cobblers, inasmuch as they had been bred up in no meagre semi-infidel sect of Protestantism, but were members of the ‘*Orthodox*’ Eastern and (the Pole) of the Roman-‘*Catholic*’ Churches. But to return from this ‘superstitious’ digression :

The reader may remember perhaps who it was,—certainly a very good-natured and amiable man,—who, on hearing of the death of Bishop Luscombe in 1846, [Section LXI, p. 335,] had been unable to refrain from mixing with his condolences expressions of satisfaction that “that *link* was broken ;” the link, that was, which might connect him and his colleagues in Scotland for the future with troublesome references, and duties involved in ecclesiastical unity, which were felt to be disagreeable or impossible to meet, and disagreeable or discreditable to evade. [See Section LX, p. 334]. A short-sighted, and short-lived satisfaction ! If one were to live to the longest age of man in perpetual trouble, annoyance, conflict, or suffering, for duty’s sake, it must all *very* soon be over. That ease which we have so much valued, that the wish for it could cause a dash of pleasure even at the death of a colleague, the truce, that is, between conscience and duty in reference to Doctrine and Discipline on the one side, and one’s respect for popular opinion, and habit, Vestries, Parliaments, and—*indolence*, on the other, is to last—how long ? Not quite two years. And when once we are gone, surely to have made any one effort, however feeble, against our own natural inclinations, and against “*the world*,” will profit us much more than to have spent even the longest life in comparative ease, or to have enjoyed the utmost benevolence of an English Patron, or of a Scottish *Vestry*.

It was only on the death of the late Bishop here alluded to, that the writer began to understand the force of the words used March 27-28, 1844, [Section XLV, p. 293], and what it was which was to be noticed at the meeting of *Friday*, September 3, 1847, in the way of practical encouragement to perseverance in the prosecution of the Appeal.

[The reader is requested to understand, that whatever reflections may be made on any particular opinions, or lines of conduct, no blame *whatever* is imputed to individuals who may be alluded to. It is not the individual who acts wrong, often *quite unconsciously*, but the evil tradition which he has unhappily received, which is the object of blame.]

SECTION LXXI.

OF THE COMING OF CERTAIN RUSSIAN VISITORS TO EDINBURGH,
SHORTLY AFTER THE MEETING OF THE EPISCOPAL SYNOD OF
M.DCCC.XLVII.

ON Thursday, September 2, the day of the meeting of the Scottish Episcopal Synod, the writer being at Edinburgh, received a note from the Chaplain to the Russian Embassy in London stating that the Count N. N., a first cousin by marriage of Mr and Mde. A., had come over from Paris, and proposed to go down for a short visit to Edinburgh; where, accordingly, he arrived together with the Priest on the following Tuesday, September 7; and that same night heard a full account of all that had taken place in reference to the Appeal since he had lost sight of it, excepting only the details of what passed in the Episcopal Synod the year before. After having heard all he said, that "he feared there could be no chance whatever of the Appeal terminating otherwise, than in favour of the Lady; all that he had seen of the Anglican Communion being pure Protestantism."

On the following morning, September 8, the Count N. N., the Priest M. Popoff, a Scottish Clergyman (who shall be nameless,) and the writer, went together to see St Columba's Church, in which we found workmen engaged in putting up a Rood-screen surmounted by a large Cross. The Russians noticed this Screen as corresponding to their Iconostasis, and as making the building look like a real Church by the separation of a Sanctuary. They noticed also the "Images" of the Crucifixion, and of Saints and Bishops, in the East window, the decent though Latin appearance of the Altar, the Credence, an Inscription with a Prayer for the departed donor round the Font, and lastly, the Scottish Communion-Office, copies of which were lying about, and which they compared on the spot with the English, and noticed that it contained not only variations, but "corrections." They were particularly struck with the Form of Consecration, with the Oblation and Invocation, and with the correction of the Anglican Office in the Heading of the Prayer "*for the Whole State of Christ's Church*," and in the words at delivering the Communion, which was pointed out, besides other differences,

such as the absence of Cranmer's *Declaration* at the end, and the absence of any Rubric against Reservation. While the Count was thus occupied, the Priest addressing the Scottish Clergyman, and pointing to the Screen and Cross which the workmen were erecting, asked, "But what will *the Bishop* say to all this?" To which the reply was, "Indeed I don't know!" with a gesture implying something more than doubt in the speaker. As they were going out, one of the visitors said, "There is really here something to justify your pretensions. One might well suppose that people who hold this belief, and who so furnish their Churches, would easily unite with us. But we saw nothing of this yesterday in York Minster. All there was thoroughly Protestant, and made one shudder. And what shall we find in the other Churches here?" [one of which they noticed to be much larger;] "Is it worth while to go into any of them?" "No," it was replied, "You would find in them nothing but an area covered with boxes, and perhaps surrounded with galleries. There are, as Mde. A. rightly says, 'two contrary Anglicanisms' joined together within one external organisation." "It is inconceivable," the Count said, "perfectly inconceivable, how you can go on thus holding two different religions at once, which are directly contrary the one to the other." They went afterwards to see the Chapel at Dalkeith, and were again much pleased, though they immediately on entering noticed that there was no Screen; and asked whether it was intended to have one? On their return southwards they visited Oxford.

Again, on Wednesday, September 29, there came to Edinburgh, with his wife, a Russian naval officer, the same that has been mentioned above (at p. 302) as the translator of certain '*Dialogues*' written by the Metropolitan of Moscow. These also might both feel all the more interest in the controversy that was going on with Mde. A., and in the Appeal pending in Scotland, for this reason, that the lady being an Englishwoman by birth, and having no objection to the religion of the Russian Church, was really anxious to know exactly how far that religion which she ought, as belonging to the Anglican Church, to maintain, was reconcilable with the Russian, or contrary to it; especially as she might have to satisfy herself before long, as in a case of

conscience, whether she could rightly impute to the Anglican Communion those heresies which are now imputed to it by such as Mde. A. *from within*, and by the Russian Church from without. These visitors also went over to Dalkeith, and attended the service there; and on the following Sunday, October 3, they accompanied the writer to St Columba's Church, at Edinburgh, and stayed through the whole of the Mattins and the Liturgy (though of course the Russian officer could not Communicate). As we were coming away, it was observed by the writer that, "without noticing certain improprieties in the outward *manner* of performing the service, improprieties inseparable at present from Anglican worship, he must admit that Liturgy which we had just witnessed to be a very solemn and edifying service." "To be sure," was the reply; "How should it be otherwise? It is in substance just the same as our own."

Afterwards, as we were conversing on the subject of the controversy with Mde. A., on its having been observed that the first and main point, upon which every thing else turned, was the question of Discipline, whether passivity of Communion should be allowed and continued, or some practical reformation of our present custom introduced, they mentioned an incident which had fallen, they said, lately under their own notice, and which had suggested the idea that there was some difference between the Scottish and the Anglican Churches in this point, and that the Scottish still retained some traces of Discipline. For the Admiral's wife having sent one of her servants, an Englishwoman, to embark at Hull for St Petersburg, the vessel had been driven, she said, by stress of weather into the port of Aberdeen; and while there, it being Sunday, the woman had found her way to the 'English Chapel' (St Andrew's); and it so chanced that 'there was a Communion:' and she was going to stay and Communicate; when some one came up, and noticing that she was a stranger, asked whether she had seen the Priest or the Bishop? and finding that she *had not*, told her 'she could Communicate any other Sunday after having done so, but not then.' Upon which the servant's own observation to her mistress was, "I am sure, Ma'am, *that's not our religion in England.*"

No very long time before the above visits, the Priest to

the Russian Embassy in London, who had been originally selected and sent in 1842 as a fit person to study the present state of the Anglican Communion, and had been specially charged to make reports on it to his Superiors, had applied to the Appellant for a copy of those imputations (as reported to Bishop Luscombe), which had been objected to him in Russia, and on account of which he was there called upon to renounce the Scottish and British Church. The object for which the Chaplain wanted them was, he said, to use in the case of an Anglican Clergyman, who evinced some disposition to pass over to the Eastern Communion, no precedent so full and clear for dealing with members of the Anglican Communion being to be found elsewhere. It may be proper to add, that the writer, in supplying the document, took care to observe, that, "for himself, he could not *as yet* admit the justice of the Eastern Church making those imputations at all, and much less that of any Anglican admitting them, and renouncing his Church upon them, when those very Propositions, when first distinctly objected, had immediately become the subject of an Appeal which was still pending undecided before the Scottish Church: that whenever this Appeal should have come to its final issue, it would afford, no doubt, as full a precedent as could be desired."

SECTION LXXII.

ATTENDANCE ON THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS WITHIN HIS DIOCESE.

FOR some days after Sunday October 19, the writer together with seven or eight others of the Clergy was with the Bishop of St Andrews in his Diocese at Crieff and Muthill; and during this time (to quote from an account which appeared in the newspapers) attended personally upon the Bishop "as his Deacon."

And to be more particular: 1. He attended a Priest, by the Bishop's desire, in the formal *admission* of two adults *as proselytes* to the Church. They had both been validly Baptized in infancy; and the Form now used by the Bishop's direction for receiving them was adopted, with some modifications, from that "for bringing into the Church" infants privately

Baptized, the Gospel being read by the Deacon from the Office for the Baptism of Adults.

II. He attended at a Confirmation of adults and children, and presented them to the Bishop; on which occasion it was noticeable that the Bishop used an Office slightly differing from the English, so as to be applicable to adults no less than to children; that he signed each with the Sign of the Cross; that he turned round (as also in the Liturgy) for all Prayers, in front, before the middle of the altar; that he pronounced an Address most forcibly correcting the errors prevalent among Anglicans respecting Confirmation; that there was no Sermon; and lastly, that the Liturgy was celebrated, and the newly-Confirmed Communicated, at the same time.

III. He attended the Bishop at the Celebration of the Scottish Liturgy on several different occasions; reading the Gospel as Deacon; and bringing the Gifts from the Prothesis, as well as the Cruise of water, with which the Chalice was mixed at the Altar; administering the Cup; and carrying away the holy vessels afterwards, and doing the rest of what belonged to that ministration. At these Celebrations of the Liturgy the Clergy all Communicated first, and the Priests before the Deacons.

IV. He took part, by the Bishop's desire, in Examining a Candidate for the Order of the Diaconate; and signed the Certificate.

V. He attended upon the Bishop at the Ordination of a Priest, reading the Second Lesson at Mattins, and the Gospel in the Liturgy, and joining in bringing the Deacon to be Ordained as far as the entrance of the Sanctuary. It was noticeable at this Ordination, that the Deacon to be Ordained wore the Stole over his left shoulder till he was made Priest, and that then it was put over both.

VI. He attended the Bishop at the Consecration of a new church at Crieff, on which occasion the Bishop delivered an Exhortation in tone and style much like what he delivered at the Confirmation.

VII. Lastly, the writer took part with others of the Clergy, by their desire, in signing an Address to the Bishop, to preserve to them those peculiar Scottish Forms and Usages which he has been in the habit of using in his Episcopal

ministrations ; as well as in a joint meeting of Clergy and laity to hear a Report read, together with a Letter from the Bishop, on the subject of a plan for creating a Diocesan Endowment Fund, besides erecting a Church and an Episcopal residence for the Bishop, and maintaining one or two Clergy to be personally attached to him at Perth.

Those Clergy of the Diocese who were present and in attendance upon the Bishop together with the writer on these occasions, in the presence of the Dean of the Diocese, and of the Bishop himself, recognized and addressed the writer as a brother Clergyman belonging to the same Bishop and Diocese with themselves ; and expressed with much personal kindness, as well as with much shew of zeal for orthodoxy, the interest they were disposed to take (so far as they were then able to form a judgment,) in favour of the Appeal. For which, and for all other good dispositions and aspirations after truth and unity, may the Lord reward them with blessings both in this world and in the next.

On the other hand, may *they* be brought to repentance who, while giving nothing of “ their spiritual things,” or having no spiritual things to give, but repelling as folly or madness spiritual petitions, nay, while even pulling down with their own hands the stones of their own spiritual temple inherited from their forefathers, are yet not ashamed to beg with both hands for *money* from those very beggars to whose spiritual prayers they are more deaf than stones. Vestries, and bodies of laymen, who have rentals of many thousands, perhaps of hundreds of thousands, starve their Pastor upon eighty or a hundred pounds a year ; and if they want a few hundred pounds to build a chapel, they set him to write begging letters to “ The Friends of the Church,” to “ The Friends of our poor depressed Branch of the Catholic Church, (that is, *especially* to ‘ the Puseyites ’) in England,” while they are all the time insisting on the use of the English Office even in the very chapels *so* to be built, “ as a barrier against Puseyism.” O incredible mixture of meanness and impudence ! O most beggarly Anglicizers ! And if any men believing a little more than themselves, or having some little touch of national spirit left, and not being utterly ashamed of their name of Scotchmen, or remembering that in doing good unto all men, we are *bidden* to *prefer* those who are of the

household of *faith*, avow openly that they *will prefer* in their charity or liberality such applicants as believe what they believe, and prefer what their Church prefers, and exact a pledge that their charity shall not be begged for to-day, and the condition of their preference, that is, the belief and preference of their Church, set aside to-morrow, *this* is "*Bribery*;" this is "*Corruption*;" this is "desecration of holy things;" an atrocity to be denounced to—the Editor of the Presbyterian newspaper. But for a Bishop or a Priest to refrain from reciting the Athanasian Creed, or from using an Office which his Church prefers and declares to be "of primary authority" for fear of a lay Vestry, *i. e.* for fear of his paymasters,—*this* involves no bribery, no simony, no corruption: nor to have the Office *not*-preferred by the Church secured by Trust-Deeds. Nay, nor is it thought intolerable for a Vestry even to bargain beforehand with the Priest whom they hire that he shall follow their local traditions, even to turning in his wooden box only to such quarter of the compass as they fancy; or to make him beg their leave afterwards (as has occurred elsewhere) if he is a short man and his predecessor has been a tall one, to have a tuck put into his *cotton* Surplice.

Such are the developments of Congregational Independence within the pale of Anglicanism, and even of "the Catholic Remainder;" an evil which can be remedied only by a total reformation of the economical or fiscal administration of Dioceses and Churches; that is, by the establishment in every Diocese of a Central Fund to be vested, together with the Fabrics themselves, in the Bishop and the Diocesan Synod; to be contributed to by all members of the Church in fixed weekly, monthly, or annual sums; and to be applied *ministerially* through Deacons and lay Stewards, who should give securities. This would of course involve the restoration of the idea of the Diaconate, and of 'Deacons' themselves, not only as mere assistant Preachers, or half-ordained 'Ministers,' but as having important functions in connection with the Bishop, and with the central administration of each Diocese. The furnishing and repairing of the fabrics, and the *partial* maintenance of their Pastors, would naturally and properly remain with the local Congregations, or with the Vestries, which should represent them in each place.

SECTION LXXIII.

INTERVIEWS WITH MDE. A. ; AND REPORT OF CONFERENCES
WITH HER TO THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.

HAVING left Scotland on Monday, October 4, with the sanction of the Bishop of St Andrews, partly in order to be in readiness to go to any spot which should be fixed by Mde. A. for that Interview which had been agreed on, and partly in order to continue afterwards the preparation of the Work for Publication, which it was hoped might be finished by the spring of 1848, the writer saw and conferred with Mde. A. in the manner related below. But shortly after these conferences were over, he was seized with an illness which lasted nearly half a year ; so that not only was no progress made towards the completion of the larger Work, but there was not even time left, upon his recovery in the spring of 1848, for the printing of the Narrative for the Clergy before the meeting of the Diocesan Synods for that year. Thus another year was lost.

The following Report to the Bishop of St Andrews was written at different dates in January 1848 :—

“MY DEAR LORD,—Your Lordship may probably expect to receive from me some account of what has been passing since I left the neighbourhood of Perth. This Report, which I propose now to make, will serve also to complete the Narrative I am to lay before the Scottish Clergy.

“When I obtained your sanction for leaving Scotland at the beginning of October last, this was, as your Lordship will remember, partly for the sake of continuing the preparation of the MS., which I could do with most convenience at Oxford, and partly in order to be in readiness to keep my engagement to the Russian Lady, my antagonist. For this latter purpose it seemed probable that I should have to proceed to Paris, or to some other place on the Continent.

“However, I had no sooner left the North, than it was intimated to me, first, that the Lady was coming herself to England, and then, that she was already arrived, and was staying, on a visit, in Essex, from whence she was to remove to London. In consequence, I immediately went to London,

and there saw her at various times from the 16th of October to the 28th, when she returned to Paris.

“ In the following narrative I will first give some account of the motives which (as I learned afterwards) had determined her to meet me in England, and of the line of conduct which she pursued while there in reference to her religious position. Then, secondly, I will detail what passed between her and myself relatively to the prosecution of the Appeal in Scotland.

“ It appears that at the time the Lady first received the copy sent her of the Appeal taken into Scotland, and of the Extract from the Synodal Minutes, and of your Lordship's subsequent Letter, together with an offer from myself of a personal conference, if she desired it, there chanced to be present with her, in her apartments at Paris, several of her acquaintances, with whom she immediately began to discuss the matter, reading out to them some of the Propositions rejected by Bishop Luscombe as evidences that both I and the late Bishop, while attempting to reject her, had rather in fact rejected our own religion. One of the ladies present, a French Roman-Catholic, having remarked that there seemed to be a question about her Anglicanism, and having asked whether she was herself quite sure that she was really a member of the Anglican Communion ? the Russian Lady replied, ‘ To be sure I am ; I have been a member for the last seven years, and have never yet been called in question but by this one man.’ The other said again, that were it her own case, she should be inclined, as the shortest and most satisfactory way of settling the question, to go at once to England, and to meet her antagonist there ; when she could at the same time see some of the Anglican Clergy, and ascertain practically whether she were received and acknowledged. The rest who were present concurring in this suggestion, and my own relative, through whom the communications had been sent, pressing her friend to visit her in England, the Russian Lady declared her resolution to do so, so soon as she should have returned from Germany, whither she was then going, to meet her husband and other members of her family. At the same time, in order to leave herself free, she requested her friend merely to let me know that she accepted the offer of a conference, for which she would herself fix the time and place ; but that it could not take place before October.

“ Upon her arrival in England, on the 8th of October, she first spent a week with some relatives of my own in Essex, where, after having excited the sympathy of all that met her by her statement of the dangers she apprehended, and after having also, to confess the truth, won their favour to her side in the controversy about her own religious position, she expressed a wish to lay her case before the Vicar of the Parish, whose church she had attended on the Sunday preceding. It was objected by her host, that this Clergyman was ‘ a Puseyite ;’ so that she might almost as well apply to myself at once. However, the Lady persisted ; and having been taken to call on the Vicar, as she desired, she stated to him her case, putting into his hands the Documents and Letters she had received from me. Without entering into minute details, it will be enough to say, that the Vicar expressed his sense of the responsibility

of being consulted in such a matter ; and that after a conference of five hours, in which he went over with her all the XLIV Propositions rejected in the Appeal, he declared himself satisfied ‘ that her views on Baptism were undoubtedly sound ; that she was no Calvinist ; that in most respects she held opinions quite consonant to Church-principles ; in fine, that she was substantially Orthodox ; and that, as such, she was rightly admissible to our Communion.’ On parting, she left all the Documents in the Vicar’s hands ; and it was arranged, that a cousin of mine, a Barrister, who had introduced her to him, should, on his return to London call on me, as a friend to all the parties, with the heads of the Vicar’s opinion, and should try to induce me to abandon the prosecution of the Appeal.

“ Accordingly, in the following week I received a visit from my cousin, who represented how the Vicar of his Parish in the country, ‘ a most estimable man, and of my own way of thinking,’ had judged the prosecution of the Appeal to be groundless and vexatious in itself, as well as dangerous to her : and he entreated me to accept this sort of amicable arbitration, and to abandon the Appeal, or at least the intention of printing. He himself, he said, had thought at first sight of the printed Document that Bishop Luscombe in rejecting all those XLIV Propositions had flagrantly contravened the doctrine of our Church ; but on talking the matter over with the Vicar he had come to see that from a certain point of view, and with certain explanations, the rejection of them might be proper enough. Indeed the Vicar had told him that, when so viewed and taken, he did not know but he might be able to say Anathema to all, or very nearly all, those Propositions himself : But in conversing with the Lady he had found that she had no head for Theology : that she did not in fact understand the true meaning of the Propositions : that when each was explained and discussed, she really seemed to have meant the same thing, and by no means either to deny the truth, or to assert that error which contradicted it : that one must make some allowance, and not expect Theological accuracy from a Lady : that her intentions were good, and her true meaning and substantial belief Orthodox, and agreeable to the doctrine of our Church, while the Appeal was both unsustainable in itself, and involved considerable apparent danger to her : so they hoped I would drop it.

“ I replied, that I must decline absolutely to hold any communication on the subject of the Appeal either with my cousin or with the Vicar, for whom he spoke, or with any other layman or Clergyman of the Church of England : that the Lady could of course consult whom she pleased, and about what she pleased ; but that I should take no notice whatever of any such consultation of hers, or of any Ecclesiastical acts which she might think proper to do while in England : that with regard to the business I might have with her respecting the Appeal in Scotland, it was only with herself personally, and could have been transacted just as well at Paris or Geneva as in London, had it not pleased her to appoint me a meeting in London, rather than in either of those cities. So that whatever any one might choose to tell me about the Lady or her proceedings, I could listen to it only as private conversation.

“ Shortly after the above had passed, on one of the first occasions that I saw the Lady herself, she alluded to her successful conferences in Essex, and made the following instructive disclosure of their true nature and

value. 'And did you really then,' she asked, speaking to myself, 'reject and anathematize at the bidding of the Russian Synod all those XLIV Propositions?' 'Certainly,' I replied, 'I did, and do anathematize them all.' 'Then,' she retorted with emphasis, 'there is not a shadow of Anglicanism remaining in you: no, not a shadow! And I am quite astonished that you should have found a Bishop in Scotland, though it is only one, to give you any countenance.'

"During her stay in London, which lasted a fortnight, she attended the church of a distinguished 'Evangelical' Clergyman, whom she resolved to consult in like manner as she had already consulted the 'Puseyite' Vicar in Essex. As she was a stranger, and the family with whom she lived frequented another nearer District-church, the Clergy of which were 'Puseyites,' it was proposed by an acquaintance that she should write a note to the Clergyman whom she preferred intimating her wish to receive the Holy Communion in his church on the following Sunday. This was proposed (indeed it was indirectly suggested by the Clergyman himself) *not* as a *necessary* preliminary, but as the best way of affording him a reason for calling on her, with a view to religious conference. The Lady hesitated a little, (as if reminded of the similar suggestion made to her at Paris by Mr and Mrs O. in 1842); but on being assured that 'it was nothing at all; that it was only a little formality to bring about the meeting desired,' she agreed to the plan; and a short note was written, and sent through the same acquaintance by whom the suggestion was made. The 'High-Church' Clergyman also of the nearer District-church, having heard something about the matter, expressed himself as perfectly satisfied; the Lady having, he said, 'every right to select her own spiritual adviser.'

"The next day an answer was returned to her note informing her that, previously to her Communicating, it would be 'necessary' that the writer should have an opportunity of seeing her, and 'asking her some questions'; and that he would be very happy to meet her in such a way as might be arranged, so as best to suit her convenience. On reading this note she was a good deal startled, and declared, that in Christian and brotherly conversation she would answer any and every question most willingly, whether it were a Clergyman or her waiting-maid who asked them; but she would answer no questions put with the claim of formal authority: that she had now been for seven years received, in spite of all opposition, a member of the Anglican Church, had seen many Pastors, and had Communicated every where: that she saw not what right Mr N. could have to question her: and she appealed to those present, whether there were any such necessity in their Church and Religion? whether the Communion were not open to all, according to their consciences? In answer to this appeal some loudly agreed with her; some were silent; and one, a lawyer of eminence, on being more particularly questioned, replied, that he was not a Theologian, and did not like to give an opinion: that certainly it was not the usual practice for members of our Church to give any notice at all before Communicating; but perhaps, if we were to go by the strict rule of the Prayer-book, we *ought* to give notice; and if questions were asked, he supposed we ought to answer them. The Lady seemed surprised at this opinion, to which she said nothing, but repeated her declaration that nobody could have a right to *question* her; and that she would answer no questions, if put on the

ground of outward authority. It was remarked, that she had no need to disquiet herself, as the whole plan had been arranged only on her own consent, and to give the Clergyman an opening for calling upon her ; and there was no fear but they would agree together very well. However, she was still far from satisfied.

"I was myself present on this occasion, and in common with others, was permitted to read the note, certain expressions in which (about the 'necessity' of 'seeing, and asking questions,') had certainly rather a 'High-Church' look, and might be supposed to mean that all applicants for Communion among us must first be examined by Authority, and found canonically admissible. However, I remarked, there is another sense in which the same language might be used by Protestant Ministers of various persuasions, and that too without gainsaying the right of any persons to take the Communion, if they pleased, without making any previous application whatever. The Pastor or Preacher will speak thus : 'If, instead of taking the Communion on your own responsibility only, you wish me to give it you also on mine, so as to recognize you distinctly as one of my Communicants, it is '*necessary*' that you should first give me the opportunity of 'questioning' you, and satisfying myself of your personal or vital Christianity, according to my own conscience and the Gospel.' Such a claim as this, I said, I should agree with the Lady, my antagonist, in resisting ; not indeed for her reason, that it seems to border too closely on the formalism of human authority and canonical discipline, but for the very contrary reason, that it is inconsistent with the canonical discipline of the Church. What was, in fact, the sense of the note which had raised this conversation, I could not of course determine ; but it seemed clear that the Lady had little cause for apprehending any cross to her own views.

"I had promised to give up to the Lady the originals of two Letters which the Bishop of London had written six years before concerning her first admission to Communion in the English Chapel at Geneva. The Chaplain, as holding his License from the Bishop of London, had referred the Lady's husband to him for his own justification. She now, thinking the Bishop of London's Letters would be much to her purpose (especially in his own Diocese), requested me to write her out a copy of his final Answer that same evening ; and expressed some surprise at my 'generosity' in complying ; saying, that she meant 'to use it against me.' I replied that, thinking she had a right to the Document, and having already promised her the original, I could scarcely make any difficulty of writing her out a copy. And, besides, that I wished to contend against her only fairly and honourably : that even if the note which now occasioned her alarm had been written in my own sense, I still thought she had a right to any advantage she could make of the Bishop of London's Letter against it : if, on the contrary, the note was written in a Protestant sense, and her alarm needless (as seemed to me to be clear), she had still the same right, if she pleased, (however superfluous it might be), to shew the Bishop's Letter to a Clergyman who already agreed with him in opinion, or even to use it as a security against any arbitrary requirement of conformity with private views. So the copy of the Bishop's Letter was made out, as she desired, that same night ; and she sent it the first thing the next morning, being Thursday, October 31, through the same channel as before, to the 'Evangelical' Clergyman, saying, that she 'could not

rest till she had done this; and hoped it would cut short all difficulties and formalities.' The Clergyman, as I afterwards heard, remarked on reading it, that the Lady needed not to have disquieted herself to make that communication, as he was himself 'altogether of the same opinion with that expressed in the Bishop's Letter.'

"On Friday, October 22, the Interview which had been arranged took place. The Lady was told that 'the copy of the Bishop of London's Letter no doubt simplified the matter:' and, after a long conversation, she returned quite as well satisfied with the 'Evangelical' Clergyman in London, as she had before been with the 'Puseyite' Vicar of the same Diocese in Essex. On the following Sunday, the 24th, she received the Communion in the District-church of which the 'Evangelical' Clergyman is the 'Minister'; and on going back to Paris she carried away with her from the same Clergyman a written Certificate of Communion.

"The above details of the Lady's proceedings in England, though they have no immediate bearing on the Appeal which I am prosecuting before the Scottish Clergy, have yet been given here as being not irrelevant either to the Ecclesiastical questions raised in that Appeal, or to the general history of the case. I will now relate what passed between myself and the Lady, with reference to the further prosecution of the Appeal in Scotland.

"At our first Interview, reference having been made to the Lady's apprehensions of danger, and to her wish that I should not print the details of our controversy, I asked what she had to say to my proposal (previously communicated to her), by acceding to which she might secure the delay of one year at least, till after the next meeting of the Scottish Synod. She replied, that 'she had read that draft of a Letter to be addressed by her to the Scottish Bishops; but had determined *not* to take any such step.' I was told, that on first reading it she had smiled, and had said that 'it was not amiss; that she did not see any harm in sending it; and she thought she would.' But after having consulted some persons whom she met in Essex, and reconsidered the matter herself, she decided otherwise.

"After this, as she desired to know all the particulars of what had passed, I read to her from Minutes made at the time a full account of my communications with the Scottish Bishops and their Synod; [an account which there is no present necessity for printing, and which has therefore been omitted.] And a friend of her's, who had been present, having conceived the idea that she had been too hasty in rejecting my proposal, and the prospect of delay which it held out, I was requested by both the ladies to read aloud the draft which had been sent of such a Letter as might be addressed

to the Scottish Bishops. Accordingly I read this draft over to the ladies, one of whom rather earnestly urged the other to adopt it, saying, that independently of the prospect of delaying the printing, nothing could be more fair, reasonable, and straightforward.

'Right Revd. Fathers,—While I thank you, &c.' [See p.370.]

“ The Russian Lady repeated, that she had quite made up her mind ; and that when once she had taken her line she did not change. And she gave these reasons. I had suggested to her, she said, that she should *thank* the Scottish Bishops for having refused to entertain the Appeal, whereas she could never thank those Bishops ; she despised them. To be sure, she said, she *was* very well pleased that I should fail in my efforts against her ; but still she knew well enough how to estimate their conduct at its just value ; and respected much more an adversary who, though in grievous error, was straightforward and earnest. That if those Bishops agreed with her in the main, as she had every right to suppose they did, they ought to have said so, and to have confessed the truth of the Gospel openly : That the Anglican Church, she saw, was sick, from having too many things left undefined : That, at any rate, whatever they thought, they ought to have said something. But besides, she continued, it was contrary to her whole system to come forward to address Authorities or Synods : That she was indeed, by God's help, maintaining the truth of the Gospel, both within the Anglican Church, and in the eyes of sixty millions of Russians ; but that she did this only by professing the truth and acting upon it as an individual, and leaving the attacks of her opponents to defeat themselves, or to be defeated by that Providence which protected her. It was objected, that if she were, as she said, a standard-bearer on the Protestant side in Anglicanism, the step that had been suggested was the very one she ought to take. She replied, No : That as a woman she was not called upon to put herself forward : That her conscience needed not any such formalities : That if she were to do it, it would be displeasing to her husband and to her friends : And lastly, that the Scottish Bishops would no more attend to the Appeal as coming from her, than they had attended to it as coming from their own Missionary Bishop ; and that it would be all the more ill-judged in her to make the ex-

periment, as she could gain nothing by it: She stood upon the existing customs of Anglicanism, and found all that her conscience needed in them; while my conscience needed a great change: so that the refusal even of an examination to the Appeal against her was in fact the most summary and significant decision that could be given in her favour. I could not but acknowledge that there was force in some at least of these reasons. And as for the advantage of one year's delay, the Lady said, she did not care to do that which she judged unsuitable to her position merely to procure a postponement of danger or annoyance: that if danger or annoyance came to her, she was not afraid to meet them; though of course she was not such a fool as to wish them to come, or as not to wish rather to avoid them: And therefore, as it was clear I could never succeed in the Appeal, she hoped I would think no more of printing the details of our controversy: Still more she hoped that I might be led to open my eyes to the truth, and to become, like herself, a *real* member of the Protestant Anglican Church.

“ The Lady having thus, for her part, declined to address any communication to the Scottish Bishops, and I having on the other side declined to give up the intention of printing, which, I said, would be the same thing as to throw up the Appeal itself, it was understood that the matter must take its course, both parties remaining in their former attitudes; only with this difference, that seeing now more clearly the extent to which I was pledged, and the very serious results to myself, quite as much as to her, which might be involved in the issue, the Lady now no longer did me the injustice of supposing that I was moved by any personal pique; or that I was causelessly involving her in annoyance, or perhaps in danger, without risking anything on my own side. On the contrary, she said that, seeing now the gulph before me, she shrank with horror from the responsibility of doing anything which should tend to force me deeper into error, and into the Greek Church: And this thought would be a strong additional reason (if any were wanted) for her refusing to seek a decision of the Appeal from the Bishops in Scotland: Such a decision if obtained (as obtained it must be, if at all) in her favour, would give her nothing which she did not possess already, while it would drive me to perdition.

“ In the next place, as the plan of printing was to be persevered in, I repeated to the Lady the offer of showing her all the MS. which I proposed to print for the Scottish Clergy, and which I had brought with me on purpose. This offer was accepted ; and in the course of our succeeding interviews, before she left England, she either heard me read, or read herself, the whole Narrative from the very beginning of the affair to the end. As these readings were going on she suggested the correction of several slight inaccuracies of statement, and desired me to make various other omissions or alterations ; with regard to nearly all of which there was no difficulty in complying with her wishes. I also promised, on her mentioning it, to send her a copy of the whole whenever it should have been printed in Scotland.

“ It may perhaps be worth while to mention some of the remarks made by her, on one occasion or another, in going over the history of our controversy.

“ On hearing the recital of those circumstances, many of them new to her, which led to its first beginning, she expressed the conviction that all had been brought about by higher powers, for evil on my side, and for good on hers. ‘ How curious it was,’ she exclaimed, ‘ that while she was embracing the Gospel in the name of the Anglican Church, another person, knowing nothing of this, should come from within the Anglican Church seeking to Communicate with the Russian ? And how singularly and designedly, as it seemed, one thing had led or forced on to another ?’ With respect to the conduct of Bishop Luscombe towards her, she found great fault with it, taxing him with extraordinary weakness and inconsistency, and contending that, but for the importunity of others, he would never have turned against her, nor have committed the absurdity of bidding her return to the Russian Church, when he was safely lodged himself in an Evangelical Communion. She was astonished and indignant to find herself accused of having ‘ deceived’ him, and of having taken the Communion from him ‘ surreptitiously ;’ whereas the terms of his first note (which were urged against her), were such as to leave her free to judge for herself whether she were under any ‘ *just*’ excommunication by the Russian Church ; and her conscience assured her that she was not. She acknowledged having sent that copy of Bishop

Luscombe's Sermons which he had given her, together with the XXXIX Articles, and the Popish Refutation of them, to the Arch-Priest, the Member of the Russian Synod ; and on my remarking that I had admired her tact and boldness in doing so, and had not been displeased with her management of the Controversy on that occasion, she replied with a smile that, ' if so, I must be very generous ; as her sending those documents had certainly done me much harm ; and had made a very unfavourable impression both against me, and against Bishop Luscombe.' She did not seem to feel that either in this act, or before it in seeking a formal Certificate of Communion, and in going to London to certain English Prelates, she had done anything inconsistent with her present plan of merely taking the Communion and leaving others to do against her what they pleased : ' For,' she said, ' any one, even the most spiritless, may sometimes be roused ;' as she confessed she had been by Bishop Luscombe's conduct towards her, and by finding herself denounced. ' The whale,' she said, ' as we are told by Naturalists, is the most peaceable creature in the world ; but even that will turn and bite, when hurt.' She repeated several times, that she had been led and supported from above to bear a consistent witness to the Gospel through all those attacks and denunciations. She did not like the Calvinists, she said ; but finding herself so pursued by controversy, she had once thought, for the sake of quiet, to transfer herself from the Anglican to the Lutheran or ' Evangelical' Church ; but on reflection she had determined not to do so ; and that partly at the advice of some Anglican friends, who entreated her not to give such a triumph (as this might have been represented) to ' Puseyism : ' for that she was in a manner bearing the standard of truth within the Anglican Communion, as her adversary was bearing that of error : And not only so, but multitudes even in Russia, she added, even of the Clergy, had their eyes fixed upon her as representing, almost alone, the unity of the Gospel ; and desired to be able to do as she had done : so that she should be sinning against all these, if she ceased to bear her witness. She bade me take notice how she seized every opportunity, while then in London, of professing herself a member of the Anglican Communion before acquaintances of hers who were strangers to me, (letting them know

at the same time who I was) ; that they might see that she still maintained her position, and bore her witness to my face. She seemed to have thoughts of coming again to England, and perhaps to Scotland ; and even of ending her days in our island ; and she gave me to understand that she had kept journals of all her religious trials and persecutions quite as detailed, perhaps, as those which I was going to print for the Scottish Clergy ; and that if in what I printed I misrepresented her, she should be driven by a sense of justice to herself, and to that truth which she had embraced, to publish her own statement.

“ Speaking generally, the Lady complained that in the MS. which she had read there was some unfairness, not indeed so much in the way of actual misrepresentation, as in the way of omission : that justice had not been done to her religious convictions, or to the difficulties and sufferings which she had endured for them. And certainly, in every serious suit or controversy a one-sided narrative must be more or less open to such a charge ; it being impossible, from the very nature of the case, that the one party, while stating or pleading his own cause, and urging his own belief, should state and plead the cause of his opponent either so fully, or with such appeals to sympathy, as if it were managed by themselves. Besides making this admission, I feel it due to the Lady here, at the conclusion of this Report, to confess that neither I, nor any other person whom I have heard speak of her from personal knowledge, have ever questioned either the goodness of her heart, or the sincerity of her religious convictions, or the fact that she has shewn much constancy and firmness, as well as tact and ability, in maintaining her position. Nor do I deny that she has run, and may still run, some considerable risk ; or that she has incurred much anxiety, trouble, and inconvenience, for conscience’ sake. Also, even in respect of her religious opinions, I am quite conscious that there is nothing about them narrow or sectarian : she makes no secret of her dislike for Calvinism, which she terms ‘ the worse half by far of the Reformation : ’ neither does she maintain any Denominational peculiarities of Lutheranism. Though consorting most with Anglicans of the School termed ‘ Evangelical,’ she would be found ready to admit or tolerate some opinions and usages

which even the 'High-Church' would stagger at : and though liberal enough to think even 'Puseyism' might be tolerated as a refuge for weak minds, if they could only stop without going on to Popery, she yet decidedly objects to the slightest departures from the customary Protestantism ; to chanting the Service, for instance ; to decorations, and changings of posture ; as containing in themselves the germs of symbolism, and tending to reproduce it by a logical development. With all this, she is not so tied to any particular Protestant error, but that she is free and ready to change it, on sufficient evidence ; as, for example, she formerly denied, but now maintains, in a sense, the Real Presence : and such changes make no difference whatever to her position. In fact there are only two essential articles in her system, 'Justification by Faith only' according to the Protestant theory, and the 'right of passive Communion' according to Anglican practice. The former of these, if deeply held, renders all varieties, and even changes, of opinion about particular doctrines, and Doctrines and Sacraments themselves, of comparative unimportance ; the second, if successfully asserted, does the same for all varieties of ecclesiastical Discipline and practice.

" It is undeniable that the Anglican Communion in its existing state, though mixed, affords much countenance even to the doctrinal views of the Lady ; while, in respect of the right of passive Communion there seems almost to be a clear case in her favour. It is no wonder that, seeing things from her point of view, she should have expressed the greatest astonishment both at the prodigious inconsistency and self-contradiction of the late Bishop Luscombe, (for so she termed it), and at my own blindness and unreasonableness in maintaining such a view of Anglicanism, as I have been pretending to maintain against hers. Without denying that there is a real difficulty caused by the double-sidedness of the Anglican Communion, I could only attempt to shew her, that her own Anglicanism, though perhaps a truer, or popularly a more acceptable development, was yet no less a development, and one that no less certainly went beyond the existing system, than that contrary development which she had herself, in great measure, forced Bishop Lusecombe, even against his will, to assert ; the middle and mixed ground being untenable alike for both parties. To enable her to judge for herself

what historical grounds and authority were to be found for the more Catholic view of Anglicanism, I referred her to the volume I had myself edited two years before under the title of a ‘Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Eastern Catholic Church;’ This volume having been prepared expressly with a view to the difficulty she spoke of, and having been sent to Russia by Bishop Luscombe as an Explanation or Apology for that same inconsistency, after she had forced it upon the notice of the Synod. She accepted from me a copy of this volume; and so returned to Paris, after having made a visit to London the very counterpart of that which I made in 1842 to St Petersburg, to meet and oppose her. What the final issue of the Controversy shall be, depends now no longer on us, but on others; and in the first instance upon the Clergy of the Scottish part of ‘*our*’ Communion.

“I remain, my dear Lord, your Lordship’s most dutiful and obedient son and servant,

“N. N.” (*Deacon.*)

SECTION LXXIV.

EXTRACTS FROM A BOOK RECENTLY PUBLISHED AT ST PETERSBURGH; AND FROM A LETTER OF ITS AUTHOR.

IN the spring of the present year 1848, while still confined to his room by illness, the writer received a copy of a Russian book recently published at St Petersburg by a very talented and distinguished author; some passages from which, bearing upon our own modern ecclesiastical history, and even upon the Appeal now prosecuting in Scotland, may not improperly be inserted here, as tending to shew, together with other indications given above, that there are persons in Russia who take more or less of interest in the issue.

“Though after the death of Cromwell, on the restoration of the Stuarts, the former Ecclesiastical order was re-established, the weak government of the dissolute Charles II. could not at once settle the Church upon her former footing on a soil shaken with factions and schisms. Especially in Scotland, where, ever since the time of the unfortunate Queen Mary, the sect of the Presbyterians had already been in the ascendant. The deposition of King James II. by his son-in-law, William of Orange, put an end there to the *legal* jurisdiction of the Bishops. William being incensed against the Scottish Bishops because they refused to acknowledge him as their *lawful* sovereign, from loyalty to their own native dynasty of the

Stuarts, acknowledged by a public Act the Presbyterian sect for the dominant religion in Scotland, as more consonant to his own Protestant opinions. The Bishops remained in their dioceses, only stripped of their revenues, and of the protection of the Civil Power; and were ranked on a level with the sects. From hence there arose a strange anomaly, or rather absurdity. The king having been acknowledged, contrary to the ecclesiastical canons, for Head of the Church, is at once Head of the Episcopal Church in England, and of the Presbyterian in Scotland, though the two are altogether hostile, the one to the other; while, in the mean time, the Scottish Bishops, who, according to the spirit of their Church, are in Communion with the English, are disowned as a sect by the Government; and so have greater freedom in their actions than the dominant Church of England, which is bound by legal enactments, and entirely subjected to the power of the Crown. The Scottish Bishops, after they had been dis-established by the Government, having still a sense of their spiritual rights, turned their eyes towards the Œcumenical Patriarchs, and the Russian Synod, in the days of Peter the Great, with the design of renewing their antient Christian Communion. But . . . notwithstanding the goodness of their intentions, their endeavour was not crowned with success.

"Meanwhile, in England also, the antient Ecclesiastical order was gradually changed, after the accession to the throne of the thoroughly Protestant dynasty of the House of Hanover. George I. during the troubled period of the Pretenders, put an end to the annual meeting of the Assembly of the Spirituality (the Convocation), which, after the manner of the Parliament, was divided into an Upper and a Lower House, and which besides settling the amount of contributions, used to legislate on Ecclesiastical matters. Thus each individual Bishop was left alone, with his own rights and jurisdiction, in his own diocese; and the Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, retained some influence over all the rest. But the Bishops are chosen at the will of the Ministers of the Crown: and the Government of the Church has got mixed up with the Civil Government in the Parliament; and is concentrated in a small Council composed of laymen, about the Crown. England, occupied during the last century with wars, filled with sects, and penetrated in common with all Europe by the spirit of latitudinarianism, paid little or no attention to the monstrosity of such a form of Church Government in a kingdom where the highest importance is attached to legitimacy and propriety. And in this state the Anglican Church has come down to our times, without any real superior Government of its own, without any consciousness, as it seemed, of what was wanting to her. The grant of liberty to all religious Denominations to sit in the Parliament first roused her from her sleep: for hereby a blow was struck at her nationality; when no longer laymen only, but members of other Denominations, became the arbiters of her fate.

"It is difficult to say exactly how or when began that new tendency of men's minds within the Anglican Church, which very improperly bears the name of 'Puseyism' from one of its chief promoters; for this is not a sect, but an opinion or spirit. It broke out, and followed after that general religious movement which shewed itself suddenly all over Europe, after all those civil changes, which seemed to shew visibly the finger of God to unbelieving men. That movement was so strong, and so ubiqui-

tous, that even political questions took an ecclesiastical form ; while the question of the Church, which had slept in total silence during the course of the last century, revived with more force than ever. The same took place in England also. And it was very natural that the sense of religion should awake sooner in the seclusion of Oxford, than in the noisy capital of London, engrossed with its commerce and politics. Another reason concurred to favour Oxford. Its celebrated University consists of a number of Colleges which are rather ecclesiastical than secular bodies, semi-monastic foundations, which, as well as the University itself, [retain the enjoyment of extraordinary liberties and privileges.] All the employment of their members being directed to matters of learning, history, and Divinity, there arose among them naturally enough, and of itself, the question of the present unhappy state of the Anglican Church, from which a vast portion of its members had separated ; which is shattered into a number of sects ; while the remainder sleep in profound indifference, and, contrary to the original nature of their institutions, tend downwards to Protestantism. ‘ In the prayers of our Church we call ourselves *Catholics* ; but in our Acts of Parliament we are called *Protestants*.’ This is what was said to me by the promoters of the movement, Messrs N., G., H., &c., who have succeeded in kindling their own zeal in others, and have been gaining ground insensibly, till in the course of ten years a large proportion of the University has taken their side.”

Then follows a long account of the Appellant’s own visits to Russia, and of his connection with Bishop Luscombe, and so with the Scottish Church, most of which is omitted both for its very personal nature and for its great though well-intentioned inaccuracy. One part of what the writer says is as follows :—

“ Although the Orthodox Church could not take a single Deacon, who came as an individual into Russia, to represent a whole Church, or *accept his explanations as sufficient*, still the visit of Mr N. has done much good for his Church, in making it known to the Orthodox Church. He has established a distinction in our ideas for the Anglican Church from the Protestant, with which we frequently before confounded it in our minds, notwithstanding its Episcopal character ; and by useful translations of Russian Dogmatical books” [Mr Blackmore’s, rather than his,] “ has made his countrymen acquainted with the Orthodox Doctrine. . . . I will only add, that . . . not long ago, at the same time that he . . . *was on the point of going to Scotland to the Bishops there*, he [sent copies to Russia of his and Mr Blackmore’s] last book intitled a ‘*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*.’ He has printed in it, in English, the whole of our ‘*Full Catechism*,’ that his countrymen may have an authentic Exposition of the Orthodox Faith ; and at the same time, at once to conciliate us also towards them, and to shew them themselves how far they are now, too commonly, from the former opinions of their own best and most learned Fathers, he has extracted from the writings of their own standard Bishops and Doctors, old and recent, the most appropriate doctrinal passages on the Seven Sacraments, Transubstantiation, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Reverencing of Holy Icons, the Invocation of the Saints, and other points, which serve chiefly for rocks of offence. From these Extracts it is manifest that the followers of the Anglican Church in former times held sentiments on these points of faith

very much more conformable to the Orthodox doctrine, than do [generally speaking] her present children."

From a Letter of the same writer :

"May it please the Lord, the God of our Fathers, and of yours, to open the eyes of the Scottish Church, . . . and not to suffer it to wrap itself up in the impenetrable clouds of old prejudices against us. Your books must surely produce a good effect : but still old habits will be too strong ; and even they who at the bottom of their hearts may be conscious of the truth will not venture, I fear, to confess it." . . .

SECTION LXXV.

LETTER FROM M. KHOMIAKOFF, WITH ALLUSIONS TO THE APPEAL.

SOME account having been already given, (in Section LXIX,) of a visit of M. Kh. in 1846, with extracts from his previous correspondence, no further introduction will be needed for the following Letter, written at different dates subsequently to his visit to England, and containing allusions which may be thought to be of some importance in their bearing upon the Appeal. The first date is *Berlin, September 18, 1847* :—

"DEAR SIR,—I am writing to you from the capital city of self-contented discord, from Berlin ; and my word is *Unity*. Nowhere can I feel so deeply the necessity, the holiness, and the consoling power of that Divine principle. Unity ! Not to be found in the vain and weak efforts of individual intellects, (for every intellect makes itself its own centre, when indeed there is but one true centre, God) ; not to be hoped for from the sympathetic power of nature, (for that is nothing but the superstitious worship of an abstraction) ; but to be taken simply and humbly from the dispensation of God's mercy and grace. *Unity!* the substantial character of the Church, the visible sign of the Lord's constant dwelling upon earth, the sweetest joy of the human heart. An almost boundless Individualism is the characteristic feature of Germany, and particularly of Prussia. Here, in Berlin, it would be difficult to find one single point of faith, or even one feeling, which could be considered as a link of true spiritual communion between man and man, in the Christian meaning of the word. Even the desire of harmony seems to be extinguished : and that predominance of Individualism, that spiritual solitude among the ever-busy crowd, sends to the heart a feeling of dreariness and desolation. The hand of decay is on this country, notwithstanding its apparent progress in material improvements. I will not say ' Nothing is to be hoped for Germany.' The ways of the future are known to God alone : and a change *may* come on quite unexpectedly : but the present gives certainly but little reason for hope. Still, the earnestness of the German mind in all intellectual researches is not quite so disheartening, as the frivolous and self-conceited gaiety of homeless and thoughtless France. A mind given to reflection has time, and may perhaps feel a desire, to listen to the voice of divine truth. Of all countries I have visited in my short journey England is certainly the only one I have felt a deep regret to part with, the only one which I shall always think about with a deep

feeling of sympathy. I know very well that England wants, perhaps as much as Germany itself, the blessing of spiritual unity: its appearance is more a shew and an illusion than a truth: but illusive as it is, still its appearance is more consoling than its manifest absence. The numerous and sometimes crowded Churches; the earnestness of prayer; the solemnity of ancient forms of worship not quite forgotten; even the rather Puritanical Sabbatizing on the Lord's Day are full of deep and joyful impressions. They seem to indicate a community of spiritual life throughout the country. Even later, when the illusion is over, when a closer observation has discovered the latent discord under the veil of outward and arbitrary unity, there still remains a consolation in the evident longing for unity which is felt by so many individuals, and which the multitude itself expresses by holding so strictly at least to its outward forms. Certainly a serious ignorance searching for Divine Truth is much above a proud or merry infidelity. [Then follows a fresh date, Dec^r 2, 1847.]

"I had begun this letter in Berlin. Since then some months have elapsed; but I let it stand, because it expresses feelings which had been inspired by my travels through Germany.

"In Petersburg I have seen Count N.[the High Procurator], with whom, till then, I had no personal acquaintance. He questioned me about England, and particularly about its religious movement. He listened to my answers with serious, and, I hope, sincere interest . . . It was agreeable to hear from him that he considered as of no importance at all some Forms to which you expressed your objections; (as, for example, the use of the word '*Eastern*' in Ecclesiastical rites): and he gave me the assurance, which I think I had given you beforehand, that any Form which could convey to the mind an idea of narrow locality would certainly be rejected, *as soon as indicated, or as soon as the rejection should be called for*. Indeed I expected no other answer. The undue exaltation of any locality whatever is exactly the antipode of the idea itself of a Christian Church, which claims a living Communion with the past and the future, with the visible and invisible world.

"Some months have elapsed again since my visit to the Count N. The illness of . . ., the bad state of the roads, and the cholera being in Moscow, have detained me in the Government of Toula. I have but just now seen the Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret. The conversation of that highly gifted man has been more satisfactory still for me, than my interview with [the High Procurator] . . . His sympathy was unexpectedly warm and strong. He listened to many things with a joyful smile, and with tears in his eyes. It

was even a strange emotion to behold in a man of such generally concentrated feelings. He has raised my hopes. He said, '*Every thing that can be done, without offending the Christian conscience, will be done.*' and that was said earnestly. There was harmony between his face and his words. He said likewise that '*Every plausible explanation, in questions of seeming differences, would readily be admitted; that Every Rite not implying the direct negation of a dogma would be allowed. unity of Rites being very desirable indeed, but unity of Dogma being the only clause sine quâ non.*' Let us hope for the best.

"I have had no direct news from England since my return. The newspapers inform us that the Commercial crisis is at an end. That was expected; and yet I am glad to hear it. The words '*Commercial crisis*,' and others of the same sort, are very short and unmeaning; but thousands of miseries are hidden under these short words. They are not much better than the likewise very short word '*cholera*,' which we know very well. Happily it is no more spoken of in Moscow, but not quite so in many parts of Russia. Victims have been very numerous in some Governments; but the disease has not been quite so mortal as at the time of its first importation in 1830. I would be glad to think that all is going on in England as well as possible; but I am afraid another crisis is unavoidable, not a Commercial, but a Religious one. Such at least are the consequences which in my opinion seem to follow naturally upon the nomination of the Bishop of Hereford. Dr Pusey in a Church of which Dr Hampden is a Bishop! Why! that is worse than affirmation and negation in the same sentence. And though the nomination is perhaps in itself nothing more than a bad trick of Lord J. R., yet the manifestation of parties which have stood up and faced one another is most important. The hollowness of mere external unity is growing evident. I am sorry for it; as I always am when any thing happens that is a symptom of troubles and contention. And yet it may be for the best. The divine logic of history is unavoidable. Every delusion must have an end; and noble spirits being free from the delusive unity, will seek and find the true one.

"Let us seek it, Dear Sir! Let us be earnest and bold in the task. Let us consider our actions as most important not only for ourselves, but as either acting on, or being symptoms of, the time. A dozen ripe grains are not a ripe harvest; and yet the villager is happy to find two or three ripe grains in the field. They are a sign that the harvest is ripening fast.

"If you are, as I suppose, in correspondence with Mr N. N., pray be so kind as to give him my compliments. . . . A friendly greeting to dear Oxford itself, with its twenty Colleges, and green lawns, and deep shades, and its stillness, and quiet. I hope its salutary influence will long outlive Whig Ministers and German Latitudinarianism. Yours &c." "A. Kh."

"P. S.—(March 14, 1848.) A strange time! I was writing this letter when the great events of France and of all Europe came on so startlingly and unexpectedly. The highest questions are stirred up; and man hopes to solve them without the aid of religion. I am afraid humanity will pay dearly for the foolish pride of reason. May the impending storms be

directed and moderated by the hand of Mercy. May England be spared !
It is my heartiest wish."

SECTION LXXVI.

LETTER SENT TO THE MOST VENERABLE THE ARCH-PRIEST B. B. K.,
AND TO THE M. H. GOVERNING SYNOD OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH;
WITH A COPY OF THE LETTER OF THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.

[THE Letter which here follows was first written in the autumn of 1846, and was written out fair to send in 1847, and dated from *Perth, September 20*; but it was not till the summer of 1848 that it was actually sent, under cover to the High Procurator, through the Russian Chaplain and the Embassy in London. The first, and greater part of it, as relating only to one point of doctrine which had all along been involved in the Appeal, (See Section LVII, Proposition I, and Section XLIII, I. II. p. 269, and p. 277, II.) which has, besides, been treated at length above, (p. 284 to 291.), and on which the writer still considers himself as *quite open to correction, which he would gladly welcome*, is in small type, to distinguish it from what relates directly to the Appeal itself, and to the ecclesiastical position of the writer, as depending upon its issue].

"To the Most Venerable the Arch-Priest, B. B. K., Grand Almoner of the Army and Fleet, and Member of the M. H. Governing Synod of the Russian Church at St Petersburgh.

"MOST VENERABLE SIR, — Feeling that truth ought always to be the first consideration, I write to you, for the discharging of my conscience, by acknowledging to you unreservedly, that since I have, now nearly a year ago, read with attention the Book of Adam Zœrnikaff on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, I feel obliged to give up the Latin opinion and phraseology as untenable, and to confess that, so far as I can see, Orthodoxy is with the Eastern Church.

"As this question is of the very deepest importance, not only for me, but also for all those who, like myself, are at present separated through it from the Eastern Church, I think that I shall not do amiss if I state with some degree of fulness and distinctness those grounds upon which I chiefly rested, so long as I defended the Latin opinion, and which now, upon better information, I feel bound to admit were insufficient and erroneous.

"I had been taught from a child to believe, and had ever believed, *as is indeed most true*, that the Holy Ghost is from all eternity the Proper

Spirit of the Son : And I supposed that this was the same thing as to 'proceed' from the Son. This seemed to me to follow from the order of the Persons in the Blessed Trinity : for, the Spirit being Third in order, we cannot even say that He proceeds from the Father without thereby implying that He 'is' from that substance, or of that substance, which is now already common to the Son ; and so of or from the Father and the Son in respect of consubstantiality, as St Cyril of Alexandria and St Epiphanius in very many places expressly assert : And in the same way that He 'is' of or from the Son, and that He receives of the Son in respect of consubstantiality. *All which is indeed most true.* But this, I thought, was the same thing as to 'proceed' *personally* from the one common substance of the Father and of the Son : which being conceded, it seemed to be all one whether we said 'from the one common substance of the Father and the Son,' or simply, as is the common way with the Latins, 'from the Persons of the Father and the Son in respect of their one common substance.'

"In the mean time, however, I did not perceive or consider those theological difficulties in which one is involved by the Latin mode of expression. For their 'double Procession' must be in its cause either a *personal* act or an *essential* act. If we say that it is an *essential* act, (that is, that it is to be ascribed to the Divine Essence as common to the Father and the Son), we make an evident inequality between the Persons of the Trinity. For besides the *Three* distinct Persons, with their distinct Personal attributes, and the *one* common Nature of the Godhead, with its essential attributes common to all the Three Persons, we introduce a *fifth* distinct energy or operation, namely, that of the peculiarly-common Essence of the Father and the Son, which is neither distinguished as a Person, nor yet common, as the Essence or Nature, to all the Three Persons. And from this, which is of itself a sufficient difficulty, there follows further, as has been said, a manifest inequality between the Persons, the Son having something besides His strictly Personal attributes which the Holy Ghost has not ; and again, something in common with the Father which the Holy Ghost has not ; and yet again, something with regard to the Holy Ghost, which the Holy Ghost has not reciprocally with regard to the Son. But if, on the other hand, we say that the causing of the Procession is not an essential act, but a Personal act, it follows necessarily, that we either suppose one Personal operation in two distinct Persons, which is to confound two Persons into one ; or else make in fact (if we allow a double Personal energy) two principles, or agencies, two productive acts, nay even (it would seem to follow) two producta, two Holy Ghosts, differing in nothing but in number. These theological difficulties in the Latin phraseology I did not, I repeat, see or consider, as I might have done. And, besides, I was under the influence of another error in this, that I had always supposed the Latin word *Spiritus*, when used of the Holy Ghost, to have a passive signification, as if it were etymologically identical with the passive participle *spiratus* : And so I concluded that the Fathers of the Church, whenever they called the Spirit 'the Spirit of the Son,' taught, by the very force of the terms themselves, that He is essentially and eternally breathed forth or produced by the Son, as the *cause* of His being.

"Besides, to confess the truth, I had not studied enough, nor knew accurately as yet, the Divinity of the Easterns. I knew that the old

Greek Fathers taught the Spirit to be from all eternity 'the Spirit of the Son'; and supposing, erroneously, that this was but another form of words for the Latin doctrine, I had a vehement suspicion of the more modern Greeks, that they were inclined to deny, or at least to lose sight of this truth. For indeed I did not then see how they *could* honestly believe and confess that the Spirit is from all eternity the Spirit of the Son, without being willing to confess at the same time that He 'proceeds jointly, equally, and indivisibly, as by one spiration, from the one common substance of the Father and the Son.' Further, I suspected the modern Greeks of a desire or leaning to deny or dispute the relative order of the Three Persons; and thought this no small sign of their being in error. For feeling, as I did, that the whole strength of the Latin cause lies in this, that the Holy Spirit derives His being the Third in order (though not in time) from the Father, I noticed that the Greeks, in their arguments against the Latins, were for ever bringing forward such reasonings as seemed to hint that the Spirit was in no other sense the proper Spirit of the Son, than as the Son may be said reciprocally to be proper to the Spirit.

"But now being better informed, since I have studied Zœrnikaff's Treatise, I change my mind, and retracting my former erroneous opinion, I acknowledge that not only the Eastern Church in herself, but also her modern writers and teachers, are so far from denying or doubting that the Holy Ghost is from all eternity the Spirit of the Son because they say that He proceeds from the Father only, that, contrariwise, they give this as the express reason for His being from all eternity the Spirit of the Son, *that He proceeds from the Father*. For in that He proceeds from the Father He is naturally inherent in the Son, Who has already all that is the Father's, and the Father's own substance. Nor can we rightly say that the Spirit, after proceeding from the Father, or in proceeding from the Father, is by Him *communicated* to the Son; for He is at once and originally the Son's, in that He proceeds from that essence of the Father, and is of that essence, and is Himself that essence, which is already by generation communicated to the Son, and which the Son Himself also is. Again, so far are the Easterns from slighting or confounding the relative order of the Persons, that they give this as the express reason for the Holy Ghost being from all eternity the proper Spirit of the Son (though He proceeds not from the Son), that He is produced by the Father Third in order, after the Son. For hence it is that He who has His being from the one sole source of Deity Third, is properly, naturally, and originally inherent (as to His substance) in Him, Who receives the same substance, one and undivided in Three Persons, from the same one sole source of Deity Second in order.

"And thus much of those theological considerations which before I did not sufficiently consider or understand, and of the Divinity of the Easterns, which I may at times have calumniated by word as well as by thought, through my ignorance. It still remains that I should say a few words with regard to the question of Authority. For this was all along what weighed most with me, making me summarily to reject all notion of embracing the Eastern doctrine, and to assert confidently that the difference could be no more than verbal at the most, seeking out any devices to harmonize the two conflicting modes of expression, rather than confess the Latins to be wrong;—This, I say, was what I went upon, that I sup-

posed it to be undeniable, that some at least of the orthodox Latin Fathers, before the division, had taught the modern Roman doctrine not only by seeming implication, but in express and unambiguous words, saying, that the Holy Ghost '*proceeds eternally from the Person of the Son.*' And if this were so, I saw not, *nor do I see now*, what right the Greek Church can have, however great in holiness or in extent she may be, to lord it over the faith of the Latins. Our Latin Fathers, I said, are every whit as good as their Greek. And if it is to go by authority, it is more tolerable that the First See, with two-thirds of the Catholic world, should dictate to the rest, than suffer itself to be dictated to by the insolent madness of one separated third part, and that too, lying frozen, as it were, and half-dead under the ascendancy of the Civil Power. If in any of their expressions the Greek Fathers may seem to differ from the Latin, or the more antient from the modern, still, I thought, this must ever be assumed as a first principle, that such difference is only seeming and superficial, not real : that there is one and the same Catholic Faith preserved whole and undefiled underneath the seeming contradiction : and that the duty of a wise and religious man is, so far as he can, to harmonize such differences of expression : where he finds himself unable to do this, to take it for granted that the difficulty lies in *his own* lack of learning or ability, not in any real contradiction between the Fathers. Besides, it seemed to me no slight difficulty to allow that the Chair of Peter, that is, the See of older Rome, and the whole Roman-Catholic or Latin Church, which now in many respects far preponderates over the Greek, had not only erred at times, but had obstinately persevered in error on so very grave a point during so many ages.

"Now, however, being compelled by the force of truth, though *most unwillingly*, I must say, and in spite of myself, I confess that all those passages and authorities from Latin Fathers, on which I formerly rested, have given way one after another, and have sunk as the ground from beneath my feet ; until I am now left without any other proofs to allege in defence of the Latin doctrine than passages which I myself feel to have been either misinterpreted or corrupted, or to be open to very just suspicion. And though I purpose to study further the old Latin writers, and to consider besides whatever Roman Divines of the present day may have to urge, and am still *quite open to change*, I yet think it scarcely possible that I should be moved from my present conviction, a conviction to which I have come reluctantly, and which grows in strength.

"As regards the Roman-Catholic Church, though I am free to confess that the Latin doctrine now appears to me to be *in itself* not only an error, but a real heresy subversive of the Faith in its highest mystery of the Trinity, still I must add, that I think the Roman-Catholic Church has plainly rejected and anathematized all those heresies which *would* flow *naturally* from her doctrine on the Procession. This she has done partly in common with the whole Church before-hand, and partly at the time that she brought her present dogma into shape. It is *undeniable*, that she neither *means* to assert two distinct principles or causes ; nor to confound two distinct Persons into one ; nor to make any inequality between the Three Persons of the Trinity ; though certainly she does all the time teach a doctrine concerning the Procession, which is directly contrary to that of all the Fathers, and which of *its own nature*, tends directly to one or other of the above-mentioned heresies. Thus, it must be allowed, she tramples under

foot the authority of the Holy Œcumenical Councils, and of the Fathers ; she persists obstinately in maintaining a formal heresy, so far as the expression goes ; and is justly rejected by the Eastern Church from her Communion, until she return to the Œcumenical standard of Faith : But yet, with all this, she is not intrinsically in sense and spirit heretical ; but contradicts herself in her theological language ; and while she teaches heresy under one form of words, rejects and anathematizes under other forms of words the very heresy which she teaches.

“ As for the British Churches, they have in their public Forms followed in this point of the Procession the Roman doctrine and *phraseology*, without making any question or examination of its truth. But if I am to speak of the belief of their individual members, I must say, that I have never myself met with so much as a single individual, either of the Clergy or of the laity, who was ready intelligently to defend the Latin *doctrine*. Scarcely ever have I even met with one who could so much as *state* the Latin doctrine, or apprehend it when stated, though he might suppose the Greeks to be in error. Nearly all, so far as I know, either suppose the Greeks to deny the Holy Spirit to be eternally the Spirit of the Son, or to proceed or issue from the Son according to the Dispensation ; or else, agreeing themselves absolutely with the Greeks, and knowing that they agree, they suppose that their own Church means and requires nothing inconsistent with this belief, by the use of the Latin clause ‘*Filioque*’ in her Formularies. For myself, though I cannot say that I was intelligently defending the Latin Doctrine, when I thought and spoke (as I now feel) confusedly and inconsistently on the subject, yet certainly when I was in Russia I supposed myself to know what the Latin Doctrine was, and thought it my duty to defend it, and tried my best to do so. And yet, I well remember, that at that time I was often distressed in doing so by the consciousness that I knew of scarcely any one else in my own Church, who would defend that doctrine as I then defended it.

“ As for my present position, having returned from Russia, as you know, with an Appeal to the Scottish Bishops, and it being as yet undecided whether they will by their judgment, or by their refusal to give judgment, own me, or rather the Lady my antagonist (whom their Missionary Bishop at Paris sought, by their aid, to disown and refute, and who has apostatized from you) as belonging to their Communion, I

will not hazard any anticipation prematurely as to what course it may hereafter become my duty to pursue, either towards the Eastern and Russian, or the Scottish and Anglican Church: only I beg you will not think that I am going to trifle in this matter: For, indeed, nothing can be farther from my intentions: and I hope I may have grace to do whatever is right, whether it be painful to my feelings, or otherwise.

“ I have addressed this letter to you, Venerable Sir, because when I came, in 1840, for my studies into Russia, and had been presented to you by His Excellency the High Procurator, you were the first Russian Divine who conversed with me on the subject of the Procession, noticing the erroneous reasonings by which, in a Latin Introduction to the XXXIX Articles, I sought to maintain the Latin doctrine, and putting into my hands at the same time the treatise of Theophanes, mainly taken from the larger Work of Adam Zoernikaff, who himself was first convinced of the orthodoxy of the Greek doctrine by his researches in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. At that time neither your conversations, nor the book you lent me, were able all at once to inform my ignorance, or to eradicate my habitual prejudices on the subject: but now, since I have at length perused with attention Zoernikaff's own Work, I freely confess that you were quite right in all you said to convince me of my error; and that you first put me upon that more careful examination of this great point, which has led me gradually to see more and more the confusedness and inconsistency of those propositions which I formerly held together as different expressions of one and the same truth. Besides yourself, there are several other Prelates and Divines of the Russian Church who have contributed to my change of opinion, and to whom I wish, through you, to convey my acknowledgments; especially the most Reverend the Metropolitan of Moscow, who recommended me to read carefully the Hymns of the Church for Pentecost; the Right Reverend Athanasius, formerly Rector of the Seminary at St Petersburg, and now Bishop of Tomsk; (the learned and religious Priest and my good friend Alexander Stratelatoft is gone to his rest); the Right Reverend Athanasius, who is now Bishop of Viimitza, and Rector of the Spiritual

Academy at St Petersburg: lastly, and above all, the Right Reverend Philaret, now Bishop of Riga, who, when I knew him, was Rector of the Academy in the Lavra of the Holy Trinity, and who not only gave me the benefit there of his most learned and friendly conversations, but also presented me with copies of the Works both of Theophanes, and of Adam Zoernikaff, from his own Library.

“In conclusion, I will request you to send to those Prelates, whom I have named, copies of this Letter, which I inclose for each of them, and also one for the M. H. Synod itself, in whose name you were commissioned to confer and deal with me before I last left Russia. At the end of this last copy I have subjoined a translation of a Document which I have received from the senior Bishop, by age and consecration, of the Scottish Church (and indeed of the whole Anglican Communion) the Bishop of St Andrews, which, I hope, may serve to shew that, though I have been delayed now for four years by ill health, and may be delayed longer, I am still seriously prosecuting that Appeal with which I returned from Russia, and the Documents relating to which have been already transmitted to the M. H. Synod through the Embassy of His I. M. at London. I remain, most Venerable Sir, &c. &c.”

“N. N.”

(“*Deacon to the late Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church, the Bishop Matthew [Luscombe], and now Appellant in Scotland under the protection of the Bishop of St Andrews, and received as one of his Clergy.*”)

“*The Letter of the Bishop of St Andrews*”; [appended to the above Letter to the Arch-Priest on that Parchment Copy which was sent for the M. H. Synod]:

“ ‘ To the Reverend N. N., Deacon :

‘ Having read with all the attention of which I am capable those Documents, in Latin, which you put into my hands on the 14th of August last, I give it, on my deliberate judgment, that you have not cut yourself off from the Communion of the Church in Scotland, &c.’ ” [as at p. 343, and signed Oct. 8, 1846,] “ ‘ PATRICK TORRY, Bishop of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.’ ”

SECTION LXXVII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MDE. A. (COMMUNICATED ALSO TO THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.)

THE following is part of a letter which was received from Mde. A. early in the present year, and was dated from *Paris, December 29, 1847* :—

. . . “ I thank you, Sir, for your intention of revising your MS. and correcting it, with the wish of rendering it becoming, as regards me.

“ You say, Sir, that ‘ you hope I shall continue to be amicably disposed towards you, even though your conscience force you to new proceedings against me.’ I am too straightforward not to tell you plainly, that though I shall remain always in charity, and full of *forgiveness*, I shall begin, in that case, to see in you only a *complete stranger*, as before. If this announcement suggests the idea that I am afraid of you, it is my duty to tell you that you are mistaken. I fear you no more than I feared you before; and for the same reason: I believe firmly that the Lord will suffer you to make shipwreck in all your undertakings against me. My trust is in Him.

“ Above all, remember that *I* am not *seeking*: *I* have *found*. The strength of my cause lies in the *persecutions that I endure*. *Truth* never asserts itself but with sufferings and contentions. The Lord has promised to them that are His only—the Cross. You, who find so much peace, and so much sympathy in your convictions,—it is you who have need to tremble. The Prince of this world protects only false religions. This cunning deceiver keeps not the earth in a perpetual earthquake under the feet of any but those *who are bearing the truth of heaven*. *Have I ever shewn the least symptom of wavering during the last seven years?* Never! And do you know why? Because they have made such desperate attacks upon me: because they fight me: because they are for ever slashing at me: because in all this I recognize distinctly the *promises of the Bible to those that are of the ‘ little flock.’* I suffer too much not to have a great hope. Remember, ‘ whoso falleth upon the rock ’ of salvation, must ‘ *be broken* ’ upon it: But you,—you are on your feet, quite on your feet, and in the way of prosperity: regretted

by your Anglican friends, and received with open arms by the Orthodox. Listen, then! Attention! Know where you are, I beseech you. The question is grave. Time is short. Eternity must come. Adieu, my dear Sir, I pray to God for you, and very heartily, &c. &c.” “N. A.”

From the Answer to the above:

“I think you must have misunderstood one expression at the end of my last letter. I did not mean to suggest the idea of my having any ‘new proceedings’ in contemplation, after I had once printed and laid before the Scottish Clergy that MS. which I have communicated to you. On the contrary, I do not see how I can then have any reason whatever to trouble you by any further allusion to the past either in private or in public. I most heartily wish that I did not feel it a duty to proceed at all with that Appeal with which I returned from Russia to Bishop Luscombe, and to Scotland: If I were only convinced of the essential Protestantism (*i.e.* the essential nullity) of the Anglican Communion, or of the exclusive truth and life either of the Roman-Catholic or of the Eastern Church, this would be the case. I should then have nothing to do but to renounce at once my present erroneous Church (without troubling myself about any other person), and to unite myself to the true Church. But, contrary to my own ease and convenience, and to yours, this is *not* the case. I see, indeed, how much you have the advantage of me in the controversy in many respects: I see the very great probability which there is of my being defeated, and virtually disowned, while you are *virtually* owned and supported by those Bishops to whom I appealed, and by their Church, and by the Authorities of the Anglican Communion generally, so far as they are likely to own or disown anybody. But yet I cannot help retaining, in spite of myself, that conviction in which I have been brought up, that the ‘High Church,’ ‘Catholic,’ or ‘Puseyite’ ‘Anglicanism’ is the true Anglicanism; and that it is the duty of any individual who believes this to contend in defence of his religion to the last, till he is clearly and unequivocally beaten.”

What follows is the greater part of a Letter and Communication to Mde. A. occasioned by the receipt of two short notes from her, the one of which was dated from

Paris, May 15, and again from *Hanover, July 12*, [See above, Introd. Part III. Section XIX. p. cccxxvii.], while the other was dated from *Geneva, October 2, 1848*, and was received by the Appellant in Edinburgh. This latter contained nothing which it is necessary here to insert, except that Mde. A. "wished the Appeal to be allowed to go to sleep," without at all however ceasing to maintain her former position and pretensions :

. . . "It is very singular, that just at this time the duplicate of our controversy has been raised with me from a very different and distant quarter of the world,—from Chaldæa. A native of Mosul, who had learned English, and had abandoned the Papal-Chaldæan Church much as you abandoned the Russian, came to England about twelve years ago, and made a great friendship with me. He had been somewhat under the influence of 'Evangelical Protestantism' in the Levant, (in Egypt, and at Malta), much as you also had more or less associated with Swiss Calvinists before you began to profess Anglicanism : but on becoming acquainted in England with the 'High Church' Anglicanism, he immediately agreed with it, as offering almost complete agreement with the old Chaldæan or Nestorian Church which had been divided sixty years before chiefly by his grandfather's influence, who had been instrumental in uniting one half of it to Rome. I myself countenanced this stranger in taking the Communion in English Churches without so much as speaking to the Clergy, that is, according to the existing neglect of Discipline ; considering it to be an act of Intercommunion, and him to be still a member of the Papal-Chaldæan Church, which I hoped he might persuade to disobey the Pope in some things, and to unite together with the other part that remained Nestorian (correcting their error, which he represented as only verbal) in one Communion with the Anglican Church. Well ; he returned to his own country after a time, and was appointed Vice-Consul to the British Government there. The next thing heard of him was, that he was professing to have separated altogether from the Papal-Chaldæan Church, and was calling himself a member of the Anglican Church ; that he was seeking to draw away his countrymen also to this self-made Anglican Church, in the name of which he even thought himself

authorized, as Consul or Vice-Consul, to perform some religious Offices, while he Communicated also, at least upon one occasion, with the Chaldæan Nestorians. A younger brother of his, who had, like himself, been bred up a Papal-Chaldæan, at the age of fourteen years conceiving the wish to be equally civilized and Evangelical, and to fit himself for relations with England, separated himself from the Papal-Chaldæan Church, and called himself a Chaldæan simply, that is, a Nestorian : and in fact, from whatever cause, he really adopted and held the Nestorian doctrine, which his grandfather, seventy years before, had induced the Chaldæans of the plain to give up. *Now*, that is, just at the end of last year, this youth, being then of the age of twenty-one, is sent by his elder brother to travel and reside in England for several years, and is consigned to my special care and superintendence, as to an old friend. When he first came I was sick, at my father's house ; and it was three months before I was well enough to go to see him, or to offer to receive him if he came to me. When at length we met, I told him that if he came to me, it was necessary in the first place that we should understand one another in matters of religion ; though, whatever our differences might be, there would be no occasion for us to quarrel about them. He explained, as has been said above, that he had renounced the Papal-Chaldæan Communion ; and that he considered himself to be then a member of the non-united Chaldæan or Nestorian Church, and held its doctrine of Two Persons in Christ. " But here in England," he said, " as there is no Chaldæan Church, I am a Protestant, and go to your churches, and Communicate with the English." This passed at Cheltenham. I said, " But the Church of England condemns utterly that Nestorian doctrine which you believe." " Yes ;" he replied, " I know that : all the Protestants are agreed with the Papal-Chaldæans on that point." " How then," I continued, " can you seek the Communion from a Church whose doctrine you condemn and reject ; or take surreptitiously the Communion of a Church which condemns and rejects you, and your doctrine, and your Nestorian Chaldæan Church ?" " It is the custom," he said, " of the Nestorian Church to give the Communion to all applicants. *They have no examination* nor confession like the Papists : and I

find *that it is in the Church of England*, and here at Cheltenham, *exactly the same*. Our clergy," he continued, "though they would not knowingly give the Communion to a Jew, a Mahometan, a Fire-worshipper, or a Syrian Jacobite, (for they detest the Jacobites), yet give it freely to all other Christians who will take it, for example, to Anglicans, or to American Congregationalists. And they allow and approve of their own members taking it from any other Christian Sect or Church, when they have no Service of their own. For they consider that the Sacrament has to do only with Christ, and is not vitiated, either in giving or in receiving, by differences of belief." "So then," I said, "you have already actually Communicated here, and without so much as speaking to any clergyman?" "When I first came here," he replied, "I *did think* of speaking the first time to some clergyman, or to the Bishop, in order to be quite sure that the Church of England agrees with the Chaldæan Church in openness of Communion: but some of the English friends among whom I was staying assured me there could be no doubt; for that nobody ever went first to the clergyman with them: and so they took me with them to the Communion, quite as a matter of course. And since then I have made many acquaintances, and have visited several of the clergy: and I find that such is certainly the custom." "Well;" I said, "it is at any rate contrary to the Prayer-book; and if you are to stay with me, as I hope you will, whenever it suits you, I shall fight against you on this point to the very best of my ability, as I have already been fighting for the last eight years upon the very same point against others." He said, that he had not the slightest objection to speak to the clergyman, and to offer himself to be examined and approved, or rejected, if that were really the rule or custom: but if it were not, he did not see why he should do any thing unusual, or ascribe to the clergy a power which they did not claim, or submit himself to the private judgment or caprice of an individual clergyman, to which no other people submitted themselves. However, after he had been staying for some time at Oxford, he found so many people who thought in the other way, more or less, and so great a difference in the general tone of feeling and opinion from what he had been used to at Cheltenham, that he has now begun to

doubt, whether he may not perhaps have been acting contrary to the true sense of the Anglican Church. He has in consequence written me a letter, from which the following passage is an extract:—

‘ Indeed, if I were to stay in England six months longer in this kind of way, without knowing which is the Orthodox Church, I should become as an infidel, and not know what church to go to. For when I was at Oxford [the letter is dated from Cheltenham] I was convinced of many things which I thought to be right: but as soon as I returned to this place, I was told quite the contrary by persons who call themselves equally members of the English Church. One thing which perplexes me most is about the expression ‘*Mother of God*,’ [which the Nestorians reject, and on the rejection of which their heresy in a great degree turned,] which is approved by the people at Oxford and many others, but here is reckoned to be *blasphemy*; and as soon as I uttered these words they thought me a heretic. Now, how can I decide between these two parties, who call themselves members of the same Church and doctrine? Our party here not only speak against that expression, but also print their condemnation of it for the public to read. Do you think your father would write to the Bishop of Oxford about me, and see if I could have some conversation with him on this head? for I believe that I am now really riding on a wild ass: and if I do not take care and dismount that beast, it will throw me into a pit, from which I shall have no chance of getting out. The worst thing is, the people of this place in general think me a hypocrite: and they say that I am completely spoiled by going to Oxford. Pray write, and tell me if I may write to your father, and beg him to mediate between me and the Bishop. If you think that he cannot do it without my being with him at the time, I must wait till Christmas. I am now going to London. I fear it would be useless for me to speak to the Bishop of London [to whom his brother had given him a letter] about it; for I think he might probably put me off, as he has put off others.’

“ To which the reply was, in part, as follows :

“ ‘ You write as if you were now only just discovering that the members of the English Church, like all the Protestant sectaries, and even more than *can* be the case in any mere Sect, are divided in opinion about many important points of religion. *You*, however, have nothing to do with these divisions within the Anglican Church. *You* were a Papal-Chaldean: *You* left that Communion; and adopted the non-united Chaldean or Nestorian belief on the great point of Two Persons in Christ. I suppose that in other respects (though there was no Nestorian Church in Mosul) you did not mean to be a Church to yourself, but meant to agree with the Nestorian Chaldeans in all things, and to be a real member of their Church, whenever you were within reach of their clergy. As for Communicating, as you have done, in the Anglican Church, that has had nothing to do with the question, *What is the true belief of the Anglican Church?* but only with the custom of the Nestorians to be ready to give the Communion to other Churches and Christians, and to receive it from them, when they are not in the way of their own Priests. The only question which has been raised at present *for you* is that which I first raised myself by telling you that you were acting contrary to the law of the English Church

in taking its Communion without believing its doctrine, especially as contrary to the Nestorian, and without having been admitted by any competent Authority. If you wish to consult the Bishop of Oxford on *this* point, it is very easy to do so. You have only to write him a letter, which, if you wished it, my father would no doubt inclose with a few lines from himself: Or you might send it at once by the post. It would be necessary, however, that you should be living at the time within the Diocese of Oxford, or be upon the point of removing thither. It would not do to apply to the Bishop of Oxford, when you were staying at Cheltenham, which is in the Diocese of Gloucester. It would also be proper to take care that you had a real question and application to make, and that you expressed it distinctly. It would be improper and useless to apply to the Bishop of Oxford, without being clear as to what you meant, and what you wanted. To make this the plainer, I will now sketch for you such a letter as you might write, if you really wished to find out whether the Bishop of Oxford, or the Bishop of Gloucester, or any other Bishop in whose Diocese you may be, thinks your Cheltenham friends, or those at Oxford, right about the propriety of your taking the Anglican Communion without renouncing the opinion of two Persons, or being formally admitted by any act of Authority. Your application might be worded as follows:—

‘ My Lord Bishop,—I am a native of Mosul; and was baptized and bred up in the Papal-Chaldaean Church. At the age of fourteen years, A.D. 1841, I separated from it, from a preference for the old National, non-united Chaldaean [or Nestorian] Church, of which I have since considered myself a member, and was acknowledged as such by the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Shimón, when he came to Mosul. I have never intended to renounce the Chaldaean [Nestorian] Church; and I still believe what is called the Nestorian doctrine, namely, that it is more correct to say that there are *two* Persons, than to say that there is only *one* Person in Christ.

‘ By the custom of the Chaldaean [Nestorian] Church the Communion is given to all who present themselves to receive it, without any previous Examination; and the Clergy of that Church, though they would not knowingly give the Communion to a Jew, a Mahometan, a Fire-worshipper, or a Syrian Jacobite, would yet give it freely to Christians of all other Denominations, as, for example, to members of the Anglican Church, or to American Congregationalists. They would also allow and approve of members of their own Church Communicating in Prayers and Sacraments with Christians of other Denominations, wherever they had no Priest or Service of their own; as when they were travelling in foreign countries, &c.

‘ On my first coming to England, with the prospect of remaining some years, I proposed to myself, conformably with the principles and custom of the Chaldaean [Nestorian] Church, to frequent the worship and receive the Sacraments of the Church of England; and I should probably have applied to some clergyman, in the first instance, to make sure that the Church of England agrees with the Chaldaean Church in admitting such openness of Communion. But the English friends among whom I was staying, and who were members of the Church of England, took me with them at once to the Holy Communion, as a matter of course, saying, that there could be no doubt that it was wholly

‘unnecessary to make any previous application to the Clergyman, or to the Bishop, as that was never done in their Church. Nor did I find any thing afterwards to throw doubt on this assurance, till at length one Clergyman, to whom I had a particular recommendation, when I was about to go and stay with him, told me that I was doing very wrong ; that no stranger could rightly take the Communion without being admitted to it by an act of Authority ; and that no one could rightly be admitted to it at all without believing the doctrine of the Church of England in all points of faith : and the doctrine of the Church of England is directly contrary to that of there being *two Persons* in Christ. Subsequently, during a stay of several months in Oxford, and in the country, within your Lordship’s Diocese, I found many people who inclined more or less to this view ; but the practice seems to be in favour of those views which I had been taught at Cheltenham. And I see the members of the Anglican Church themselves openly divided one from another by the deepest differences of belief, and yet all Communicating equally at their own discretion. I should therefore be glad to know what is your Lordship’s judgment, that I may guide myself by it, while living in this Diocese : For at present, while one friend directs me in one way and another in the contrary, I do not know whose directions to follow. On the one hand, I do not wish to do what nobody else does, and what is really unnecessary ; I mean, by speaking to the Clergyman or Bishop before Communicating, and telling him what I believe or do, or offering myself to be interrogated by him, so as to trouble him idly, or so as to ascribe to him an authority he does not claim, or give him an arbitrary authority over me which he does not exercise over any body besides. On the other hand, neither do I wish to intrude upon the Sacraments of a Church which rejects me, if the fact is really so. Whatever therefore your Lordship directs, or approves, as being the Chief of the Clergy in this Diocese, I will do, whether it be to continue to take the Sacraments as I have hitherto been used to take them, if that be not improper, or to abstain from taking them for the future, if it be really wrong for me to take them. I remain, &c. &c.’

‘N. N.’¹

“Of course after all, when you had obtained directions from the Bishop of Oxford, or the Bishop of Gloucester, it would be quite possible that one Bishop’s opinion might be contrary to another’s : and such is the state of things among us at present, that no such question, whether of discipline or of doctrine, can really be decided without some fresh Synodical determinations. But still, so far as the Diocese of that one Bishop whom you had consulted was concerned, you would have some sort of authority to go by.

“If you liked you, could even write out exactly what I have written above, (correcting or altering it, of course, if you found any thing inaccurate,) and send it with a Postscript added by yourself at the end, to explain, that the wish to consult the Bishop, and the sentiments, were all your own, but that you had requested a friend to draw up the letter itself for you, owing to your diffidence about writing on such a matter without being perfectly master of the English language. Thus written,

¹ In a letter dated December 21, the Chaldean, Mr N. having received a copy of this draft for the second time, wrote “It is just the kind of letter which I wished to send to the Bishop.”

with the Postscript, it might be sent to any Bishop in whose Diocese you were staying at the time, either with or without a further inclosure from any one else. Of course, if you were staying with my father at the time, it would be natural and proper that you should make him your channel of communication.

“This is the *first* question for you to settle. When this is settled, there is still the deeper question, *What is the truth concerning the Nestorian Controversy and language?* This question you must settle for yourself by I. avoiding evil: II. by praying to God; and III. by studying the Scriptures, and the early Christian writers who lived before the middle of the fifth century. You will not be likely to do any good, nor, probably, to get any definite or clear answer, by consulting any Bishop, as a stranger, on such matters as these. You would be only giving trouble to no purpose. Such questions must be settled by you for yourself; and may very likely require much patient attention for a considerable time.”

“(Edinburgh, November 25.)—Thus far I had proceeded six weeks ago in stating to you the details of this case, which is so exact a reproduction of your own, so far as the question of Discipline is concerned. And this is the main point. For though it is true that my Chaldaean friend does not impute his Nestorianism to the Anglican Church, as you impute to it your Protestantism, still this difference is unimportant; seeing that it can matter very little what opinions are imputed or not imputed to a Church by any who receive her Communion, if she is to give the Communion to all applicants, without examination, irrespectively of their state, their opinions, or their lives. But there is something further yet, which makes the coincidence still more remarkable, and which may even connect it directly with the issue of your own case. It is this. The above letter, which I had sketched for my Nestorian friend, in furtherance of his wishes, to be addressed to the Bishop of Oxford or to the Bishop of Gloucester, six weeks ago, was lost by him, together with my own inclosing it, *unread*, in consequence of his having his great-coat stolen *just after* he had received it. Hoping that it might still be recovered, he did not write to me again; nor could I, who was ignorant of his movements at the time, either divine that the letters had been lost, or write to him, till I heard where he was. So, in consequence of what had happened, no such application as he had contemplated was made either to the Bishop of Oxford, or to the Bishop of Gloucester. At length, the other day, November 22, a letter came to me from the house of that

Scottish Bishop, the Bishop of St Andrews, whose Clerk I now am, and who is claiming from his brethren and the Church a Synodal examination and decision for our controversy, requesting me to recommend pupils, if any opportunity occurred, to a Clergyman who lives close to the Bishop, at the same spot. And the very next post after this letter has now brought me another from the Chaldaean explaining his long silence, lamenting that he cannot obtain in England that assistance for his studies which he needs, and asking me to find him, if I can, a suitable instructor in Scotland. And in fact the Scottish Universities (that of Glasgow more especially) do offer him facilities which are not to be found in England. Thus it is not impossible, that instead of addressing his application and his question to an English Bishop, which (under the present circumstances of the Church of England) could have led to no result, he will be led by circumstances to make it to the same Bishop who is already claiming a Synodical decision in Scotland for the very same question, as raised between yourself and the late Bishop Luscombe. If such should be indeed the case, there can be little doubt what sort of judgment the Bishop of St Andrews will be likely to give, so far as he himself, and Communion in his Diocese under his sanction, are concerned. But still I must confess it to be true, that in the existing state of practice throughout our Communion any such judgment given by a single Bishop against the claim to receive the Sacraments passively, by whomsoever raised, (whether by yourself, as renouncing Orthodoxy, or by Mr N. as adhering to Nestorianism, or by any other,) must be perfectly nugatory; and even worse than nugatory, arbitrary and unfair (as you thought it in the case of Bishop Luscombe's Declaration against yourself); unless it be confirmed afterwards by some Synodal decision, and enforced fairly and equally towards all applicants for the Sacraments. I should therefore anticipate that the Bishop of St Andrews being himself, as no doubt he is, fully sensible of this, would answer the Nestorian's application not merely by expressing his own judgment, as that of an individual Bishop, against passive Communion, but *by acknowledging that the question is one which needs to be answered by some collective decision; and by intimating that the same question has already been*

referred to him from another quarter (that is, from the late Bishop Luscombe, in your own case); *and that he is actually at this present time engaged in sustaining it, and in urging it to a Synodical decision.* Thus from the banks of the Volga and from the banks of the Tigris you will meet, as it were, in Scotland—you renouncing the orthodox Russian Church, claiming to be a member of the Anglican Church, and imputing to it heresy, he not renouncing the heretical Chaldean Church, nor imputing his Nestorianism to the Anglican, but claiming to Communicate with the Anglican all the same; you denouncing the corruption of the Russian Church in Examining all applicants for Communion, he pleading the custom of the Nestorian Church (the most ancient of all separated Communities) in favour of passive Communion: and both of you insisting on the notorious established practice within the Anglican Church; which of itself, unless it be changed, puts you in possession of all you claim:—you will meet before the senior Bishop, by age and consecration, of our whole Church, who has consecrated directly or indirectly all the present Bishops of Scotland his Colleagues, and who was himself consecrated by Bishop Jolly: to whose See the Primacy antiently belonged: and you will raise before him, and cause him to urge to a Synodical decision, this critical question, whether our Church, for the future, shall manifestly admit, as of right, that passivity of Communion which now manifestly exists in practice? or whether she shall reform her practice, and institute and prescribe for the future a Form of Examination to be applied, on certain occasions at least, (as before Confirmation, Ordination, and first admission of strangers) to all candidates or applicants for Communion?

“In conclusion I will only add, that if ever the time comes (and it seems now, I confess, only too probable that it may), that this question, (which you agree, I think, with me in feeling has been neither of your raising nor of mine, but has been raised by Providence through us, without our seeing what was to result from our acts), shall be clearly and definitively settled in your favour, I will send you a becoming acknowledgment that such is indeed the case, with an apology for whatever trouble or annoyance I may have caused you during these eight years past. And I will then leave you for the future in undisputed possession of Anglican

sacraments, to which your right, and that of 'much company' with you, will have been fully established. I remain, &c. &c."

"N. N."

(— *Deacon to the late Missionary Bishop of the Scottish Church, the Bishop Matthew [Lawrence], and now Appellant in Scotland under the protection of the Bishop of St. Andrews, and received as one of his Clergy.*—)

SECTION LXXVIII.

COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

HAVING proceeded thus far in printing the foregoing Narrative, so that only the Conclusion and the Preface remained, the writer waited upon the Bishop of St. Andrews at Perthstead, to ascertain his pleasure, that nothing might be done without his express sanction; especially as the wording of the Preface would vary somewhat, according as the communication of the Appeal should be made, in the first instance, to all the Scottish Clergy at once, or only to those of the Bishop's own Diocese: and according to the nature of any arrangement which might be determined on for rendering the Book accessible to Communications of the Church generally: all which details the writer desired to submit to the Bishop; having no idea that an individual Deacon can do any Ecclesiastical act whatever still less conduct a cause involving important public questions of Discipline and Doctrine, otherwise than in the name or with the sanction of some Bishop.

The Bishop of St. Andrews, it is only fair to state, did not seem to consider that he had undertaken to exert himself personally in the matter; nor indeed to regard the writer as being in any very strict sense his Clerk or Deacon at all, "unless he were instituted to some local charge," though, on being asked, he gave him "free permission to have his name inserted" in a published list, "after those of the instituted Clergy of the Diocese."

With regard to the extent to which the printed Narrative should be sent, in the first instance, to the Scottish Clergy, or rendered accessible to the Laity, he replied by desiring that there might "be no reference to his name in respect to any, whether of the Clergy or Laity, who were

“not within the precincts of his Diocesan authority.” He added, that a very few days, “if granted him, would carry him into his 86th year; and that it was therefore time for the writer to get another Scottish Bishop to take him by the hand, a comparatively young and active person.”

At the same time, however, the Bishop distinctly said, that he by no means meant to *retract* any thing which he had previously done in favour of the Appeal; (*and so neither the Document printed at p. 343;*) and used other expressions of good will, and even of hopefulness, towards it. Also he gave the writer the following form of an Advertisement to be prefixed:—

“That this Book is submitted to the Presbyters of the Dioceses of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, with the Bishop’s permission; and with a view to their expressing themselves Synodically on the matter of which it treats.

“The above permission of the Bishop is not to be considered as in any degree applying to the contents of the Work (for which the author alone is responsible.)” [In fact the Bishop did not yet know what the contents were: he only knew their general purport and object:] “but simply as indicating, that in his Episcopal judgment, the Question which it raises (that namely of *passive* or *non-passive* Communion) is one, the intrinsic importance of which entitles it to an attentive consideration by the Synod.

“To this Document I adhibit my name, at Peterhead, on the 29th day of December 1848, and in my 86th year.

“PATRICK TORRY, D.D., *Bishop of St Andrews, &c.*”

Thus, then, it will be for the Presbyters of the united Diocese of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, to judge for themselves in their Diocesan Synod

I. What is the true sense and value of their Bishop’s Act done in 1846, and of the Document then given [See p. 343.] in favour of the writer, and of the cause itself which he had then brought into Scotland:

II. How far they may be willing to concur in and to act upon that Document; and to undertake in consequence, the Bishop being supposed still favourable, to sustain the cause, and to bring it to a decision.

III. It will also be for them to consider whether this Book, and with it the cause itself, shall be sent and com-

municated by them, or with their Synodical sanction of the communication being made to the Clergy and Diocesan Synods of the other Scottish Dioceses, or whether the whole case shall drop; which will be the other alternative: as it would be merely nugatory for an individual Clerk, unattached and acting only in his own name, to make any application either to other Bishops and Synods, or to that nonentity which is called public opinion.

In the next Section shall be shewn in what manner the Diocesan Synod might proceed, by way of influence and representation, in order to procure the entertainment and decision of the Appeal, or rather of the questions involved in it, by the Scottish Church.

SECTION LXXIX.

FORM IN WHICH THE SYNOD OF THE UNITED DIOCESE OF ST ANDREWS, DUNKELD, AND DUMBLANE, MAY PROCEED TO OBTAIN A SYNODICAL DECISION OF THE APPEAL BY THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

ALTHOUGH from much of what has preceded, it may seem that there is more probability of an unfavourable than of a favourable issue to the Appeal, it may be desired, perhaps, by some of those to whom it is submitted in the first instance, to have before them a statement of those precise steps which might be taken by their Diocesan Synod, in order to obtain for the case a Synodical decision from the Church at large.

The Diocesan Synod might proceed in two ways; that is, either, *first*, (which would be the more natural and becoming at least in the first instance) by way of communications and representations to be addressed to the Clergy and Synods of the other Scottish Dioceses, and to the Episcopal College; or, *secondly*, by actually entertaining and deciding the questions involved in the Appeal by direct legislation, as for their own Diocesan Church; which would force all other Churches of their Communion to legislate upon the same questions. The first method only shall be treated of at present: the second will more properly be deferred to be the subject of a separate Section.

1. In the first place, the Appellant would present himself before the Diocesan Synod at its meeting, with the original

Document given by the Bishop on the 8th of October 1846, and printed above at p. 343; and would pray that it might be read and entered on the Minutes, and he himself received and admitted to take his place as a Clerk of that Diocese, (according to Canon XXXI of 1838; although, of course, *not* as a "member of the Synod" entitled to vote, not being a Presbyter, nor instituted to any cure;) and to present a further communication from the Bishop.

II. Supposing this to have been done, he would present, or there would be presented for him, *a copy of this printed Narrative, with the autograph Advertisement subscribed by the Bishop*, with the prayer that the same Advertisement and the Preface should be read *pro formâ*, (the Clergy having each individually received the Book before.) And this having been done, some one of the members of the Synod might move that the Synod should express, by way of resolution, in the name of the Bishop and Clergy of that Diocesan Church, an opinion, "*That the questions raised by the Appeal set forth in this Book, both on discipline and doctrine, are of such public importance, and were so legitimately referred in 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1846, to our Scottish Church, that she cannot rightly refuse to entertain and decide them, by way of joint Synodical legislation.*"

III. It might be proposed, "*That the above Resolution,*" or whatever Resolution was adopted to the like effect, "*be entered upon the Minutes; and that copies of it, after it has received the Bishop's signature, be sent to the Diocesan Synods of the other Scottish Dioceses, together with copies of this printed volume;*" [which would be placed at the disposal of the Synod for the purpose:] "*and that N. N., or N. N. and X. Y.,*" [That is, the Appellant either alone, or with any other Clergy of the Diocese,] "*be sent to be the bearers of this communication to each of the different Synods.*"

IV. It might be proposed, That, together with the above, the Synod should send to each of the other Diocesan Synods either a Circular Letter in the Name of the Bishop and Clergy of that Diocesan Church, or else a copy of a *Second Resolution*, to the effect, "*That this Synod invites the attention of the other Diocesan Churches to the subject of the above communication; and suggests that, if they should concur in the opinion therein expressed, they should adopt similar*

“ *Resolutions, and communicate them through their respective*
 “ *Diocesans to the College of the Bishops, with whom it rests*
 “ *to make arrangements for the entertainment and deciding*
 “ *of any question by joint Synodical Action, whether of an*
 “ *Episcopal or of a General Synod.*”

v. It might be proposed “ That the Bishop of this Diocese
 “ be requested, if he approve of the Resolutions, to communi-
 “ cate a full extract of all from the Minutes, together with
 “ a copy of the printed volume, and any further represen-
 “ tations he may be pleased to add as of himself, to the
 “ Episcopal College, in such manner, and at such time or
 “ times, as he shall judge most adviseable.

vi. Lastly, supposing all the above, or something equiva-
 lent to the above, to have been done, it might be proposed
 to the Diocesan Synod to authorize the communication of
 the printed volume containing the Appeal to any Com-
 municant either of that Diocesan Church, or of any other
 Diocese or Church of the same Communion, on payment of
 a certain specified sum, say, one pound, to go to a fund for
 some ecclesiastical object connected with the Diocese, *e.g.* to
 the Diocesan Endowment Fund.

SECTION LXXX.

OF THE METHOD IN WHICH THE APPEAL MAY BE ACTUALLY
 DECIDED, SO FAR AS RELATES TO THE PRIMARY QUESTION,
 THAT OF PASSIVE OR NON-PASSIVE COMMUNION.

SUPPOSING the Diocesan Synods, or some of them, to have
 expressed an opinion in favour of the entertainment of the
 Appeal, and the Bishops to have concurred in or to have
 acceded to their wishes, or even supposing that this has not
 been the case, but that any one Diocesan Church is so deter-
 mined to sustain the cause, as to be ready, *if other methods*
fail, to entertain and decide it, and legislate upon it for
 itself, it may be asked further, what precise acts are sup-
 posed to be involved in these words of ‘entertaining,’ and
 ‘deciding,’ or ‘legislating upon’ it, whether in respect of the
 first and main question, that of Discipline (or of passive or
 non-passive Communion), or in respect of those Doctrinal ques-
 tions which are also, though only secondarily, involved, and

which would have to be decided in their turn, whenever the first question of Discipline should have been decided against the claim of passive Communion. For the sake of clearness it may be as well to separate these two branches of the Appeal, and to treat first only of the question of Discipline.

I. We must suppose the XLVIII Propositions printed above, (p. 318 to 327.) to be read and approved Synodically, either as they stand, or with such alterations as should not affect the principles involved.

But though it be supposed that a Diocesan Synod or an 'Episcopal Synod,' or 'a general Synod' of the Scottish Church, or of the American, or of the Anglican also, or of the whole British Communion, had ever so solemnly approved and received those XLVIII Propositions, such an approval would be *merely nugatory* unless it were joined with some *practical legislation*, that is, some *actual prevention of that passivity of Communion which now exists de facto*. It would be necessary therefore,

A.—*Of uncertain or occasional Communion.*

II. To enact a canon, that "For the future no Bishop or Priest shall, under severe penalties, give the Holy Communion passively to any strangers, without first speaking to the persons, and ascertaining whether they have been validly baptized, or are as yet unbaptized, or only doubtfully baptized; and if it appear that the latter is the case, then that he shall instruct, or cause them to be instructed and prepared for baptism, and shall baptize them according to the Forms now in use.

"And if it appear that any applicant has already been validly baptized, then he shall examine further, whether he was baptized in this same [Diocesan] Church? or in any other Church united with it in faith and Communion? And whether he can shew any certificate, or at least can give reasonable assurance, that he has never quitted or apostatized from the same, or professed himself a member of any other separated and heterodox Community? so as in no case to leave it uncertain whether any person be dealt with and received to the Communion as a member of the Church, or as a proselyte."

B.—*Of the Communion of Members of the Church.*

III. It would then be necessary to prescribe some fresh

rule concerning the admission to Communion of members of the Church, *e. g.* that

"None shall in future be admitted to Confirmation, nor to Communion for the first time of receiving in any church, or from any new Curate, [nor to Ordination to any holy Order, nor to Institution to any Cure], nor after long absence, or long neglect of Communion, or of public worship, nor after any public scandal, (according to the discretion of the Curate) without giving that notice which the rubric requires, and appearing personally before the Curate, and being examined by him, (or bringing a Certificate that they have been recently so examined, or have received Absolution from some other Priest.) And such examination shall not be held (except in case of sickness or other urgent cause) in any private room, nor in the way of familiar conversation; but in the church, *e. g.* at the entrance to the chancel, with open doors, but behind some screen or veil, (in case others should be waiting in the body of the church), the Priest being vested in his surplice and stole, and so putting the questions contained in the following Form:—

"The Priest shall begin thus with strangers, and with others, according as

"he shall deem it requisite:—

"P. 'He who would receive the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ must believe and confess the true Faith. I demand, therefore, Dost thou believe, &c. [reciting the Apostles', the Nicene, or the Athanasian Creed]?' A. 'All this I believe.' P. 'Dost thou believe, and desire to believe this Creed in the sense of the Scottish [or Anglican, or as it may be], and of the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church? or, in other words, dost thou believe that whosoever would be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith, *i. e.* the faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church; and that except a man do keep this faith faithfully, whole and undefiled, he cannot be saved?' A. 'I believe this.' P. 'Hast thou been baptized in this faith with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?' A. 'I have.' P. 'By whom, and by whose authority, wast thou so baptized? &c. &c.' A. [As the case may be.] P. 'Hast thou any certificate of thy Baptism, or Letters of Communion?' A. [As it may be.] P. 'Dost thou know that thy outward Baptism was not only a sign of a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness, but also the means whereby thou didst really receive the same? and dost thou believe that by being baptized thou wast truly born again, and from being a child of wrath wast made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven?' A. 'All this I stedfastly believe.' P. 'Hast thou been confirmed after Baptism by the Bishop?' A. [As it may be.] P. 'Dost thou know the virtue of Confirmation? and dost thou believe that by it is received the gift of the Holy Ghost?' A. 'I know it, and believe.' P. 'Hast thou already Communicated in the spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Christ?' A. [As the case may be.] P. 'Dost thou believe that the consecrated Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper are not only *signs*, but that by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost they become the Body and Blood of Christ? or, in other words, that they are the *means* whereby we receive the same? and that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful, *i. e.* by baptized believers, in the Lord's Supper?' A. 'This also I unfeignedly confess and believe.'"

"Then, in all cases alike, the Priest shall proceed as follows :—

"P. 'Hast thou examined thine own conscience whether thou dost
'repent thee truly of thy former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new
'life, &c.?' A. 'I have so done, and trust that I am in charity with all
'men.' P. 'Dost thou know what wilful sins, if committed after Bap-
'tism, are 'deadly' and 'weighty matters,' so that they cut Christians
'off from the grace of their baptism, and from that state of salva-
'tion, and so also from all right to the Communion of the Church?'
A. 'I have been taught that some sins are unto death, and that there
'are others not unto death; and that if any one forfeit the state of
'Church-membership and of Salvation in which he was placed by Baptism
'through any wilful breach of its conditions, he cannot restore himself,
'nor judge for himself of his own fitness to Communicate, as one restored.'
P. 'I demand, then, hast thou ever at any time since thy Baptism [or since
'thou wert similarly examined] knowingly denied the Faith? Or any
'article of it? Or Communicated in prayers or sacraments with persons
'excommunicated, or with such as separate themselves from the Apostolic
'Doctrine and Fellowship, from the Breaking of the Bread, and from
'the Prayers? Or countenanced heathenism or idolatry? Or honoured
'creatures more than the Creator, or apart from Him? Or blasphemed?
'Or perjured thyself? Or wilfully neglected to Communicate even once
'during any one whole year? Or taken the Communion without giving
'notice to the Priest, or offering thyself to his examination, when thou
'knewest in thy conscience that, if all were known, thou hadst no right
'to the Communion, nor to pray, or even to sit at meat, with true Chris-
'tians? Or hast thou ever wilfully neglected to attend Divine Service on
'Sundays, or the greater Holy-days? Or wilfully neglected to observe the
'Fasts prescribed by the Church? Or obstinately rebelled against parents,
'masters, or teachers; against spiritual or civil Authorities; or wilfully
'dishonoured them? Or committed murder or violence? Or harboured
'deliberate malice? Or committed adultery, fornication, or other unclean-
'nesses either with others or alone? Or indulged wilfully in unclean
'thoughts or desires? Or committed wilful theft, fraud, or injustice? Or
'wilfully and deliberately slandered, or lied against thy neighbour? Or
'deliberately coveted any thing not thine own? Or lived in habitual pride?
'envy? malice? lust? covetousness? intemperance? or sloth? [a pause
'having followed each question from the beginning.] Hast thou now upon
'thy conscience any of these sins? Or any other weighty matter, which,
'though it has not been named, thou knowest or suspectest to be like these,
'in forfeiting the state of salvation, and that right to the Communion
'which thou hadst once before? If so, what are those sins? How far
'and for how long have they been habitual? And [if they were habitual]
'hast thou overcome and left off the habit? Since what time? &c. &c.
'Art thou now desirous to submit thyself humbly to the judgment of the
'Church as to the truth and sufficiency of thy repentance and amend-
'ment? to do what may be enjoined thee in her name to test or perfect
'the same? and to obtain, when it may be judged proper, her Absolution,
'in order to regain a right to the Sacraments?"

"Whereupon, if there be occasion, and the party answering seem
"worthy of it, Absolution shall be given according to the usual Form,
"Almighty God, &c.': as in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick.

"And so, after having been 'examined, and absolved, or else found worthy,' [as
"the words are in Bishop Cosin's '*Speculum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*'] the appli-

“cant for Communion will retire from the Church, and will come again the next day to the celebration of the Liturgy, and kneel down and Communicate with a good conscience among the faithful.”

C.—*Of the admission of Proselytes.*

IV. In like manner for the reception of Proselytes, a Form would have to be adopted and prescribed, with the accompaniment of some necessary directions: The following specimen may serve as an illustration or suggestion; in which such parts as are not essential being included in brackets:

“*A Form of receiving Converts who have already been validly Baptized.*

“The person to be received, having been instructed previously, and having prepared himself for a fortnight, or for a week at the least, with prayers and fasting, stands at the church-door: And the Bishop (or the Priest empowered by him), being robed, goes out and asks,

‘Dost thou renounce all heresies and schisms contrary to the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; especially the errors of [such or such a sect, and all Communion in prayers and sacraments with its followers and favourers?]

“*Answer.* ‘I renounce them all.’

“*The Bishop.* ‘Dost thou believe in one God, &c. [and so on with the Nicene Creed to the end.].’

“*Answer.* ‘All this I stedfastly believe.’

“*The Bishop.* ‘Dost thou now desire to obey in all things the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and to continue in the unity of the Orthodox Faith, in the Apostolic Doctrine and Fellowship, in the Breaking of the Bread, and in the Prayers, to thy life’s end?’

“*Answer.* ‘That is my desire.’

“*Whereupon the Bishop signs him on the forehead with the sign of the Cross, saying,* ‘In the name of † the Father, and of † the Son, and of † the Holy Ghost. Amen.’

[“*Then having laid his right hand upon the head of the person to be received, he says the following prayer:*

‘Let us pray.

‘O God, that sheweth to them that be in error the light of truth, to the intent that none should perish, but that all should have everlasting life, we heartily thank Thee on account of this Thy reasonable creature, that Thou hast given him grace to awake as it were out of sleep, and to flee to Thy holy Church. And now, O Lord, grant him, we most humbly beseech Thee, to abhor all soul-destroying heresies and defec-tions, and unfeignedly to confess, and firmly to hold, the orthodox and Catholic Faith. Number him with Thine elect Flock: unite him to the mystical body of Thy Son: make him a vessel unto honour, and a habitation of Thy Holy Spirit; that being ever guided and taught of Him, he may keep Thy saving commandments, and be made an inheritor of Thy heavenly blessings with all that have pleased Thee. For Thou art the God of mercy and of loving-kindness, Who willest all men to be saved; and to Thee we give glory, to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now, and ever, and world without end. Amen.’

“*The Bishop.* ‘Come and worship the Lord, unto Whom thou fleest.’

“*Answer.* (bowing or prostrating himself to the ground,) ‘I worship

‘ the Father†, the Son†, and the Holy Ghost†, one God, Who in Three Persons is worshipped and glorified.’

“ *The Bishop* then makes him lay hold of the end of his Pall or Stole, “ or takes him by the right hand, saying,

‘ Enter into the Church of God, from whose maternal bosom thou wast heretofore separated, and know that from the waves of error thou fleest to the haven of salvation. Worship in orthodoxy God the Father Almighty, Jesus Christ His Son, and the Holy Ghost, one living and true God, a Holy Trinity undivided.’]

“ Saying thus, he leads him into the church, and [makes him stand in the midst, before a low stand or lectern, with the Gospel upon it, (or behind the Font) ; and then he lets go the end of the Pall or Stole. While they are going into the church, the Quire sing *Psalm xxvii*, ‘ The Lord is my strength and my salvation, &c.’

“ When the Psalm is finished, the Bishop] bids him kneel, and says “ over him some one or more of the four following *Prayers* :

‘ Let us Pray.

‘ O Lord our God, Maker and Lord of all things, Fountain of Good, Father of all men, specially of them that believe, Who didst not abandon man, when by the fraud of the devil he had been drawn down to the pit of destruction and error ; but by the saving incarnation of Thine only-begotten Son, and our God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, didst seek him out and save him, bringing him back, even to Thyself, regard now also, O loving Father, this Thy servant N, a sheep of the rational flock of Thy Christ, whom Thou hast redeemed as from captivity among misbelievers, with whom aforetime, by weakness and lack of knowledge, through his own error, or the error of his forefathers, or from compulsion of civil rulers, he followed in the way of error ; whereas now Thou hast vouchsafed unto him to be joined unto the company of Thy people. Enlighten his understanding by the power and working of Thy Holy Spirit ; so that the spark of saving Baptism, which is smouldering within his soul, may by the breath of grace be spiritually fanned into flame, and that the seal which hath been impressed on him, may be brought out more clearly in his heart and in his mind, through signing with the Cross of Thy Christ ; that he may know the hope that is towards Thee, and the knowledge of the truth, and may worship Thee, the only true God and the Father, and Thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and Thy Holy Spirit. Unite him to Thy holy Catholic and Apostolic Church : remove from his mind all habits of former error ; and order his way in Thy commandments, to obey Thy will ; and vouchsafe unto him the participation without condemnation of Thy saving Mysteries, and in the life to come make him a partaker of Thy heavenly kingdom. For Thou art a God to have mercy and to save, and to Thee we give the glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now, and ever, and world without end. Amen.’

II.

[‘ O God, our Saviour, Who willest all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, receive this Thy servant, who now returns from error, and seeketh to come to the knowledge of the truth. For Thou didst say, O Lord, And other sheep I have, which are not of this Fold ; them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice ; and there shall be one Fold and one Shepherd. Guide him, therefore, in

‘Thy glory [or, in the knowledge of Thee] to the knowledge of the truth, according to the exposition of the Holy Apostles, and vouchsafe unto him the seal of the Divine Unction, and the Communion of Thy precious Body and Blood. And make him to be altogether Thy servant ; that he may be numbered among Thy flock, to the glory and praise of Thy Majesty: For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.’

III.

‘O most merciful Lord, Jesus Christ our God, Who to Peter, the Prince of thine Apostles, didst give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and by Thy grace wast pleased to give them all power, so that whatsoever they bound should be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever they loosed on earth should be loosed also in heaven, and hast of Thine ineffable loving-kindness vouchsafed to make us, Thy vile and unworthy servants, inheritors of this power so given to them, that we also may in like manner bind and loose among Thy people, according as there may be need, do Thou, O all-gracious King, as a tender and good Shepherd, mercifully receive this Thy servant N, who hath arisen from being deceived, and hath been willing to come to the knowledge of the truth, and desires to be united to Thy Church ; for Thou hast said, Other sheep I have, which are not of this Fold, them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice ; and there shall be one Fold and one Shepherd : And by me, Thine unworthy servant, loose him from all bond of curse, and from all excommunication. And if in any thing in this present life, as a man, he hath sinned, by word, or by deed, or by thought, do Thou forgive him, and remit it. And washing him clean from all defilement of the soul by Thy grace, lead him clean into Thy Fold, and number him among the sheep of Thine elect flock, and unite him to the body of Thy holy Church. Make him a vessel unto honour, and a habitation of Thy Holy Spirit, that being by Him ever guided and governed, he may keep Thy saving commandments, and may be vouchsafed to receive Thy heavenly good things with all that have pleased Thee. For Thine it is to have mercy, and to save us, O our God, and Thou art a God that willest all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth ; and to Thee we give glory, with Thine unoriginated Father, and with Thine all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now and ever, and world without end.’ *Quoir.* ‘Amen.’]

IV.

“This last Form never to be omitted in the case of such as, after having once been members of the Church, have fallen away personally into any heresy or schism, but now come to be received again :

‘Our Lord and God Jesus Christ, Who committed the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to His Apostles, and gave them all power by His grace to bind and to loose men from sins on earth, He Himself, for His unspeakable mercy, forgive and absolve thee. And I, by His Almighty power through the holy Apostles and their successors committed to me, though unworthy, as Bishop [or Priest], forgive and absolve thee, my son, from the bond of the curse, and from all excommunication, lesser and greater, and from all interdiction into which, by departure [or, by the departure of thy fathers] from the right faith, thou hadst fallen ; and from all thy sins : and I unite thee to the unity of the Faithful, and to the Body of

‘ Christ’s Church, and give thee the Communion of the Divine Mysteries
 ‘ of the Church, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the
 ‘ Holy Ghost.’

[“ *Then he also saith to him,*

‘ Stand up Brother, and stand aright, stand with fear, and as a faithful
 ‘ servant of Jesus Christ continue in the Faith, and in the truth, keep-
 ‘ ing all His commandments ; and thou shalt receive grace from Him, and
 ‘ shalt be vouchsafed the kingdom of heaven.’

“ This he saith, if the Proselyte hath been before Confirmed. But if he
 “ hath never been Confirmed, he saith,

‘ Stand up, Brother, and as a faithful servant of Jesus Christ pray to
 ‘ Him with us, that He vouchsafe thee by Confirmation to receive the
 ‘ grace of the Holy Ghost.’]

“ On which the person received rises ; and the Bishop proceeds with
 “ the Order for Confirmation. After which, if the Liturgy be then cele-
 “ brated, he also administers to the person received the Holy Communion.”

Just after having written the above, being at Perth, on Christmas-Day, 1848, the writer chanced to hear in conversation, that the non-united congregation had recently sent a communication to the Bishop, proposing to unite with his Communion, but with so little idea, as it was then said, of expressing *regret*, not to say *repentance*, for their past separation, that they even dictated their own terms, and claimed, as a matter of course, to use a certain “ English Office,” when they had refused the condition on which it had *once* been offered many years ago, and had been all along making this the pretence and excuse of their separation, that *by using the “ English Office,” and hiring a Clergyman from England*, they were members of the Church of *England in Scotland*, though despising the jurisdiction of the local Scottish Bishop. This chance conversation, together with some other incidents which it is unnecessary to mention, suggested the idea of completing the above drafts, by adding something to illustrate the case of the Reconciliation of a whole congregation which comes over from a state of separation, whether only of schism or of heresy also, in a body, with its Clergy.

*Instructions, such as might be given by any Bishop to N. N. his Commissary,
 for receiving a whole Congregation in a body.*

“ 1. You will deliver to N. N. at N., the following communication :—
 ‘ If any individual or congregation now separate from the Church feels
 ‘ separation to be a fault, and submission to be a duty, the Bishop is always
 ‘ ready to receive them affectionately to his Communion.

‘ The Bishop therefore offers now to receive the Minister and Congre-
 ‘ gation of N. N. at N. ; but only on their expressing personally, or by

‘ their authorized representatives, a distinct regret for having persisted ‘ up to this time in separation, and a purpose of *unconditional* submission ‘ for the future to whatever he may think it right to require of them, ‘ according to the power vested in him by the canons of the Church.’

“ 11. Whatever answer may be made to this communication, you are to ‘ receive it, shewing these Instructions as your authority : And then,

“ III. If the answer is, that ‘ the members of the Congregation seek ‘ union *on the Bishop’s terms,*’ you will announce to them that *you are ‘ authorized by the Bishop to receive them ; and you will receive them in the ‘ following manner :—*

“ On the next Sunday, at the usual hour, before Divine Service, you ‘ will go to the church or chapel in which the Minister and Congrega- ‘ tion to be received have been accustomed to assemble ; and you will ask,

“ Q. ‘ Do ye, in the name of all this Congregation, express sincere ‘ sorrow for having remained hitherto in separation from the Church ?’

“ To which the Minister and such of the Congregation as are present ‘ shall answer together, ‘ We do.’

“ Q. ‘ Do ye believe in one God, the Father Almighty, &c. &c. [to the end of the Nicene Creed.] ?’

“ Answer. ‘ All this we heartily believe.’

“ Q. ‘ Do ye now desire for the future to obey in all things the holy Church, and to continue in the unity of the Faith, in the Apostolic Doctrine and Fellowship, in the Breaking of the Bread, and in the Prayers ?’

“ Answer. ‘ That is our desire.’

“ Priest. ‘ Let us pray.

‘ O Lord, that shewest to them that be in error the light of Thy truth ‘ to the intent that none should perish, but that all should be saved, and ‘ have everlasting life, we heartily thank Thee for these Thy servants, ‘ that Thou hast given them grace to awake, as it were, from sleep, and ‘ to return to Thy holy Church. And now, O Lord, grant them, we most ‘ humbly beseech Thee, to abhor all heresies and schisms, and unfeignedly ‘ to confess, and firmly to hold, the orthodox and Catholic faith. Receive ‘ them mercifully, O all-gracious King, as a tender and good Shepherd ; ‘ for Thou art He that didst say, And other sheep I have which are not of ‘ this Fold : them also I must bring ; and they shall hear My voice ; and ‘ there shall be one Fold and one Shepherd. And by us, Thine unwor- ‘ thy servants, loose them from every bond : and if in any thing they ‘ have sinned, by word, or by deed, or by thought, do Thou forgive and ‘ remit it : and washing them clean from all defilements of soul by Thy ‘ grace, lead them clean into Thy Fold ; number them among the sheep ‘ of Thine elect flock, and unite them to the Body of Thy holy Church. ‘ Make them vessels unto honour, and habitations of Thy Holy Spirit, ‘ that being by Him ever guided and governed, they may keep Thy sav- ‘ ing commandments, and may obtain Thy heavenly promises with all ‘ that have pleased Thee. For Thine it is to have mercy and to save, ‘ and to Thee we give the glory, together with the Father and the Holy ‘ Ghost, now, and ever, and world without end. Amen.’

“ 14. After the Minister and the Congregation have been thus received, ‘ the Morning Service shall be proceeded with ; and after the Litany ‘ the Holy Eucharist shall be celebrated ; the received Clergy officiati- ‘ ing together with the Bishop or his Commissary. After the Creed a ‘ Sermon shall be preached by you, [or by such a one as the Bishop or ‘ his Commissary appoint], on the unity of the Church ; and the Holy

“ Communion shall be administered according to the Liturgy of the Church : the Bishop or his Commissary pronouncing the final Blessing.”

If the XLVIII Propositions printed at p. 318 (to p. 327), were asserted, and Forms, such as those here given above, for carrying them practically into effect were prescribed for use in any one Diocesan Church, this of itself would make it necessary not only for the other Scottish Dioceses to legislate on the same subjects, but eventually for the English and the American Churches also, that is, for the whole Anglican Communion ; as time would shew.

SECTION LXXXI.

OF THE METHOD IN WHICH THE REMAINING OR SECONDARY PART OF THE APPEAL, THAT IS, THE DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS RAISED BY IT, MAY BE AFTERWARDS TREATED AND DECIDED.

THE first and main question, of passive or non-passive Communion, having been treated, if the decision were adverse, that is, in favour of the existing passivity of Communion, the doctrinal part of the Appeal would of course fall to the ground. But if the result were such as has been sketched in the preceding Section, it would then follow to apply the same method to the doctrinal part, thus :—

1. We must suppose the XLIV doctrinal Propositions, printed above, p. 315 to 318, to be read and rejected Synodically, either as they stand, or with such alterations as should not affect the doctrine involved : which would be to decide the Appeal favourably to the Appellant. Or, it might be, the Synod would reject some, and condemn the rejection of others ; which would be deciding the Appeal against the Appellant upon the whole, *unless he were convinced of error, and submitted to the judgment of the Scottish rather than to that of the Eastern Church on any such particular points, and retracted the Anathema pronounced by himself in Russia at the bidding of the Easterns on those points.*

Whatever might be the probable result of a Synodical examination of these XLIV doctrinal Propositions, the process of dealing with them would be much facilitated and expedited by observance of the following method ; namely, by taking *first* all those Propositions which were simplest, and which seemed to admit of *no manner of doubt* ; then those which

admitted of *least* doubt; and so on with the rest; approaching gradually to those (if any) which might seem more doubtful; and leaving the most delicate or difficult of all to the last. As to the time which such a Synodal process might require, it would depend of course partly on the dispositions and information of the Clergy present in the Synod, partly on the length or frequency of their sessions. The whole might be settled at once at a single reading, or in one session; or it might furnish matter for deliberation for several successive sessions of the same Synod on different days; or even for several successive Synods during a number of years.

II. Supposing the XLIV doctrinal Propositions to have been Synodically rejected, it would be in the power of the Diocesan (or other) Church to enforce the reception of its decisions, if it seemed necessary, or in whatever cases it should seem necessary, by requiring the personal acceptance and subscription of them from all Clergy (before Ordination, or Institution, or admission to officiate), or even from all laity before being first admitted to the Communion. But practically no such enforcement would be necessary. In a Church *which maintains Discipline*, and in which the Bishop is known and felt to have discretionary power to call upon any member of his flock to shew his submission or assent to all the public doctrine of the Church, there is no need whatever to impose any *general* test, or Confession of faith, either upon Clergy or laity, beyond that of the common (the Nicene) Creed. In the Eastern Church there is nothing at all resembling the Anglican subscription to the XXXIX Articles, nay, nor even in the Roman itself, whatever may be thought of Pope Pius the Fourth's Creed, or Oath, it containing only twelve short articles. The only cases in which it might be found necessary or advisable to apply any such special test on particular points, would be either in individual cases, where the Bishop saw reason for it, or in the case of strangers coming from any other Diocesan or National Church which seemed improperly negligent about the assertion and defence of sound doctrine. In this way, even one Diocesan Church *could*, if there were necessity, *force* all other Dioceses, and ultimately all Churches, of its Communion, to legislate jointly upon the subject of its own doctrinal (no less than its own disciplinary) decisions.

III. Thirdly, supposing the XLIV doctrinal Propositions to have been Synodically decided in favour of the Appellant by the Scottish Church, it would be a question for that Church to consider, whether she should communicate this her Synodal act to the Russian Synod, which would be inviting (a step by no means involved in the Appeal) ulterior conferences for the restoration of unity between the Eastern and British Churches ; or whether she should leave the Appellant to communicate the result himself, as an individual, for an exculpation of his personal good faith, and of the memory of the late Bishop Luscombe, and for a justification of his still adhering, in spite of their judgment and imputations, to the Scottish and British Communion. But

IV. In either case it would be necessary for the Scottish Church to communicate what she had done to other Churches, the American and the English, of the same Communion ; and in case of any backwardness on their parts to legislate upon the same subjects, it would be necessary for her to use some more particular caution in the admission of individuals coming from those Churches either to lay or clerical Communion within the sphere of her own jurisdiction. But these ulterior consequences, as has been hinted above, would be evolved of themselves : and it is now quite premature to do more than allude to possibilities which are as yet so remote.

SECTION LXXXII.

OBSERVATIONS AND REFERENCES CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE UNION WITH THE EASTERN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

IF any person not content with the foregoing practical suggestions and anticipations relating to the Appeal itself, allows his thoughts to run on still further, and to speculate on some ulterior possibility or prospect of unity with the Eastern Catholic Church (though this is a speculation by no means necessarily involved in the Appeal), he may desire to have on this subject also some hints or references to assist him in methodizing those materials which may have been given at intervals in the foregoing pages, on account of their connection with the history of the Appeal.

I. There are some things which must be pre-supposed, as

a matter of course, of any Church which is to be capable of union with the Eastern; such, for example, as this qualification, that it should have preserved the Apostolic Hierarchy, the idea of the unity and the indefectibility of the true Church as a visible Community, and the claim to exercise authority in making decrees both on doctrine and on discipline. One such indispensable pre-requisite also, unquestionably, is the disallowance of passive Communion; since so long as passivity of Communion exists in any Church, that Church is, so far, no real society at all. On this point the reader may refer to *Introd. P. I. p. v. P. III. pp. clvii. clix. clxvii. clxxx. clxxxiii. ceviii.*; to the *Appeal*, p. 7 to 9, p. 20 to 23, p. 63, p. 115, p. 183, p. 213 to 217, p. 242, p. 251, vi. and 252, p. 318 to 327, p. 438 to 446, p. 451 to 460; and lastly, to the '*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*,' p. 212 to 224, (as published, p. 108 to 120.)

II. Secondly, as to the possibility of establishing a real agreement in faith by conferences and explanations, and by the disuse of all equivocal or erroneous language for the future, the reader may refer more especially to *Introd. Part I. p. xxxvii to lxxxii, p. lxxxvii, p. clxxi to clxxvi, p. exc. p. excviii to ceviii.*; to the *Appeal*, p. 14 to 35, p. 129 to 147, p. 149 to 151, p. 182 to 192, p. 235 to 252, p. 277 to 283, pp. 301, 309, 336, and 387, p. 315 to 318, p. 376 to 398, p. 426 to 433, p. 460 to 462; and lastly, to the '*Harmony of Anglican and Eastern Doctrine*' throughout.

III. Here it may be worth while to notice once more, that it would be of the utmost importance, with a view to any ulterior negotiation, (if any such negotiation were seriously contemplated,) that the Church should place herself in as favourable a position as might be in all respects beforehand; and so at her actually entering upon conferences should have as little of palpable abuse or corruption as possible to correct. Whatever she felt it would be right or unavoidable to yield to the expostulation or censure of others, *that* she ought to reform of herself, and within herself, *first*. This has already been briefly touched upon at p. 252, in the paragraph within brackets; and the suggestion is the more noticeable, as having come originally from a member of the Russian Church.

IV. On the first and chief of all doctrinal points which would be involved in any negotiation for unity, that of the

Procession, it is always to be borne in mind that the concession advocated by Bishop Pearson, and offered by the Scottish and English Nonjuring Bishops in the last century, namely, the restoration of the Œcumenical Creed, is all that the Easterns *require*: that it is unnecessary to enter into the scholastical question: that whether any individual Christian holds the Latin opinion, or allows, as the present writer (under correction) now allows, that it is untenable, he is equally admissible to the Communion of the Eastern Church, though no doubt she disapproves of the Latin opinion, and thus tolerates it only so far as she believes them that hold it not to *intend* amiss as regards the Trinity, and because she anticipates that when once removed from the Creed, in which it has no rightful place, it will fall by its own intrinsic weakness. But if any think on the contrary that the Latin doctrine *can* support itself, and that the Eastern Church, having once restored intercommunion with people who hold it, will gradually come to see its truth, and to allow the propriety of that phraseology which she now condemns, they are free to hold this their opinion.

Whatever therefore the writer may have avowed in the foregoing pages on this deep subject for the sake of truth and candour, all such avowals have been (I.) made under correction, with reservation of submission to any individual, who can teach him better, and to all superior Authority. (II.) They have nothing to do, either directly or indirectly, with the primary questions of Discipline raised by the Appeal, nor directly with the secondary, *i. e.* the doctrinal questions. Nor (III.) are they necessarily connected even with the ulterior question of unity between the Churches; though it is manifest that actual agreement with the Easterns in doctrine would excite very different feelings in them from a bare concession of the point of form as regards the letter of the Creed. It might also approve itself to the *baser* part of our religious world, by showing a clear divergence from Rome. On this point see the *Appeal*, pp. 139, 237, 238, 284, 285; the '*Harmony &c.*'; Sect. III. and XVI.; again the *Appeal*, p. 286 to 289, p. 429 to 433, p. 289 to 291, pp. 297, 302, 315, 381, p. 335 to 388, p. 393 to 397; the citations from *Theoph.*, *Marc. Eph.*, and *Zœrn.* in the '*Harmony*': Sect. XVI. vi. ix. and xi.; *Bishop Pearson's* Note; and p. 140 of the *Appeal*.

SUPPLEMENTARY NARRATIVE.

SECTION I.

THE FOREGOING VOLUME IS SENT TO EACH OF THE CLERGY OF THE UNITED DIOCESE OF ST ANDREWS, DUNKELD, AND DUMBLANE. CONNECTION OF THE APPEAL WITH THE CASE OF THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.



THE foregoing Volume, with a printed copy of the Bishop's "Advertisement" prefixed, having been sent, towards the end of January 1849, to each of the Clergy of the United Diocese of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dumblane, as a step preparatory to the formal communication of the same to their Diocesan Synod, the Synod Clerk suggested that, as the stated annual Synod of that Diocese would not meet till the third week in June, it might be desirable to apply to the Bishop for a Mandate to hold a special, or *pro re natâ* Synod earlier, so that the Appeal might be recommended to the other Diocesan Synods in time for some, at least, of them to enter upon the consideration of it at their meetings in this same year. And, in reference to this suggestion, the Dean afterwards observed, that "the matter could be taken up again at their own ordinary Synod in June."

Very shortly after this first communication of the volume the writer (being then at Edinburgh) received from one of the Clergy of the Diocese, Mr A., a copy of a *Resolution* which he proposed moving in the Synod, and on which he desired to have the writer's opinion.

The Resolution was as follows :—

"In compliance with the desire of Bp. Torry to give our opinion on "the subject of '*Passive or Non-Passive Communion*' (as expressed in an "*Advertisement*' prefixed to a Work entitled '*An Appeal to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, and generally to the Church of their Communion,*' which "*Advertisement* is dated *Peterhead, 29 December 1848,*) we hereby state that—

“As in our judgment the giving of the Holy Communion is to be viewed
 “as a sacred badge of Church-membership, we cannot consistently give
 “it to any but to *bonâ fide* members of our own Church, or of a Church
 “Episcopally constituted like our own, and holding the Doctrines con-
 “tained in our Prayer-Book.”

Remarks on this Resolution, sent to Mr A. March 9.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Having now nearly recovered the use of my right hand, I will return to the subject of your letter of the 8th ult.

“On reading the proposed Resolution, the substance of which is, ‘*That as in our judgment, &c.*’ [as above], and considering it in relation to the contents of the printed volume, it struck me, *first*,

“That the adoption of such a Resolution by any Diocesan Synod, as the result of the consideration of the volume in question, or rather of the Appeal contained in it in Section LVII, would be nearly or quite the same thing *in intention* as to extract and affirm *five* of those XLVIII *Propositions on Discipline*, which are printed from p. 318 to 327, viz. those marked XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, and XXXVIII, which stand under VI. at p. 324, and which bear upon the subject of the *occasional* Communion or Intercommunion of non-Episcopal strangers.

“Now this subject, though necessarily implicated with the opposition made to Mde. A., is yet so implicated only indirectly; and neither your Resolution, nor the five Propositions at p. 324 to which I will suppose it equivalent, contain any thing which touches directly the principle of that *passive* Communion which she contends for, and which she practically enjoys, as if allowed by our Church. Her case involves, it is true, the necessity of asserting those five Propositions; but neither they nor your Resolutions *alone* touch her case. She comes from the Russian Church, not from any non-Episcopal Society; and she pretends now to Communicate not as a stranger, but as ‘a *bonâ fide* member’ of the Protestant ‘Episcopal’ Church. But I need not at present pursue the difference. It is enough to say that, this being the case, I did not at once see what should have suggested to you the idea of giving such prominence to the five Propositions, or to the sense of them as embodied in your Resolution: And turning it over in my own mind, with reference only to the Appeal contained in Sect. LVII of the printed volume, the conclusion which I came to was this, that the assertion, even *totidem verbis*, of those five Propositions alone, without the rest of the XLVIII which they accompany, however good or desirable it might be on other separate grounds, would be, with regard to this affair, equivalent to the abandonment of the remaining XLIII Propositions as superfluous or objectionable; which would leave the opposite party in full possession of her ground; her main principle being this, that the Episcopal Church in intention and practice allows individuals to judge for themselves in what manner and on what terms they may become ‘*bonâ fide* members’ of her society, and acquire a right to take her Sacraments.

“If any particular Propositions of the XLVIII were to be put forward alone (without the rest), those which might be selected with most pertinency and effect would be rather the two which stand at the head of all the rest at pp. 318, 319. I. ‘*No person has a right, &c.*’ and II. ‘*There are two distinct kinds, &c.*’ But in truth the assertion even of these alone would be a mere ineffective demonstration, even if it came from the whole Episcopate of the whole Anglican Communion, unless the prin-

ciple asserted were applied in detail both to that particular subject (of *occasional* Communion) dealt with by the five Propositions at p. 324 above-mentioned, and by your proposed Resolution, and also to those other branches equally involved (and more directly affecting Mde. A.), which are treated of in the rest of the XLVIII Propositions. Nay more, you will see at p. 452 that even the assertion of all the XLVIII Propositions at once, even if made by our whole united Communion, would be to my apprehension nugatory, unless joined with some *practical legislation* and commencement of reformation for the future, such as is sketched in Sect. LXXX, (p. 452 to 460.)

“Such being the complexity of the question, and the difficulty of doing any thing to any purpose, it is not desired to obtain from the Diocesan Synod any thing more, in the first instance, than an expression of concurrence in opinion with the Bishop, that the questions raised by the Appeal (as contained in Section LVII), especially the primary question of passive or non-passive Communion (*i. e.* the XLVIII Propositions), ought to be considered and decided by the Church. At pp. 449 and 451, at the openings of Sections LXXIX and LXXX, two ways in which the Diocesan Synod might proceed are pointed out, and reasons are given (to which others might be added) for thinking the way sketched in Section LXXIX the more convenient and desirable of the two, at least in the first instance. And so if any member of the Synod is sufficiently favourable to the Appeal in the main, to confer with me on the subject, as you have been good enough to do, I must say that, so far as I can judge, no commencement would be so desirable or so advantageous as that which is suggested in Section LXXIX.

“It is, no doubt, quite competent for the Diocesan Synod to enter at once, and in detail, upon the Disciplinary questions involved in the Appeal, before they are so much as communicated to other Dioceses. If it should incline to do so, all that I can say is this, that it will be prudent to consider well the whole depth of the matter before stirring; and better, after having considered, not to stir at all, than to do in the eyes of the world what may, after all, turn out to be nugatory. What would really be necessary (in substance, that is, for I am not speaking of details) to a decision of the Disciplinary question of passive Communion, is sketched, to the best of my ability, in Section LXXX.

“*Apart* from the Appeal, the adoption of any such Resolution as yours, embodying as it does a true principle, controverted or slighted by too many, and most necessary for these times, by any Synod of the Clergy, would of course be a manifestation in the right direction; and I heartily wish that every Diocesan Synod would annually utter and repeat such expressions of principle, till from declarations we get on to practice.

“This is pretty nearly what I should have written if I had been able to answer your letter at the time it reached me: But since then, while I have been confined to my room, a case has been brought to my knowledge which has thrown quite a new light upon your Resolution, and which I think must have been more or less present to your own mind when you drew it up. At any rate, the supposition that it was so at once removed all the difficulty that I felt at first to understand how you should have pitched upon the assertion of an abridgment of, or equivalent for, the five Propositions at p. 324, (apart from the rest of the XLVIII,) as a proper issue to the consideration of the Appeal by the Diocesan Synod, and a

proper response to the invitation of the Bishop. For though such a Resolution would not (as I have tried to shew above) make directly to the purpose of the Appeal, (set forth in Sect. LVII of the printed volume), it would be quite to the purpose, with reference to that question of 'occasional Communion' or Intercommunion which has just now been separately and publicly raised in the case of the Duke of Argyll. And since this case, though separate in itself, yet really falls under one subsection of the Disciplinary part of the Appeal, and so far is a reproduction of it, it will not perhaps be either irrelevant or unimportant if I draw out and state this case at full ; and then apply to it your Resolution; and examine how far the adoption of such a Resolution by a Diocesan Synod, or by the Church at large, would really meet it, and oppose an efficient bar to such 'occasional Communion' as the Duke seems to contend for for the future. For if it should appear, as I think it will, that the claim of 'occasional Communion' could not so be met without moving and deciding another deeper and more general question, and that the very same question (of passive Communion) which is the main subject of the Appeal, the acknowledged importance of this purely Scottish case may have its use in illustrating the true nature and practical bearing of Mde. A.'s case, which is brought, however legitimately, only by appeal or reference from abroad to be determined in Scotland.

"For this purpose I will first draw out at length what I conceive to be the Duke of Argyll's case, throwing myself as far as possible into his position, and either using, if it so happen, his own words, or developing from them what seems their full sense and tendency ; the statement itself which may result being made altogether on my own responsibility, and being intended merely to shew the abstract principles involved.

[*"Assertion of the right to take Occasional Communion with the Episcopal Church, such as may be supposed to be made, openly or mentally, by the Duke of Argyll, or by any other Scottish Presbyterian layman.*

'Though by Baptism and education not an actual member of the 'Episcopal Church, but a Presbyterian, I yet am far from regarding the 'Communion as any peculiar token of *Sect-membership*, as distinguished 'from *Church-membership*, in the larger and truer sense. I conceive that 'it is a remembering of Christ, not a remembering of anything else, of 'Episcopacy, of Presbyterianism, of Tulchanism, or any 'ism' whatever. 'One thing only I regard as in all ordinary circumstances necessary in 'order to justify any person in taking or receiving the Communion in 'any particular Denomination, viz. that he be convinced that such Bodies, 'and their Ministers, along with whom he may at times Communicate, 'are in *all essentials*, [*i. e.* to his judgment] true branches of THE *Christian* 'SOCIETY, and as such, entitled to celebrate Its ordinances.

'I conceive that the Episcopal Church is such a Body : and therefore, 'for my own part, and so far as I am concerned, I can Communicate 'with it as conscientiously as with any other Body of which I entertain 'the same general opinion.

'But since in any act of Communion there are always two parties, and 'I, whatever may be my opinion, or readiness, or right towards any Com- 'munity, cannot take or receive its Communion in fact, (perhaps not in 'right), unless it and its ministers are ready to give, and actually do give 'that which I claim, or present myself to receive, it naturally follows

‘next to ask, What is towards me the attitude and relation of that ‘Episcopal Church’ with which I have thus declared my readiness to Communicate? Let us examine this question.

‘Now, at the outset, it is but candid to acknowledge that the Communion has long been unfortunately regarded by many, in various Denominations, as the peculiar token of *Sect-membership*, rather than of *Church-membership* in the larger and truer sense. Indeed the *Clergy* in almost all Churches [have been apt to] claim much more extensive homage than such as is involved in occasional Communion, (*i. e.* Intercommunion) on the principle stated above. And therefore, of course, one could not hope to content any such *individuals* with any such lax adhesion. It is perhaps natural that such *individuals*, (whether in the Episcopal, or in any other Community), should wonder how any person not actually a member of their own sect can conscientiously partake of its Communion.

‘Farther, I am well aware that in *some societies* this false view of Communion is more than a mere error of *individuals*, being adopted and enforced by the laws and established customs or feelings of the society itself. So, for instance, in the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches it would be an outrage upon the religious feelings of the whole body not only if any stranger, but even if any one of their own members presented himself to Communicate without having first been *examined* and *admitted* by Ecclesiastical authority; nor does the law, or custom, or public sense of those Churches allow of any such thing as ‘occasional Communion.’ And even in the Swedish Lutheran ‘Episcopal’ Church, and in some other Protestant Societies, though the terms of Communion and the examination of applicants are of a much laxer kind, it would still be contrary to established custom, and so also to propriety and good manners, to attempt to Communicate without having first answered personally the *questions* of the Pastor.

‘But in the Anglican Episcopal Church *there is no such established custom* for Communicants to offer themselves to any authoritative *examination* and admission beforehand: on the contrary, it is the established custom of that Church to throw it upon the private conscience of every individual Communicating, to take the Sacraments on his own responsibility alone: nor is the religious feeling of the Episcopal community at all outraged when members of other Denominations of Evangelical Christians take, in common with those who are actual members of the Episcopal Church, an occasional and passive Communion at the hands of her ministers: on the contrary, to do this also has long since passed into an established custom. Such Christians of other Denominations have for the last three centuries, not only by abuse or connivance, but openly, continually, and in vast numbers, with full knowledge and manifest approval of the Clergy and the whole community, availed themselves of the liberty allowed them to Communicate with the Episcopal Church at their own discretion, and to determine for themselves according to their own consciences, whether they should transfer themselves altogether as proselytes, or only Communicate occasionally, still retaining their connection with their former Society. And in like manner it has been left perfectly free for those who are actual members of the Episcopal Church to join occasionally in Communion with other Churches and Denominations according to their own consciences: thousands have ever been doing this, and are still doing it daily: nor can

‘any one, either of the Clergy or of the Laity, be called in question for having done so.

‘There is, no doubt, a certain limit set to this liberty, not perhaps by the force of any formal Law or Canon, but by the public sense and feeling of the Episcopal Society. If, for instance, a Jew, a Heathen, or a Mahometan, an openly professed Deist, or an Infidel, were to take the Communion, or if a very notorious Socinian or Unitarian, or even, perhaps, if a man who avowed himself to be unbaptized (though this is said to occur in America) were to claim the right to present themselves, these would be to a certain extent new cases: they would be attempts to stretch and develop the established custom still further, and might probably excite a feeling of hostility and reaction. But for Christians, especially lay Christians of any Evangelical Denomination, the usage is permanently established, and the sense of the Episcopal Society has been for centuries ascertained. To attempt at this time of day to call it in question, or to go back, is nothing less than to attempt a radical revolution, to de-Protestantize the Episcopal Church, and to re-constitute it on a new basis. For myself, I have had personally abundant occasion to know that the mere fact of being a Presbyterian by baptism and education is not of itself considered in the Episcopal Church of England any *disqualification* for receiving the Communion at her hands. I may add, that our Sovereigns themselves, or their consorts, have had since the accession of the House of Hanover in many instances no better *qualification* for the Episcopal Communion than this, that they were previously members of non-Episcopal Protestant Churches, the Communion of which Churches they were assuredly never pledged to renounce. As for the Episcopal Church in Scotland, without dwelling on the fact of its real or professed unity with the Church of England, a large portion of its actual members of the higher classes are notoriously ‘semi-Presbyterians,’ who Communicate occasionally in prayers and worship with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland: and I myself, being a member of this latter Church, have never hitherto found my right to Communicate in the Episcopal Church called in question on that ground, but have from time to time Communicated in it freely, with the same facility as other people.

‘Very recently, indeed, the minister of one particular Chapel at Paisley,—*not* on the ground of his Church claiming to examine, and allow, or reject by some fixed law all applicants for Communion, *nor* on the ground of members of other Denominations being, in virtue of any such fixed law, inadmissible to occasional Communion, but on account of a private party-opinion of his own, has come to doubt whether he ought not to put an arbitrary note upon me in case of my offering again to Communicate, by denying me that right of free access which the usage of his Church (except in cases of gross public scandal) accords indiscriminately to all comers, whether they be known by sight or unknown to the local minister. This clergyman has even thought proper to consult his Bishop on the point; and has received a reply (which was also privately communicated to me) to the effect,—*not* that the Bishop considers it to be the duty of his Church and her ministers to examine all who would receive her Communion, and to allow or reject them according to fixed impartial laws of discipline;—*not* that members of other Denominations in general, or Presbyterians in particular, are inadmissible by the laws

‘ of his Church ;—*not* that the Presbyterian’s former allowance of me (knowing, as he did, who I was) to take the Sacraments at his hands, in common with all others who presented themselves, was uncanonical, or blameable. Far from it : But that, being consulted by one who has a right to ask his *advice*, he approves of the minister’s scruple, and advises, or, in a manner, half-directs that, under present circumstances, he should make a special exception to the ordinary practice in my case, and repel me, if I should again present myself to receive the Communion. At the same time it is expressly said that this is no sentence or declaration of excommunication : It is merely an *opinion*, merely *advice*, and even that *not volunteered*, but *given only on being asked* ; and again, *not intended to be even communicated*, at least at present, to the other Clergy of the Diocese, or under present circumstances ; though the Bishop, (who would connive in many cases at the giving and receiving of the Communion in a manner that he *could not formally sanction*) would feel himself obliged to make the same answer as has been made to the clergyman at Paisley to any other clergyman, *if* any other should *think proper* to consult him ; and in the mean time he *hopes* or *wishes* that I should voluntarily abstain from offering myself to Communicate in his Diocese.

‘ Thus the general and most important principle that the Episcopal Church admits Evangelical Christians of other Denominations, and in particular Presbyterians, to take, under ordinary circumstances, her Communion unimpeded, on their own responsibility, seems to be admitted on all hands, and to be indeed indisputable. Nothing could place this in a stronger light than the fact that a Presbyterian and his Bishop, even while assuming the right to make an exception in my own particular case, should yet pass over entirely the broad and *prima facie* ground of my being a Presbyterian ; and even when I call their attention to this point, still pass it over, or rather allow my admissibility so far, and seek to justify their curiously-limited repulsion on totally different and special grounds.

‘ Dismissing then for the present the *general principle* of ‘occasional Communion,’ we have now to examine the ground alleged in my own particular case for making a *special exception*, or at least something like a special exception. I have already admitted above that there are certain special cases in which an Episcopal minister (or indeed the minister of any religious Society), whether with or without the advice of his Bishop, would be justified and borne out by the public feeling of his Church in repelling a Communicant : And I have enumerated some such cases ; as, if a liberalizing Jew, a Heathen, a Mahometan, an avowed Socinian, a person avowedly unbaptized, or living at the time in flagrant sin, should attempt to share in that privilege of ‘open Communion’ which is intended only for professed Protestants not living at the moment in any heinous and notorious immorality. But what is the cause alleged in my own case ? Is it any thing like these which have been mentioned ?

‘ The grounds alleged are two : First, that in a recent publication I have denounced a certain opinion and a certain historical party, and by so doing have, to the apprehension of the minister at Paisley and his Bishop, *shewn a bitter and contemptuous spirit towards their Church*. And of this it may be conceded at once that *such* a ground might in certain cases be just and defensible. For instance, if I had denounced the doc-

‘*trine of our Saviour’s Divinity*, and what an anti-Trinitarian might call
 ‘*the party of its supporters*, an Episcopal minister would no doubt be borne
 ‘out by truth and public feeling in identifying this doctrine with the
 ‘essential faith of his Church, and the party of its supporters with the
 ‘Church herself; while *open bitterness and contempt* even towards a man’s
 ‘neighbour, much more towards a Church from which he claims the
 ‘Sacraments, would be felt to be a valid cause for repelling him who
 ‘was guilty of it. But suppose the case to be less clear: suppose it to be
 ‘denied by the party repelled that the opinion he had attacked was any
 ‘essential doctrine, or any doctrine at all, of the Episcopal Church, or
 ‘that the party of its supporters could rightly be identified with that
 ‘Church; or that, in strongly denouncing that party, he had implied or
 ‘felt any bitterness or uncharitableness even towards its individual
 ‘members, still less towards the Episcopal Church herself,—if, I say,
 ‘such a defence should be set up—and it is conceivable that the person
 ‘repelled may be in the right, and the repelling Minister or Bishop in
 ‘the wrong—how is one to obtain justice? How is the question to be tried,
 ‘and the Minister or Bishop who mistakenly or unjustly withholds
 ‘the Communion be compelled to give to the person wronged what he
 ‘rightfully claims? Clearly this can be only by an *appeal* to the next
 ‘higher authority or tribunal: and this implies that every act of repelling
 ‘must be an official, definite, legal or canonical act, cognizable by the
 ‘higher authority. But if it were free to the Minister or Bishop to act
 ‘arbitrarily, narrowing or relaxing the facility of Communion, *conniving*
 ‘and *indulging*, or repelling, at his own discretion, without law or appeal,
 ‘there would be no remedy against the most vexatious injustice. Every
 ‘man who in his conscience felt himself wronged, would have to right
 ‘himself as he best could. He who was capriciously repelled in one
 ‘Chapel, or by one Minister who disliked his opinions or party, would
 ‘have to go to some other, though a few miles further off: and he who
 ‘was repelled in any one whole Diocese (if that be conceivable) would
 ‘have to betake himself to the next.

‘A second ground, which is in fact a modification of the first, is this,
 ‘that I have publicly denounced an opinion, which, though confessedly
 ‘*not imposed as a condition of Communion*, is yet held by the Episcopal
 ‘Church: and that though it is right and proper, according to established
 ‘custom, to allow, or to connive at, the denial of this doctrine by Com-
 ‘municants under *ordinary* circumstances, a special exception is to be
 ‘made in case any one announces his opinion very honestly or loudly, or
 ‘*publishes it in a book*.

‘Without examining the distinction here set up between degrees of
 ‘openness or honesty or force in controverting any *secondary* opinions
 ‘held or favoured by a Church, we must observe, as in the former case,
 ‘that if the party repelled denies the doctrine in question to be held by
 ‘the Episcopal Church, or denies that he has publicly denounced it, or
 ‘that, if he has denounced it, he can thereupon rightly be repelled from
 ‘the Communion, and if it be conceivable that an individual Minister or
 ‘Bishop may be wrong, there must be supposed to be some way for
 ‘bringing the question to a decision, and for correcting injustice. And
 ‘this necessarily implies that the act of repelling must be an official act
 ‘based upon some law, or some recognized principle of law, and so capable
 ‘of being carried by appeal to the next higher authority.

‘ In fact, in this present case, I do conceive myself to be wronged ; and if I were repelled by any definite official act, or on any cognizable principle, I should have every reason to appeal to some ulterior tribunal of the Episcopal Church. For, with regard to the *first* form of the charge brought against me, not only can I sincerely disclaim all feelings of bitterness or contempt for the Episcopal Church, but, in the very publication which is made the ground of my repulsion, I expressed my conviction that the *Episcopal Church, as such, is thoroughly entitled to sincere respect* :’ and, what is more, I professed ‘ *anxiety to disclaim, at the very outset, any hostile feeling,*’ not only ‘ *against the Episcopal Church,*’ but also ‘ *against Episcopacy in the abstract* ;’ saying that it was ‘ *impossible not to feel that such an organization as the English Church was enabled to retain, may be a powerful instrument of extending in a true direction Christian faith and knowledge.*’ Nay, even of the opinion of the Divine or Apostolical origin of Episcopacy, (if it be true that this opinion is held by the Episcopal Church) though I hold it not myself, I have said nothing disrespectful. It is only a certain theory of the Divine and exclusive right of Episcopacy,—a theory which, if honestly and consistently held, *unchurches the whole Reformation, and with it even the Protestant Episcopacy itself*, that I have denounced and repudiated as ‘ *the vainest or emptiest superstition.*’ This theory is *not* the doctrine of the Episcopal Church, but is repudiated by many of her Bishops, by multitudes of her clergy, and by nearly all her laity, no less openly than by myself. I do not deny the power of the Episcopal Church to adopt and assert this doctrine ; but *till she does so*, and requires its acceptance, or forbids its contemptuous repudiation, under pain of excommunication, and enforces such new legislation fairly upon all alike, it must plainly be indefensible and vexatious for an individual Minister or Bishop to make an arbitrary exception against any individual communicant. In the same way I have censured more or less severely (less severely, I think, than it deserves) the historical character and tendencies of a blind, narrow, and semi-popish party maintaining the above opinion, which still exists indeed within the Episcopal Church, but which is far from being identical with that Church herself ; a party which never has been, and never can be, without some fresh acts of the whole body, more than a party, and the very existence of which within a Protestant or Reformed Church is a more bitter reproach and satire than any enemy could devise. However, two opposite parties being in fact in existence, and confronting one another within the pale of the Reformation, and of the Episcopal Communion, the liberty of freely expressing their strong mutual condemnation of one another’s principles and tendencies and acts, on either side, has ever been conceded to the members of both parties alike, and has been used, I may add, and is still used quite as largely by the *Apostolical* party which I have denounced, as by the *Protestantizing* party with which I agree. And yet, whatever bitterness or contempt I may have seemed to shew for their *empty superstition* and narrow bigotry (as I must consider it), I am just as far from any feeling of uncharitableness for individuals of that party, as they are, I hope, on the other side, when in their publications they speak with equal severity either of the ‘ *Low-Church party,*’ or of ‘ *that form of schism which is established in Scotland.*’ If there is to be a change, if the Episcopal Church is to identify herself with one of these two parties to

‘ the exclusion of the other, she is competent, no doubt, to do so : but
 ‘ *until* this is done by some public act, there is no pretence for individual
 ‘ Ministers interfering arbitrarily with individual communicants. At
 ‘ any rate, it will be time enough to note the Essays of occasional com-
 ‘ municants in the Diocese of Glasgow, when the Sermons and Charges
 ‘ of liberal Bishops and Presbyters on the same side in neighbouring
 ‘ Dioceses have first been condemned ; when the inadequacy of the
 ‘ Canons (especially of Canon xx) has been remedied, and the liberal infer-
 ‘ ences now drawn from their omissions negatived ; or at any rate, when
 ‘ an equal measure of severity is enforced against all seemingly bitter or
 ‘ contemptuous denunciations by exclusive High-Church zealots on the
 ‘ other side.

‘ But, as it is, I am wronged, and yet am left apparently without
 ‘ remedy. I cannot well appeal against the arbitrariness of the indivi-
 ‘ dual Minister at Paisley to his Bishop, because the Bishop has already
 ‘ privately informed me that he agrees in opinion with the Minister. I
 ‘ cannot appeal against the Bishop’s excommunication, or denial of the
 ‘ Communion within his Diocese, because he disclaims having done any
 ‘ such official act. He has only given *his private opinion* or *advice* ; and
 ‘ that *only when consulted* ; as if he would not have volunteered it : he *has*
 ‘ *not directed the Minister to repel me*, but *only refrained from sanctioning his*
 ‘ *admitting me* : and all this *only under present circumstances*, and in that
 ‘ particular Chapel at Paisley. As for other Ministers and Chapels, he
 ‘ leaves them to themselves : he will not, at least at present, communi-
 ‘ cate to them what has passed : only, *if any Minister should think proper*
 ‘ *to consult him*, he would make the same answer : and in the meantime
 ‘ he certainly *hopes* that I (who think the whole proceeding unjust and
 ‘ nugatory) will *assist in giving effect to the injustice*, and will, *by refrain-*
 ‘ *ing voluntarily to offer myself to Communion at other Chapels in his*
 ‘ *Diocese, give the force of a valid and just excommunication to that which he*
 ‘ *himself denies to be any excommunication, or any authoritative act at all.*
 ‘ The only question then which remains, *since* the matter is thus, in part,
 ‘ *thrown back upon myself*, is to consider what is the precise force of the
 ‘ notification which I have received ; and how far it affects my own *right*
 ‘ *in conscience to claim, or power to obtain in fact, the Episcopal Communion.*

‘ And here, at the outset, it is manifest, that whatever right or power
 ‘ individual Ministers or Bishops may have in the Episcopal Church of
 ‘ refusing to *give* the Communion, whether according to fixed laws, or of
 ‘ their own private judgment and discretion, this has no necessary influ-
 ‘ ence upon the right and power of communicants to present themselves
 ‘ and *seek to receive*. As the Minister judges for himself in *giving*, so the
 ‘ other party, the communicant, judges for himself in *seeking* the Com-
 ‘ munion. Both ought no doubt to wish to judge and act according to
 ‘ truth and right in each particular case. But if the conscientious private
 ‘ judgment of a Minister moves him to decline *giving*, in any particular
 ‘ case, where the conscientious private judgment of the party repelled
 ‘ does *not* move him to desist from *seeking* or *receiving*, and there is no
 ‘ appeal provided to law or superior authority, both parties, each in his
 ‘ own sphere, must act upon their own convictions for themselves. And
 ‘ if the communicant cannot compel an unwilling Minister to *give* con-
 ‘ trary to his conscience, nor reasonably expect him to do so, as little
 ‘ can the Minister, on the other hand, prevent the communicant who

‘feels aggrieved from *presenting himself* and *receiving* wherever else he
 ‘thinks proper, or expect him voluntarily to abstain from so doing, or
 ‘complain if he obtains the Communion from other Ministers who are
 ‘less arbitrary, or less of party men, or who take a different view of the
 ‘case, or who might agree in repelling, but happen not to know the case,
 ‘or not to know the communicant by sight. Only, nothing should be
 ‘done which is *felt in conscience* to be contrary to the laws or feelings of
 ‘the Society concerned. But inasmuch as established custom throws
 ‘it upon the individual communicant in the Episcopal Church to take
 ‘the initiative, and to judge for himself of his own fitness, and so to pre-
 ‘sent himself at the Lord’s Table, it is clear that if any person thinks
 ‘himself arbitrarily or vexatiously repelled in one Chapel, or by one
 ‘minister, whether Presbyter or Bishop, he has, so far, only to submit to
 ‘the inconvenience of presenting himself in some other Chapel, or when
 ‘he knows some other Minister is to officiate. The same would be the
 ‘case equally if a number of Ministers, or even all the Ministers of a
 ‘whole Diocese, with their Bishop, were resolved to repel him, so long
 ‘as this repulsion seemed to be arbitrary, and there was no official act
 ‘which could be appealed against to a higher authority; and so long as
 ‘there were notoriously other Clergy and Dioceses which were ready
 ‘freely to give the Communion.

‘I conclude therefore, I. That my admissibility as a Presbyterian to
 ‘the Communion of the Episcopal Church is admitted on all hands:
 ‘II. That the custom of the Episcopal Church leaving it ordinarily to
 ‘communicants to take the Sacraments on their own responsibility, no
 ‘individual can rightly be repelled, except by some definite official act,
 ‘such as is cognizable before a Church Court, and capable of being either
 ‘disallowed or enforced throughout the whole Society of that Church to
 ‘which the repelling minister belongs, and such as leaves open to the
 ‘party repelled, if he thinks himself aggrieved, a remedy by appeal:
 ‘III. That if any one is repelled arbitrarily, as is now my case, without
 ‘any such official act as admits of an appeal, such repulsion is injurious
 ‘indeed, and may involve more or less of inconvenience to the party
 ‘repelled, but it is nugatory for any Ecclesiastical end, as from its very
 ‘nature it is incapable of being enforced beyond the sphere of that
 ‘private judgment with which it originates, and it leaves to the person
 ‘who feels himself aggrieved the same *right in conscience* as before of *seek-*
 ‘*ing*, and the same *facility, in fact*, of taking and obtaining the Sacraments
 ‘throughout the whole extent of the Episcopal Church, except when any
 ‘individual minister may be officiating, who of his own private judgment
 ‘chances to refuse giving; and even such a one must *know him personally by*
 ‘*sight*. This latter condition must be added: as otherwise the custom of the
 ‘Episcopal Church gives the Minister no opportunity of *discriminating at all*.’

“End of Statement of the case in favour of Occasional Communion.”]

“Assuming that the above may be taken as a full and fair statement of the Duke of Argyll’s case,—at any rate I have tried to make it so,—let us now return to your Resolution, and examine how far its adoption by a Diocesan Synod would meet this case? that is, how far it would affect the Duke’s right in theory and conscience to occasional Communion with the Episcopal Church, or his exercise of that right in practice?

“I. First, it is noticeable, that you seem to agree with the Duke in con-

sidering that the only ground on which he can be fairly and effectively met is that of denying universally and indifferently to all members of other non-Episcopal Denominations, the right of occasional Communion, and enforcing such denial impartially against all alike. In this view, I confess, I entirely concur. And grateful as I cannot but feel to the Bishop of Glasgow for the move he has made, and the disposition he has shewn, I cannot either, in fairness to our opponents, shrink from avowing a conviction that the prevalent idea of the lawfulness of granting ordinarily, and by connivance, a passive Communion to multitudes who cannot be recognized as *lawful* communicants, is just as untenable as is, manifestly, the claim of liberty for Ministers to repel *arbitrarily* communicants who cannot *lawfully* be repelled. Such indulgence of what is not ours to indulge, if closely considered, is nothing less than an abdication, so far, of our Mission and Stewardship. We are sent by God for nothing else but for this very thing, to teach all nations *distinctly* what is necessary for their admission into the Church, to admit them when so taught, and to feed and discipline them when admitted, casting them out for their own benefit and correction when they are disobedient. But if, from indistinct teaching, or passive negligence of shepherds who have doubted how far there need be any teaching or discipline at all, it has come to pass, that strangers who have not been fully or properly taught or disciplined now make a practice of walking in and out, and helping themselves, at their own discretion, to the ‘*meat*’ of the household, which is not lawfully ‘*theirs*,’ to indulge such strangers by conniving at the continuance of this their custom, is no real benefit, upon the whole, to those (if there be any such) who *would endure* to be rightly taught and disciplined, and so lawfully admitted to the House ; while, with respect to those who *would not endure* to be taught and disciplined, and who fancy they have a right to do as they please, it must be mere and plain unfaithfulness in us, and irreverence (however unintentional) towards the Mysteries, and towards God. I agree therefore with the Duke, and as I suppose with you, in thinking that the whole case really turns upon the admissibility or non-admissibility of ‘*occasional Communion*.’

“ This being premised, it is clear that your Resolution is precisely to the point. Nothing could be more so. The Duke’s assumption is, that the Episcopal Clergy *ought*, according to the principles of their Church, to give ‘occasional Communion’ to members of other non-Episcopal Denominations : You would have the Diocesan Synod assert that ‘ we, ‘ the Episcopal Clergy of this Diocese, *ought not*, according to the principles of our Church, to give ‘occasional Communion’ to members of ‘ non-Episcopal Denominations.’ If the evil to be met were merely *the uncontradicted assertion by one man of a certain abstract proposition*, it would no doubt be adequately met by *the counter-assertion of another abstract proposition*, its direct contradictory, by some other man, to say nothing of a Bishop or of a Diocesan Synod.

“ 11. But this is not all. The Duke maintains, not without some apparent grounds to go upon, that his proposition is admitted expressly or virtually, not by one Diocese only, but by the whole Episcopal Church. If therefore, your counter-proposition is to meet his, it must be equally extensive : if it is to destroy or neutralize his, it must be enforced by some clear and indisputable authority. That is, its assertion must not stop short with one single Diocese, but must be pressed upon all the rest,

till it is the evident voice and declaration of that whole Church to which the Duke imputes his own error.

“III. But neither is this all. It is *not* the mere abstract assertion of the principle of occasional Communion in the name of our Church (which might be met by an abstract denial of that principle by our Church herself), but it is this principle *as involved and embodied in an actual established usage of our own*, upon which the Duke insists; a usage maintained *by the concurrence of two parties*, of our own Clergy in *giving*, and of members of non-Episcopal Societies in *taking and receiving occasional Communion*. For one Diocese, or for our whole Church, to deny the abstract principle, but *continue the actual usage*, would be simply to play with controversy; to leave the advocates of occasional Communion in full possession of their ground; and merely to condemn themselves. It will be necessary, therefore, *not only* to deny the erroneous principle, but to *enact at the same time some Canon for reforming that abusive custom which really involves it*, so as to prevent our Clergy from giving occasional Communion for the future. And any such Canon again, to be really effective, and not nugatory, would have, like the abstract proposition itself, to be urged upon other Dioceses for adoption, until it became the settled law of *our whole Church*.

“And here I must digress for a moment from the Duke of Argyll’s case to remark that, having followed out your proposed Resolution thus far, so as to suppose it to be asserted not only by a Diocesan Synod but by our whole Church, and not only so, but also to be bound by a Canon upon the Clergy, we have not yet come in any way upon that question of ‘*passive Communion*’ which is the main part of my own Appeal, and to which the Bishop invites the attention of his Clergy. In fact neither the question of *occasional Communion* nor your Resolution (which relates to it) have any necessary connection with the question of *passive Communion*. The allowance indeed, in theory or practice, of *passive Communion* involves *also*, of necessity, the allowance of ‘*occasional Communion*’ (in common with many other evils), but the allowance of *occasional Communion* by any Church *by no means involves* reciprocally the allowance of *passive Communion*: nor does the adoption of such a Resolution as yours, or of a Canon forbidding the Clergy to *give, knowingly*, *occasional Communion*, by any means involve the additional principle that they are *bound to know*, so far as may be possible, or interfere with the existing custom which gives all who please the right to approach unexamined and unapproved, and all who are *unknown* the certainty of obtaining *passive Communion*.

“It is only if we take your Resolution in a stricter sense, not limiting it mentally by the word ‘*knowingly*,’ but making the rule absolute, and meaning that the Church and the Clergy are *bound to know*, and to discriminate, and not to throw it upon the private judgment of all *unknown* persons to approach, or limit their own duty of discriminating to their own *casual* knowledge, that we are led on to touch the question of *passive Communion*. For if it is wrong absolutely to give ‘*occasional Communion*’ not only when we *happen to know* the individual by sight, but also when we *might have known* if we had pleased, then it is clear that the Church and the Clergy must require all *unknown* persons to be *examined*, and found lawfully qualified, before they present themselves to Communicate; as is drawn out in the printed volume of the ‘*Appeal*,’ Sect. LVII, I. p. 318, ‘*No person has a right to receive the Holy Sacraments in*

Christ's Church unless he has first been approved, &c.:' and xxxvii, p. 324, '*If a stranger, &c.:*' and Sect. lxxx. A. II. p. 452, '*For the future no Bishop, &c.:*'

"In this way, by adding to your Resolution [or to Propositions xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, and xxxviii, at p. 324 of the printed volume], Canons *not only to require the Clergy to act upon your principle, so far as they chance to know by sight the person Communicating, but also to prevent unknown strangers taking, or the Clergy giving, through avoidable ignorance, the Communion improperly, we have no doubt connected your Resolution (otherwise unconnected with it) with the question of 'passive Communion' raised by the printed 'Appeal,' (Sect. LVII.)* But if we go thus far, it will be impossible to stop short without going on into another branch of Discipline, viz. that of the *Admission of Proselytes.* By the existing custom of taking and giving passive Communion, the non-Episcopal communicant judges for himself whether he will be only an occasional or a permanent communicant, *i. e.* a proselyte; and if he chooses to be the latter, and so to transfer himself altogether to our Church, *he can do this, and does it, on his own terms;* nor is it necessary, with such a custom, for the Church to say what are her terms, or to provide any Form of authoritative admission whatever. Accordingly, we are actually destitute of such Forms. But your Resolution interferes with the existing custom. You say we *ought not* to give 'occasional Communion;' we ought to give the Communion only to *bonâ fide* members of the Apostolical Church, holding our own faith. To prevent this from being nugatory, I have added that we must require *strangers* to be *examined* previously to admission, and that strangers are not to be allowed to take passively 'occasional Communion.' But even without making this addition (however necessary it may be to make it) your own Resolution of itself clearly implies that strangers *ought not.* But to say that they ought not to have 'occasional Communion' given them, or ought not to take it, but yet to leave them still free, without blame, to take *full* Communion as proselytes, *i. e.* as *bonâ fide* members of our Church for the future on their own terms, would be a palpable absurdity: for this is to allow *much more* than what we have already forbidden. And besides, if this were to go on, the only difference would be, that instead of using the phrase 'occasional Communion,' they who pleased would go backwards and forwards between Episcopalian and Presbyterian Sacraments as '*bonâ fide members*' of that Church in which they were Communicating at any particular time. Your Resolution then implies the prohibition not only of *occasional* Communion, but also of the *self-admission of proselytes*, such as is *now* (by virtue of the great principle of passive Communion) the *ordinary and almost the only way* by which non-Episcopalian Christians pass over to us and become *bonâ fide* members of our Church. Clearly then you are bound to point out and provide some other *lawful* way, in which they may become proselytes and '*bonâ fide members*': else it will be impossible for members of non-Episcopal Communities to be ever admitted to our Communion at all, which is plainly absurd. You say we ought not to give the Communion, except to '*bonâ fide*' members of our own Church, or some other homogeneous with it, and of the same faith; and you *take away* the ordinary method by which strangers *now* become '*bonâ fide members*:' clearly then you are bound to tell them what they ought to do in future, if they seek to become '*bonâ fide members*,' and so to be capable of Communicating. For this end we shall want such Propositions as are to be

found marked XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, at p. 321 of the ‘*Appeal*,’ and some such *Form for the admission of Proselytes* as is suggested at p. 455, C. IV.

“ Yet again, your Resolution, when it allows us to give the Communion to members of such other ‘*Episcopal Churches*’ *only*, as agree with our own in faith, certainly cannot intend to leave it to each individual member of any other Episcopal Church, (as the Russian or the Chaldean), to decide whether his Church agrees with ours in faith or no, and consequently whether he is to be received by us as a proselyte, or as a brother. And besides, we have before deduced from the Resolution the necessity of examining *all unknown strangers whatever*, whencesoever they may come, in order to guard against their either taking ‘occasional Communion,’ or making themselves into proselytes or ‘*bonâ fide* members’ on their own terms. So now, if any of these unknown strangers, on being thus examined, turn out to come from other ‘Episcopal’ Churches, we must necessarily be ready, as soon as the question arises, to decide whether a person coming from this or that Church is to be received as a proselyte, or as a brother. Thus the case of the Russian Lady, Mde. A., who pretends to come as a self-made proselyte from another ‘Episcopal’ Church to ours (unless we allow her right to decide these questions for herself) needs to be met by such Propositions as those marked XXXIX, XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII, at pp. 325–7 of the printed ‘*Appeal*,’ concerning members of the Orthodox Eastern Church ; and the case which has still more recently occurred (and which is mentioned from p. 438 to 446) of a Chaldean Nestorian seeking either to Communicate passively, or by distinct allowance, not as a proselyte, but as a brother, would make it proper to add some Propositions (to the XLVIII at p. 327) concerning the Nestorian and Monophysite ‘Episcopal’ Churches, such as the following :

“ XLIX. Persons coming from the [Episcopal] Communities of the Chaldean Nestorians, or of the Monophysites, which reject the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and have ever on that account been rejected as heretical by the Orthodox Catholic Church, cannot be admitted to the Communion by our Bishops unless they first withdraw from the Communion of heresy, and are received as proselytes to the unity of the Orthodox faith, (receiving at the same time, if Nestorians and un-Confirmed, Confirmation).

“ L. If a British Bishop admit to brotherly Communion any person coming from the [Episcopal] Communities of the Nestorians or of the Monophysites, but refusing to withdraw from them for the future, such an act is null and void : nor does any right whatever accrue to the person so Communicating, to enable him to obtain the Communion afterwards from other more religious Bishops.

“ LI. If a British Bishop admit, as by an act of authority, to Communion any person coming from the [Episcopal] Communities of the Nestorians or Monophysites, &c : [like xxxvi at p. 324.]

“ LII. If a stranger coming from the [Episcopal] Communities of the Nestorians or Monophysites, &c : [as xxxvii, at p. 325.]

“ LIII. If a British Bishop or Presbyter knowingly and willingly allow passive Communion to any stranger coming from the [Episcopal] Communities of the Nestorians or Monophysites, &c : [as xxxviii, at p. 325.]

“ And to carry these into effect, we should need the provisions made at

p. 455, under C., *For the Admission of Proselytes*, as we needed the same above in the case of non-Episcopalian proselytes.

"Thus your Resolution prohibiting '*occasional Communion*,' and on that account *also passive Communion*, has drawn after it by implication the necessity of laying down rules both for the lawful *admission of non-Episcopal proselytes*, and also for the admission or rejection of strangers from *two other Episcopal Churches* at least, and for their admission in different ways, according as those Churches are judged to agree in faith, or not to agree with our own. But we shall not be able to stop here :

"For a Priest or Bishop may say, 'I do not leave any of these parties 'to take *passive Communion* : I give it to them authoritatively, since this 'is required of me. But I do not see that either I, or the Church, need 'know or decide, or that the parties themselves need know, in what 'capacity they Communicate. So I leave this uncertain.' This is no imaginary danger. It is a view that has actually been taken in the case of Mde. A. by a Bishop and by a Priest of our Communion. [*See Intro. Part I, Section xxviii, p. cv. to cxiv.*] But if this is to be allowed, all that we have hitherto done is nugatory ; and it would have been better never to have stirred, never to have framed such a Resolution as yours at all, but to have continued tolerating '*occasional Communion*,' and whatever else is involved together with it in the existing passivity of all Communion. We must therefore, to meet this fresh case, add to what we had before the three Propositions numbered xxiii, xxiv, xxv, at p. 322, [though we have included the application of them already in some references above, by anticipation, to avoid perplexing the argument with unnecessary distinctions or explanations of detail.]

"But neither yet have we done. After having disallowed '*occasional Communion*' of non-Episcopalians, and *self-admission of proselytes*, and *admission of Episcopalian apostates from orthodoxy as proselytes*, or of *Episcopalian adherents to Nestorian or Monophysite Communities as brethren*, and after having *required the Clergy to examine all stranger applicants*, that our prohibitions be not rendered nugatory by passivity of Communion, we have already *incidentally* made it necessary to examine, in various points, *unknown* Episcopalian of our own Church, *as well as* strangers from other Episcopal or non-Episcopal communities,—since, *till* we have examined them, we cannot be sure to what class they really belong. And even if they profess at once to be '*bonâ fide* members of our Church,' still your Resolution in allowing such cannot mean *to leave it to themselves to judge* what it is to be '*bonâ fide* members,' or whether they do in fact come under this definition or not. If we leave this to private judgment, our stone which we have been pushing up the hill so laboriously, like that of Sisiphus, will rebound at once : this one form of passivity will draw back after it all those other forms which we have been getting rid of one by one ; and we shall be in a moment exactly where we were at the first, with all to begin over again. Manifestly, unless we would admit every body as before (for both Mde. A., and the Chaldean perhaps now, and many others who are really as much Presbyterians as the Duke of Argyll, *call themselves 'bonâ fide* members of our Church') we must ascertain by questioning that every stranger who seeks admission as a '*bonâ fide* member' has been originally validly admitted ; that he has been validly baptized and confirmed ; that he knows and believes the Creed, and the doctrine of the Catechism on the Sacraments ; that he knows the Ten Commandments

and the Lord's Prayer ; that he has not been lawfully repelled the Communion in the Congregation or Diocese whence he last came : to which we must add, that he has not been Communicating in Prayers or Sacraments with non-Episcopalians, or with Episcopalian heretics. For after forbidding to all such persons both '*occasional Communion*' and full Communion with our Church,' and after *examining all strangers* in order to enforce our prohibition, it would be the height of absurdity and inconsistency to continue to allow our own members to Intercommunicate with such aliens, and then return to Communicate with us *without any examination*. And, having gone so far, the question next arises, *whether our examination is to be confined to the Ecclesiastical status of the applicant* in respect of his original admission, and his present faith, and freedom from public censure *only*, with that one other particular of Intercommunion with sectaries or heretics ? or are we to extend it also to his Ecclesiastical status in respect of God's moral law and the Canons of the Church ? and if so, how far ? as, for instance, to the three Apostolical prohibitions taken in their full and spiritual sense : I. Of *Idolatry* (such as British functionaries are said to be often guilty of in India, at least indirectly), and the same will include Apostacy and Infidelity ; II. *Fornication*, including all gross sins of the flesh : and III. *Blood*, that is, murder and violence, (such as child-murder, procuring abortion, &c.) ? or further, to all those chief sins which involve excommunication by any Canons of the Church ? And no doubt it would seem inconsistent to question all strangers whether they have been Baptized, and Confirmed, whether they believe the Creed, and know the Commandments, and have kept from Intercommunion with sects and heresies, but at the same time to disclaim the duty, and even the right, of questioning further, and to leave it to them to judge for themselves whether even with the most heinous sins ever so recent, or habits of sin, on their consciences, they are '*bonâ fide members*' of the Church ; or how soon, and with what degree of repentance, and whether with or without Absolution, they may again *rightly* Communicate. Let us only imagine the case of any one who, immediately after having fallen into some great sin, should come by a railway to this or that place, and the next morning being a Sunday, should go with his friends to one of our Chapels, and finding a Communion there, and having heard in the Sermon that God regards not time, but penitence, straightway think himself penitent, and Communicate,—would this be according to the mind of the Church ? or for the good of his soul ? Or if he were not admitted passively as now, but were examined first, *being a stranger*, as to the fact of his having been Baptized and Confirmed, and as to his having kept apart from '*that form of schism which is established in Scotland,*' &c. &c., *would this mend the matter ? Would it not rather make it worse ?* For the Church by questioning him as to certain qualifications would seem to allow him in all points about which she did not question him. And if so, we should have on certain occasions at least (as before Confirmation, Ordination, Institution to any cure of souls, and before giving the Communion to any one for the first time as a stranger, or after a long absence) to question *not only those who are unknown by sight*, but also even members of the Church who *are known*. It would plainly be inconsistent to ask a man, merely because *we happen not to know his face*, whether he has been Baptized and Confirmed &c., and has kept himself from Idolatry, sins of the flesh, and Blood, but never to ask a man *whose face we happen to know*, and of whom we know

that he has been Baptized &c., whether he also has avoided such great sins as are unhappily only too common. But whatever view were taken of this question, which is too important and too vast to be more than alluded to here, and wherever the line were drawn (either at first, or finally), we should need the Propositions numbered III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, at p. 319, and either the whole, or *part at least*, of what stands under the letter B. at pp. 453, 454, Section LXXX, to carry them into effect.

“Lastly, (for we are drawing at length to an end of our analysis,) if we had adopted all or any of those Propositions and Forms which we have been led to above, we should need rules to define the powers and duties of Presbyters and Bishops with regard to their execution. We should need such rules even if the Propositions and Forms themselves had already been adopted throughout our whole Communion; but much more at first, when they were as yet adopted and enforced only in one particular Church of our Communion, or even, it might be, only in one single Diocese. This want is provided for in Propositions XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, at p. 323 of the printed volume.

“We have now followed out analytically the Duke of Argyll’s case and your Resolution, which, whether designedly or not, was framed so as just to meet it, but which does not directly touch the question of ‘*passive Communion*,’ raised by Mde. A., or by my own ‘*Appeal*,’ and we have found, if I mistake not, that to do any thing with effect even in this purely Scottish case (which is quite different from, and unconnected with my own), you would be forced to legislate on all, or very nearly all those points, which are treated in the Appeal; and that your own suggested Resolution, in its true sense and bearing, involves indirectly the whole XLVIII Propositions of Section LVII, and some besides, (as those added above to meet the case of *certain* Nestorians). But though we have arrived at this result, we have come to the several portions of the Sections LVII and LXXX piece-meal, because we have, in fact, been working upwards towards the denial of a great principle, from the denial of one particular and remote form only of its numerous and varied consequences. To see the whole bearings of the two cases (that of Mde. A., and that of the Duke of Argyll, to which we may add a third, that of the Chaldean), in their true relations to one another, we must reverse our method; and starting from the broad assertion of the principle of ‘*passive Communion*’ by Mde. A., and its denial by Bishop Luscombe, [See Propositions I and II. at p. 318,] work out the consequences of this denial downwards through the several forms which passive Communion may take, and actually does take,—that is, read in order the XLVIII Propositions in Section LVII [with the five fresh ones now added], and note how both the questions of the ‘*occasional Communion*’ of non-Episcopalians, and of that of heretical Episcopalians, as well as many others, fall under one or other of its sub-sections. And yet these sub-sections were not drawn out on a theory, but had all really been involved in one way or another in the course of the controversy with Mde. A. What gave them that degree of system or completeness which they have, was the fact that she took for her position *not this or that particular proposition* which may be developed remotely out of the right of passive Communion, but *the abstract principle itself* (which seems to lie at the root of all our varieties of no-Discipline, and to account for them all,) so as to take in, together with the principle, all its consequences and applications. And I hope that it was not to bring out the fact, that

when forced, we must admit as a principle the absence of all Discipline, but rather to force us to begin at the right point that restoration of Discipline which we profess annually to wish for, that she was permitted to stir so deep a controversy.

“Should you be disposed, after reading this long letter, to think that there is any thing in what I have advanced, you will not be surprized at my repeating in conclusion that opinion, and indeed wish, with which I began, viz. that the Diocesan Synod *should not in the first instance commence dealing with the Appeal in detail*, but should content itself with sending it on for consideration to other Diocesan Synods, and sanctioning its communication to the Clergy generally, as is proposed in Section LXXIX, and inviting their concurrence in seeking for it a decision from the Church. Should this be first done, it might then be a good plan enough for any or all of the Diocesan Synods, and for the Clergy among themselves, from time to time, to cause the different parts of the Appeal, *i. e.* of Section LVII, (and first the Disciplinary Propositions,) to be read, and to mark all such of the Propositions as seem to be self-evident, leaving others to be further considered and returned to at the next meeting, and always proceeding from the plainer to the more questionable. This, being all merely provisional, would in no way interfere with the recommendation of the Appeal to the Bishops, with a view to its being ultimately decided by a General Synod of the whole Scottish Church. But this I only throw out as a suggestion. What I *seek* at present is merely the communication of the Appeal (*i. e.* of Section LVII) to the other Dioceses, with an expression of opinion that it ought to be sustained and decided by the Church. Believe me to be, &c. &c.”

“N. N.”

EDINBURGH, *March 10, 1849.*

SECTION II.

OF CERTAIN DIFFERENT VIEWS SUCH AS MAY HAVE BEEN ENTER-
TAINED BY INDIVIDUAL PRESBYTERS, OR SUGGESTED TO THEM
BY OTHERS, BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE DIOCESAN SYNOD.

It may throw light upon the Resolutions eventually adopted, and also help one to see what is really involved in the sustainment of the Appeal, if we state and compare together three or four different views which may have been actually taken, or may be supposed to have been taken, in reference to it by individual Presbyters, or by others, before the meeting of the Synod.

I.

In the first place, we may suppose several Presbyters (one of whom we shall call Mr A.) to have projected each of them one or more Resolutions similar to that discussed in the preceding Section, Resolutions, that is, touching upon some one or more of the points involved in the XLVIII Disciplinary Propositions of Section LVII, but containing no direct sustainment of the *Appeal*, nor communication or recommendation of it to the

other Diocesan Synods; no claim for it to be entertained and decided by the Church; nor indeed any direct practical allusion whatever either to it, or to this printed volume, or to the XLVIII Propositions of Section LVII as a whole, or to any one of them in particular.

With regard to any such Resolutions or strings of Resolutions as these it is clear, *first*, that if they were to be adopted *alone*, whatever value they might have *in themselves*, or from their bearing on any matter of interest at the moment in Scotland, they would have no other import *in reference to the Appeal* than that of evading and shelving it, though it might be that no such object was directly contemplated by their framers. And *secondly*, it is to be remarked, that even if Resolutions were moved and carried distinctly sustaining the Appeal, still, if the Synod sustaining it entered at the same time upon particular points of detail in a desultory and imperfect way, even though they were certain of the XLVIII Propositions themselves which it picked out and affirmed *totidem verbis*, it would seem, by what it selected, to pass over, set aside, or condemn the rest. Much more, if it merely touched upon particular points of Discipline (involved in the XLVIII Propositions) in other words of its own, without any direct reference to them, it would seem to ignore and set aside the whole Reference of the XLVIII Propositions, that is the Appeal itself, which it professed to sustain.

If indeed, while the Appeal were sustained and sent on without any premature and inadequate allusion to its details, any Resolutions of an orthodox tendency unconnected with the Appeal, though touching, it might be, accidentally on questions involved in it, were moved and adopted *separately* on their own grounds, such Resolutions, far from impeding, would rather assist and countenance the concurrent prosecution of the Appeal: though, after all, mere Resolutions on Discipline could amount to no more than an expression of feeling, and would be wholly ineffective for any practical result.

II.

Secondly, we may suppose that, while such Resolutions as we have described above (the Resolutions, let us say, of Mr A. or Mr. Z.), would in fact shelve the Appeal, without answering any other practical end of their own, another Presbyter, Mr B., seeing this, and thinking that the Appeal may just as well be shelved quietly, as with the accompaniment of an ineffective manifestation of unpopular opinions, proposes to shelve *both* the Appeal *and* Mr A.'s Resolutions by moving, as an Amendment upon the latter, a Resolution of his own to the effect '*That the Appeal itself* [and therefore still more any Resolutions which may have been engrafted upon it, and which seem to him nugatory] is *unnecessary*.' In moving this Amendment, he may propose to express his views thus:—

[*Reasons of Mr B. for thinking the Appeal unnecessary.*]

"I am deeply impressed with the extreme importance of the question now before us; have thought much and seriously upon it; and after the most mature deliberation, have come to the opinion that the present Appeal, on the subject of passive or non-passive Communion, which has been submitted to us for our consideration, is *unnecessary*, or unnecessary at least in as far as it goes to propose the enactment of new laws on the subject of Discipline regarding admission to the Holy Communion.

"I beg leave to observe, that I quite agree with my Rev. Brother, Mr A., in the opinions expressed as to the inconsistency and impropriety

of persons who avow themselves to be Presbyterians, or members of other religious communities, presenting themselves occasionally for Communion at our altars. I entirely disapprove also of those professed Episcopalians who are in the habit of frequenting other religious assemblies, and yet come at our Festivals to seek for Communion with us.

"But while I condemn these things, I do not think that the *remedies* proposed by Mr A. would be *sufficient* to cure these evils, or to maintain right order and discipline in the Church. For any '*Recommendations*' proceeding from the Episcopal Synod could not have the force of law (because the Episcopal Synod has no power to enact laws, but only to hear Appeals); and therefore such recommendations, however much they might be entitled to the respectful deference of the Presbyters, could not be binding upon them: and it appears to me that it would be going beyond *their* powers to exclude from Communion upon any such *recommendations*, and unless the case came within the statutory law of the Church. For these reasons I think the proposed Resolutions of Mr A. would be nugatory.

"To obtain the end in view, it *would be more to the purpose* to proceed on the recommendation of the author of the '*Appeal*,' and take steps for the enactment of a *new law* on the subject of non-passive Communion. But, as I have said, it is my opinion that any such new legislation is *unnecessary*.

"It is quite clear that Passive Communion is not the doctrine of the Church of England, or of our own Church. In the first place, unworthy persons are warned in the previous Exhortation 'not to come to the Holy Table' unless they repent. Secondly, the Curate is required to 'advertise all open and notorious evil livers, that they presume not to come to the Lord's Table until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented.' And every Minister being required to 'give an account to the Ordinary of any one whom he repels, the Ordinary is enjoined to 'proceed against the offending person according to the Canon.' These rules apply to professed members of the Church. Again, in regard to strangers seeking the Communion, that law of the Church will bear upon them which directs that 'none shall be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be Confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be Confirmed.' In addition to this, our own Canons require that 'every Clergyman shall be diligent in enforcing on his congregation the duties prescribed in the Rubrics prefixed to the *Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Common Prayer*;' and in regard to strangers, the clergy have the *power* by the Canon of requiring from them 'an attestation that they are regular Communicants in the Episcopal Church.' Such being the law of discipline laid down on this point by the Rubric [and Canons], it appears to me that, if consistently acted on, and conscientiously put in force, it is quite sufficient for the purpose required of preventing passivity of Communion, and therefore that no new legislation is necessary on the subject.

"But, it may be said, the Rubric is not put in force: and it is on this ground, I presume, that the author of the Appeal proposes some '*practical legislation*,' 'some actual prevention of that passivity of Communion which now exists *de facto*:' and he has proposed a long series of rules for the regulation of the clergy in this matter.

"But can it be supposed, my brethren, if the present laws of the Church, plain and simple as they are, are not put in force, that new and more

complicated ones would be so? Would there be any greater obligation on our consciences to comply with the new laws, than with the old? I fear therefore the only effect of this proposed 'practical legislation,' if enacted, would be to render the business still more impracticable than it now is.

"For the reasons then which I have just stated, I should wish to move as an Amendment to Mr A.'s Proposals, 'That the present Appeal is *unnecessary*; and that the law of Discipline regarding the Communion be 'allowed to stand as it now exists, without any alteration or addition.'

"*P.S.* But in case my brethren are of a different opinion, I am inclined to waive my own wish, and do actually move as an Amendment,—

"'That this Synod does not approve of Passive Communion; and therefore, we respectfully request the Bishop of the Diocese to lay the matter' [N.B.—the abstract '*matter*,' not the *Appeal*,] 'before his colleagues for their consideration, with the view of convoking, if they shall think fit, a General Synod, to legislate for the more effectual maintenance of Discipline in the Church in reference to the Holy Communion; and further, that he will direct a copy of this Resolution to be sent to each of the Diocesan Synods of the other Scottish Dioceses.' "

"N. B."

These views, which we have attributed to Mr B., are clearly stated, and are consistent with themselves. There is little in them open to criticism, though, of course, they are (dropping the Postscript) altogether adverse to the Appeal. One might indeed be tempted to remark that there is some appearance of arguing in a circle, when, allowing that a Reformation is needed, he objects that Mr A.'s suggestions are not to the purpose; and then, again, allowing that the Appellant's suggestions are more to the purpose, objects that they are not needed. But this inconsistency is, perhaps, more apparent than real. And the only fair way in which the opinion can be met, is, 1. By denying the fact that our existing laws are sufficient, of themselves, even if they were better obeyed, to remedy the existing evils; and, 2. By denying that bad as we are, our community is as yet so utterly dead, as to make all attempts after reformation, and after the enforcement of obedience, either to existing or to new laws, utterly hopeless. God forbid that it should be so.

At the same time, it is pleasing and edifying to notice how Mr B., while hopeless himself of correcting evils the existence of which he admits and laments, yet offers to waive his own opinion, and to concur, if that should be the sense of his brethren, in [sustaining virtually, though indirectly, the Appeal, and] making an effort to obtain a practical reformation, which, as he rightly judges, can only be effected definitively by a General Synod; though much may be done in the mean time in the way of preparation, both by the Episcopal Synod, and by the Synods of the several Dioceses, and even by private conferences among the Clergy.

One Presbyterian, in a note of the date of March 15, had previously expressed to the writer a feeling somewhat similar to that of Mr B., thus:—"Since the late decision in the Court of Session respecting the jurisdiction "of our Bishops" [alluding to the case of *Sir William Dunbar v. Bishop Skinner*,] "I begin to be very doubtful about the propriety of stirring up "the question raised in your Appeal."

On which passage the writer remarked as follows:—

"I could not help smiling at what I read in your note of your '*beginning* since the late decision, &c.' Nor do I at all wonder at your feeling;

though with such a feeling you should desire, if possible, that the Diocesan Synod should either do nothing at all in the way of sustaining the Appeal, or at least nothing but what shall be nugatory. Above all you should avoid adopting, either in letter or in substance, the four Resolutions at p. 450 in Section LXXIX, which are, of course, suggested with the very contrary idea both of stirring the question, and of stirring it to some practical purpose. As for myself, I feel quite differently. You must allow me to observe, that at present there is no decision at all respecting the jurisdiction of our Bishops, but only a decision respecting a very untenable plea of privilege or immunity, to bar any civil court from examining whether, in a case of alleged injury, they have been merely exercising the functions of Office-bearers in their sect, or not. Nothing can be less reasonable than to claim that the officer of any religious body shall be exempt from all cognizance of civil courts, so long as *he* thinks or says that what he has done has been done according to the recognized principles and customs of the sect, and that the party complaining had made himself, by those principles, liable to what he suffered, and had no just ground of complaint. No. This may indeed be so; but it is for the civil courts to examine and to judge for themselves whether it be so indeed. This question then is *not* as yet decided; but it will have to be decided, no doubt, before long in the case you allude to: and you have good reason for your misgivings. The Episcopal Church and the Bishop concerned having treated for union with the Anglicizing Separatists as equals in a mere bargain or contract, or rather as humble inferiors who were to ‘*incur*’ the penalty of ‘the dissolution of their voluntary union’ on the first breach of the terms dictated to them, *may* indeed find some difficulty in persuading a Presbyterian Jury that the public principles and religion of their sect justify such language as was used in the so-called Excommunication of Sir William Dunbar, even if he had separated without alleging any breach of contract against the Bishop. I may add that this present volume, with the addition of all the details of Section LX (now omitted) printed at full, and of any similar expression of reluctance or incapacity on the part of any Diocesan Synod or Synods to deal with questions of Discipline, might probably appear to the Counsel for Sir William Dunbar worth having, as tending to complete the proof of their case. Not ‘the recent judgment,’ but the judgment which you have reason to fear, and which is yet to be given, may well cause you anxiety. And yet this, far from being any reason for inaction, or for acquiescence in that disgraceful condition into which we have been brought by our own sins, is the strongest reason in the world for doing our very utmost, while there is yet time, to assert and clear up our principles. This is my view. On the other hand Mde. A., the Duke of Argyll, and Sir William Dunbar, and his Counsel may say that you cannot do better than evade such questions when they come before you, since by so doing you are *proving their case*. O that the force of negative acts were a little more felt and understood than it is! . . . But you will think me, perhaps, extravagant; so I will conclude, &c. &c.”

“N. N.”

III.

“A third Presbyterian again, Mr C., shall agree with the views we have above ascribed to Mr B. in the main or practical part, and shall go beyond them, maintaining not only that our present laws, if obeyed, are sufficient, but further, that the ‘new legislation’ contemplated in Section

LXXX, as the final issue of the Appeal, (at least of its Disciplinary part), whether to the point or not, whether capable or incapable of being enforced, is positively and deeply objectionable in itself. Yet, notwithstanding this, he shall be so far from concurring on that account with Mr B. in the opinion "that the Appeal is unnecessary," that he shall propose, on the contrary, to sustain it, to declare it legitimate, even with a vote of thanks to the Appellant, and to recommend it with a warm and friendly sympathy to the other Synods of the Church, in order to the adoption by some or all of them . . . Of what? . . . Of its XLVIII Disciplinary Propositions in the first instance, and afterwards of the first part or the whole of Section LXXX to reduce them to practice? Not so; but (*apparently instead of any such issue*) of the following Resolution—

"That we for ourselves, and for our branch of the Church, and for the branches also with which we are in Communion, do solemnly disavow and repudiate the position that *no person can rightfully be prevented from taking the Communion in our Churches*, provided only that he professes himself to be a member of the same."

The only comment needed to bring out the force of this is to request the reader to pause, and to conceive the Appellant formally communicating *this* Resolution *alone*, as the issue of the Appeal, to Mde. A. and to the Russian Synod, calling at the same time on Mde A. to abstain for the future from taking our Communion, and on the Easterns to consent for the future to acknowledge the sufficiency of our existing Discipline, the successful vindication of our Communion, and the orthodoxy of our 'Reformed-Catholic,' or 'Protestant-Episcopal' Church.

IV.

Lastly, there is a fourth opinion which, though not countenanced perhaps by any of the Presbyters of this Diocese, will still no doubt be that of a very large and influential section of our Communion, if ever the Appeal shall be brought to their knowledge, and which therefore ought not to be unnoticed. Many, very many, both of the clergy and of the laity, instead of maintaining semi-Catholic views which are irreconcilable with existing phenomena, and either making ineffective demonstrations of mere opinion, or submitting hopelessly, like Mr B., to what they see cannot be remedied, will accept simply and comfortably what exists, and draw consciously or unconsciously their principles and reasonings from what they accept. Such persons will say that "open Communion and occasional Intercommunion, of Anglicans with other Protestants, and *vice versâ*, are now too firmly established to be attacked with success. Nor need these things be attacked. Canon xx [of the Scottish Canons of 1838] in *allowing* any Presbyter to demand a certificate from Episcopalian strangers by no means *requires* him to demand what is impossible from non-Episcopalian strangers, whom custom permits to Communicate. The attempt to stir such questions must be nugatory, or worse. If logically and consistently carried out (of which happily there is no fear) it must end in the re-introduction of something very like the forced Confession of the Papists: and without going any such lengths, you may irritate and alienate the minds of the laity, who are already for the most part semi-Presbyterians by opinion, and by occasional Intercommunion in worship. Your funds will decrease: You will have endless troubles and contentions: You will lose the half of many of your congregations: You will be tending to a breach with the Established Church of England, the

shadow of whose protection is necessary I will not say to our well-being, but to our very existence : and you will see probably before long a party separated from you, with Bishops as well as Presbyters, dividing with you, or even engrossing to itself that support, which you, by your own folly, will have forfeited."

This view we shall not perhaps be far wrong in calling the view of *Common Sense*. For not every one has been educated by the descendants of non-jurors, or among the partizans of the recent English movement : not every one has even any acquaintance with the literature of theoretical Anglo-Catholicism. It is natural, and not necessarily sinful or absurd, that many men should derive their principles from the actual life, tradition, and practice of the community of which they are members ; and should theorize from these data much as if our Articles and Canons, Prayer-Book and Homilies, and even our great Divines themselves had never existed. At any rate such is the case. Honest and respectable men of every degree of worth and intellect *who do thus* sit side by side with the highest 'Anglo-Catholics' among our Presbyters and Bishops, to say nothing of the laity ; and we dare not publicly and fairly attack them, or cast them out. Surely the very existence of such men is of itself a sufficient lesson for those who acquiesce dutifully in our present system, who doubt the need for any legislative change, who even object on principle to change, and yet—one must call it an inconsistency, however generous—can sympathize with and praise others who are contending to the utmost for nothing short of a radical reformation.

In conclusion, with reference to the Resolutions of Mr C. (adopted, as we shall see below, by the Diocesan Synod), we may hazard the conjecture, that notwithstanding their high and decided tone, notwithstanding that they *declare the Appeal legitimate*, and not content with that, even compliment and *thank the Appellant*, they will turn out to suit pretty well the wishes of Mr B., who yet, if he had chosen his own words to express the same sense, would have *declared the Appeal "unnecessary."* What is more, we anticipate that even the partizans of *Common Sense* themselves, whenever the matter comes before them, though they may probably be startled at the first sound of these Resolutions, will find them, on looking closer, to be tolerably inoffensive. The authors of recent Charges, whether in England or elsewhere, need be under no apprehensions.

However, as these Resolutions are certainly capable of being taken and used in two ways, and in which of the two they are to be taken depends now upon the Synods of the Church ; and as their mover himself is willing to contemplate the possibility of some "*further step* seeming necessary or desirable upon fuller deliberation," it is the duty of the Appellant to wait patiently, and to hope that they may turn out to have been a good beginning rather than a nugatory ending to the prosecution of the Appeal. Whatever may be the issue, he has at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that all will have been *intended* for the best : and his attempt "to defend our Communion," if finally rejected and defeated, will have been so rejected and defeated not by worldliness and latitudinarianism, but in friendly controversy by true and zealous champions of Anglicanism : It will not have been shelved or evaded upon any wretched point of form, or unfavourably judged upon any secondary point of detail, but it will have been fairly met and negatived, though *prematurely*, upon that one point, which, though now only indirectly and ultimately involved,

is yet, to the Appellant's mind, the *true point* on which all our existing corruptions turn, and at which all practical Reformation, to be effective, must begin.

SECTION III.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL SYNOD OF THE UNITED DIOCESE OF ST ANDREWS, DUNKELD, AND DUMBLANE, HOLDEN MARCH XXVII, M.DCCC.XLIX. ADDRESS BY THE WARDEN OF TRINITY COLLEGE : AND LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.

The Minutes of the Synod :

“ A Synod of the United Dioceses of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dumblane, called by special Mandate of the Right Reverend Patrick Torry, D.D. the Bishop, was holden [by permission of the Bishop of Brechin] in the Vestry of St Paul's Church, Dundee, this 27th day of March 1849.

“ The Dean having read the Mandate for convoking the Synod [and restricting the subject of its deliberations to “ the Appeal ” and “ the Proposal of Mr N. ” the Appellant,] then constituted it with Prayer.

“ Present—The Very Rev. *John Torry*, Dean, (presiding,) The Revds. *Charles Wordsworth*, Warden of Trinity College ; *C. J. Lyon*, *John Macmillan*, *Alexander Lendrum*, *William Taylor*, *Norman Johnston*, *Henry Malcolm*, *Thomas Walker*, *John C. Chambers*, *John P. Alley*, *William Bruce*, *Thomas Wildman*, *George Wood*, *George G. Milne*, (Synod Clerk), *Joseph Haskoll*, (Presbyter licensed to officiate at Perth), *George Forbes*, (Deacon, licensed to officiate at Burntisland.)

“ The following application was [received at the door and] read by the Synod Clerk :—

“ ‘ *N. N.*, Deacon, prays that the Letter [dated October 8, 1846,] of the Right Reverend the Bishop of St Andrews, herewith presented, be read, and that he be thereupon admitted.’ ”

“ The Letter of the Bishop was read accordingly :—

‘ *To the Reverend N. N.*, Deacon.’—‘ *Having read with all the attention, &c.* ’ [as above at p. 343.]

“ An authenticated copy of the Latin Document of the Appeal referred to in the Bishop's Letter was laid on the Table ; and Mr N. was admitted to take his place in the Synod as a Deacon licensed to officiate in this Diocese.

“ Mr N. then presented to the Synod a printed volume entitled ‘ *An Appeal to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, and generally to the Church of their Communion,*’ with an autograph ‘ *Advertisement*’ from the Bishop prefixed to it, and prayed ‘ *that this Advertisement, and the Preface, or the first words of the Preface, be now read pro formâ.*’

“ Which having been done [‘ *This Book is submitted, &c.*’ and ‘ *In laying the following sheets, &c.*’ as above, pp. ii. and iii.]

“ The Rev. Charles Wordsworth, Warden of Trinity College, read an Address to the Synod, and proposed the following Resolutions, which, after having been fully and amicably discussed, were unanimously adopted :—

“ I. That this Appeal” [*that is, the Reference of the XLVIII Disciplinary and the XLIV Doctrinal Propositions given in English in Section LVII, pp. 312–327,*] “ has legitimately arisen, and is properly made to the Scottish Church, and to this Synod in particular :

“ II. That we, the members of this Diocesan Synod, do solemnly disavow and repudiate for ourselves, for our own Church, and also for the Churches with which we are in Communion, the position that *any person can rightfully claim*” [compare above, at p. 488,] “ the Communion in our Churches, provided only he professes himself to be a member of the same :

“ III. That the thanks of the Synod be given to Mr N. [the Appellant] for the stand which he has made in defence of our Communion :

“ IV. That we recommend the Appeal” [*that is, the XLVIII Disciplinary and the XLIV Doctrinal Propositions,*] “ to the consideration of the other Synods of the Church, with a view to the more general assertion of the foregoing or similar Resolutions, and to the adoption of any other step [steps ?] which, upon fuller deliberation, may appear to be necessary or desirable.

“ To which was afterwards added, on the motion of the Rev. C. J. Lyon, seconded by the Rev. N. Johnston, the following :—

“ V. That we further recommend that the Address which the Warden of Trinity College read to the Synod be printed and forwarded, along with the ‘ Appeal ’” [*that is, along with*

this whole printed volume,] “to the other Synods, as containing, generally, the grounds on which the present Synod has adopted the foregoing Resolutions; [and that the thanks of this Synod be given him for the same.]”

[Signed] “JOHN TORRY, *Dean.*”

The Address of the Warden of Trinity College.

[The Warden rose and said, that the discussion upon which the Synod was about to enter being one of such deep and solemn moment, not only to themselves and to their Church at large, but, he might say, to the whole of Christendom, he had thought it better to commit to writing the observations which he wished to make; both in order to spare the time of the Synod, (as he trusted thereby to avoid all discursive and unnecessary remarks), and also for the sake of guarding himself against giving utterance to any expression upon so important a matter which he had not properly and maturely weighed. He would therefore, with the permission of the Synod, proceed at once to read what he had written.]

“Our revered Diocesan has called us together, and has submitted to us this Appeal ‘with a view to our expressing ourselves Synodically on the matter of which it treats.’ At the same time he has given us the benefit of his Episcopal judgment, that ‘the question which it raises, viz. that of Passive or Non-Passive Communion, is one which, from its intrinsic importance, is entitled to our attentive consideration.’ There is no one of us, I think, who will not thankfully acquiesce in this judgment of the Bishop; and the motion therefore which I would first propose to make, is to this effect:—

I.—“Resolved by the Synod, That this Appeal has legitimately arisen, and is properly made to the Scottish Church, and to this Synod in particular.”

“And secondly,—I would propose to move,

II.—“Resolved, that we, the Members of this Diocesan Synod, for ourselves, for our own branch of the Church, and for the branches also with which we are in Communion, do solemnly disavow and repudiate the position¹ that *no person can rightfully be prevented* from taking the Communion in our Churches, provided only he profess himself to be a member of the same.”

“This being the main question, to which the Bishop has particularly directed our attention, I hope I may be allowed to offer my opinion upon it at some length, more especially as I cannot say that I entirely concur with the Appellant either in the opinion he holds, or in the Propositions he would eventually desire to make, as contained in the volume now before us. Of course, our proper business in this matter (at least so I conceive it), is simply to consider, and to declare what our Church really *is*, or at all events, *what she professes and desires herself to be*, according to the true Catholic view of her system and principles, and not what we ourselves individually, according to our own fancies and prejudices, *might wish her to become*.

“First then, it is, I think, a clear and undeniable principle of our

¹ See “Appeal,” Pref. p. iii. iv; and p. 63.

Church, that she has no intention of interfering with the private conscience, *in any case where there is no public scandal*, farther than by exhortation.

"This, I conceive, is plainly shewn by the terms of the Exhortation itself, which (besides the notice to be given of the Communion) is ordered to be read at length on the previous Sunday or Holiday.

"That is, the Church claims *the right*, and recognizes *the duty*, on the part of every Minister, to exhort, admonish, comfort, counsel, advise, warn, both 'publicly and privately,' as circumstances may require, but nothing more.

"It lies, therefore, with the Minister in the first place, and next with every member of the Congregation, by representations to the Minister, each according to his knowledge, to defend their Communion from unworthy recipients. And finally it lies with the Bishop to sanction and approve, or to disclaim and condemn, any Minister's act of exclusion, by his own proper judgment and authority. All *strangers* who cannot state and prove, 'if required,' (see Canon xx, Scotch Code,¹) that they are Communicants in our Church, are *ipso facto* excommunicate, until they have ceased to be strangers.

"Any system of discipline which would go beyond this—any attempt, for instance, to make Confession compulsory, under any circumstances not scandalous, that is, notorious and offensive to the Congregation—our Church, in my opinion, distinctly and deliberately disclaims.

"On the other hand, it is, I think, a second principle of our Church, no less clear and undeniable than the former, that *wherever scandal is created*, as it must be wherever 'evil living,' of whatever kind, is open and notorious, then the Church does claim for every Minister and every Congregation the right, and does recognize the duty, as devolving upon them, one and all, to reject the offender till full assurance has been given of his true repentance,² which is to be shewn by satisfaction to herself, so far as may be, and by amendment of the offence for which exclusion was required.

"Upon this principle the claim of the Russian Lady whose conduct has given rise to this Appeal, is untenable, and her conduct, if it is to be strictly judged, deserves our severest Ecclesiastical censure. The Appellant, to whom she was no stranger, was scandalized (and with good reason) at her claiming the Sacraments in a congregation where he received, and partly ministered them himself, knowing her uncanonical conduct, her flagrant violation of Catholic unity,³ and the heresies which she openly professed,⁴ to the great injury of the Church, both of that branch of it in which she had been baptized, and of that into which she pretended to have been received. He therefore presented her (as his duty was) to Bishop Luscombe, who was both the Ordinary and responsible Minister of that Congregation. The Bishop accepted the presentment and acted upon it judicially and authoritatively. I need not enter into details: suffice it to say, the Lady having set the Bishop's judgment at defiance, and there being special reasons, affecting the welfare not of his own Communion only, but of the Church at large, to induce him to seek for the confirmation of his act by the sentence and authority of other

¹ Comp. Canon xxviii, English Code of 1603.

² See 2d Rubric before Communion, and Canons xxvi-xxviii, English Code of 1603.

³ See "Appeal," Introd. p. ci. p. 16 and p. 313.

⁴ Comp. Ibid. Introd. p. cxviii, and see p. 313.

Bishops, he naturally referred it to this country, and to the Brethren by whose hands he had been consecrated to his peculiarly difficult and isolated charge.

“With regard to Bishop Luscombe’s own decision of the case, I am well aware it may be said that other Bishops of our Church (whether in this country or in England), have judged, or might have judged it otherwise. But this is not our concern. Our concern (being called together synodically for the purpose by our own Diocesan) is to consider attentively, and to declare solemnly what we ourselves believe to be the *right* and *true judgment* of the Church in this matter. And I say, upon the ground of scandal, and upon no other, the judgment of the Church is, in my opinion, plain and undeniable. The Lady had done a grievous ‘wrong to her neighbour by word and deed,’ so that he and other members of our Communion were ‘thereby offended,’¹—offended in that which of all things ought to be to all of us most dear and precious,—and so far from confessing and amending her fault, she repeated and aggravated it.

“Having stated these two principles of our Church, as containing the points upon which the question of Passive, or Non-Passive Communion, mainly turns, and having applied them shortly to the present Appeal, I will now explain as concisely as I can my own reasons for holding this opinion, and why I consider, and have ventured to call the principles themselves true and undeniable: true and undeniable (as I think) in themselves, and what is more (as I have said) to our present purpose, truly and undeniably the teaching of our Church.

“First, then, I cannot agree with the Appellant in the view which he has taken and recommended respecting compulsory Examination and Confession (under other circumstances than those of public scandal), because I am persuaded that no such practice existed in the Primitive Church, and because not the practice only, but the deliberate judgment of our own Church has been given, I think, still more decidedly in the contrary direction. The notion of enforcing Confession under any circumstances, except with a view to public discipline, I repeat, is not a primitive one. This has been fully shewn by Bingham, by Daillé, and in the Notes to the Translation of Tertullian lately published at Oxford. In the Western Church it was not received as a law till the Council of Lateran, in A.D. 1215, under Pope Innocent III. From that time to 1548, upwards of three centuries, it was tried, and I believe, in the opinion of our Reformers, both in this country and in England, found wanting.

“What was the date of the origin of compulsory Confession in the Russian Church I cannot say, nor how it has been found to answer; though in Mr Blackmore’s volume on the Doctrine of that Church, we discover some of the practical evils which would seem to be almost inseparable from its observance.

“‘Nothing can be more careless and shameless than the practice of some Priests, who receive to Confession not only little children, boys and girls under ten years of age, but also together with them, many others,

See 2d Rubric before Communion-Office; Scotch Canon xx; and compare “Appeal,” p. 59, 60,—“They again urged, that Mde. A. acted without scandal,” &c. Again, p. 68, “For the rest, it was every man’s duty, who perceived his Communion to be invaded by aliens and heretics, to drive them away; and not least, the office of a deacon.” And again, p. 75, “I too, as well as you, belong to a ‘Family’ (the Church), of whose credit and well-being I am tender,” &c.

young people of both sexes, who have already passed their fifteenth year; and so, without questioning them of sins which they perchance may have committed, and from ignorance not even reckoned to be sins, read over them all, together and indiscriminately, the prayer of Absolution. And if, as a reason for any such disorderly practice, it be pretended that the number of people to Confess is too great for the Priest to get through in one day before the Communion, &c. &c.” *‘Doctrine of the Russian Church,’* p. 218.

“But for ourselves—for me at least as an Anglican, and I shall shew presently as a Scottish Churchman too—our Reformers deliberately laid it aside.

“This I think is evident, not only from the very strong language which is used in the Homily on Repentance, (upon which, for obvious reasons, I will lay no stress), but also from the past and present contents of our Book of Common Prayer, which concerns us all almost equally alike.

“In the first Prayer-Book of 1549, the members of the Church were reminded for the first time of the language of Scripture, ‘how St Paul exhorteth all persons’ not to come to a Priest to be examined, but ‘to examine themselves,’ δοκιμάζειν ἑαυτοὺς, *explorare se ipsos*. And again, in that same book, ‘my duty’ (said the Priest) ‘is to exhort you to search and examine your own consciences;’ and again, ‘The way and means thereto’ (*i. e.* to worthy receiving the Holy Communion,) ‘is, that you be truly repentant of your former evil life, and that you confess with an unfeigned heart to Almighty God your sins and unkindness towards His majesty.’ And again, the will of the Church is declared for the first time as ‘requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general Confession’ (that is, the general Confession then set forth in the same Communion-Office,) ‘not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret Confession to the Priest; nor these also which think needful or convenient particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble Confession to God, and the general Confession to the Church.’ In the Second Book of 1552 two further steps were taken as against the former practice of compulsory Confession. This latter passage was withdrawn from the Communion-Office, while both the former, enjoining self-examination, were allowed to stand; and, as an additional measure to render private Confession and Absolution, in ordinary cases, unnecessary, a form of general Confession and Absolution, to be used every morning, was prefixed to the Daily Service of the Church; a form such as had never been used before, during the time when the law of compulsory Confession remained in force. Forms indeed there had been of Public Confession and Absolution used in the Daily Office, and in the Liturgy before the Reformation, but they were of a different kind: People and Priest mutually Confessed, and prayed for forgiveness. The Priest did not turn to the People when he said the Absolution; nor did he say it standing; nor did he preface it with the announcement that God had ‘given power and commandment to His Ministers’ to perform such an act. Now it must not be alleged that this new Prefix to our Daily Service, contemporaneous with, or rather following close upon the revocation of the law for forced Confession, was a change arising out of the undue influence of foreign Reformers, and meeting with no true sympathy from the Church herself, whether in this

country or in England : for it has since been not only adopted and continued, but systematically carried out to greater lengths in both countries. In the Prayer-Book of 1637, drawn up by the Scottish Bishops, and improperly called Archbishop Laud's, the forms of General Confession and Absolution which, up to that time, had never been used more than once a day, viz. in the morning, were introduced into the Daily Service for both the Morning and Evening. The Form of Absolution was rendered more emphatic, running thus : ' The same Almighty God pardoneth and absolveth all them which truly repent and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel. Wherefore, we beseech Him to grant us true Repentance and His Holy Spirit, that we may receive from Him absolution from all our sins.' And the preceding Rubric ordered (for the first time) ' the Priest to stand, and to turn himself to the People,' while they were still to ' remain humbly upon their knees.' Of these additions, all tending to neutralise the obligation of private Confession, the greater part, as we all know, were adopted twenty-five years afterwards into the English Prayer-Book, viz. at the last review;—and there we find them at the present day.

" I have dwelt upon this point, partly in confirmation of what I had before said, and partly because it has, I think, been entirely passed over by the Appellant, even in those portions of his book in which he enters into the fullest and most minute details respecting the principles and practice of our Church. He has exposed the absence of Private Confession and Absolution, but he has not informed the Easterns that Bishop Sparrow (no mean authority) maintains the three Forms of Absolution—the two public, and the one private, in the Visitation of the Sick—to be all of equal validity. He has not told them that Bishop Bull (no mean authority) preferred to be absolved in private by the Form in the Communion-Office. He has not said that Hooker (no mean authority) formally declares : ' If with us there be truth in the inward parts, the difference of general and partial Forms in Confession and Absolution is not so material that any man's safety or ghostly good should depend upon it.'¹ These three great and good men (it is true) *may* be all mistaken ; but they certainly studied and understood, and intended to represent and maintain the true principles of (at least) the Anglican branch of our Communion ; and as such, in any attempt to ascertain her teaching upon this question, their opinion is entitled to the greatest weight.

" On the other hand, the evidence of authority from the writings of our best Divines which the Appellant has adduced in behalf of his own view, or rather formal proposal (see ' Appeal,' Sect. LXXX, and Introduct. Part III, Sect. VIII), to get rid of passive Communion by restoring compulsory Confession, is, I must say, to my own mind, far from satisfactory. The extract from Bishop Cosin, which he has quoted repeatedly, (Introduct. p. clxxxii, ' Appeal,' p. 189, 217, 454, and ' Harmony of East. and Angl. Doctrine,' p. 213), and upon which he would build so much (see especially ' Appeal,' p. 454), lies open at least to very grave exception. It is as follows : ' Religiosè apud nos, et summâ cum reverentiâ celebratur Eucharistia ; quæ Festis majoribus et singulis quandoque Dominicis, porrigitur illis, qui prius explorati, absoluti, aut digni reperti sunt.' The Tract, or Sketch itself, from which these words profess to be

¹ Eccles. Polity, Book vi, ch. iv, § 15.

taken, was not published till 1707, more than thirty years after the Bishop's death (in 1672) ; and in that publication, edited by Dr Smith in his '*Vitæ Illustrum Virorum*,' no such passage is to be found. It occurs only in the second edition published more than twenty years later by a Clergyman named Wekett, viz. in 1729. In the former, Dr Smith's edition, the passage stands thus : '*Summâ cum reverentiâ et religione celebratur apud nos Eucharistia, tam Festis majoribus, quam singulis primis cujusque mensis anni Dominicis. Quod si reperti fuerint, qui eandem sæpius postulaverint, et dignè communicare potuerint, aliis etiam temporibus, Dominicis, Festis, et feriâ quâlibet celebrare licet, atque aded oportet.*' The Tract itself was originally drawn up by the Bishop when he was with our exiled Queen and Court at Paris in 1652, for the great Lord Clarendon. Both the editors who have published it profess to print from MS. copies in Bishop Cosin's own hand ; although (as the later Editor admits) there are considerable variations between the two. Which is genuine, or whether both are so, and if so, which is the later written and more correct version, we cannot tell. The Appellant, no doubt would decide the question in favor of the copy which contains his own quotation : and he might perhaps further argue that those words were inserted by the Bishop after 1662, in order to meet the change in the Rubric made in that year, at the last review ; the change, I mean, by which such as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion were required to '*signify their names to the Curate, at least sometime the day before ;*' whereas till then it had been *sufficient* to do so on the morning of Communion.¹ However, granting even that this were so, then I must say that such a foundation is quite insufficient to bear what the Bishop is supposed to build upon it ; much less will it support the towering superstructure which the Appellant has raised upon grounds (so far at least as this testimony goes) utterly uncertain and unsubstantial. See '*Appeal*' Sect. LXXX. Also '*Harmony of East. and Angl. Doctrine*,' (published conjointly by Mr Blackmore and the Appellant) p. 213.

"And the same must be said of another authority which is produced in this latter Work ; and which, from the terms in which it is expressed, would appear to be next in weight to that of Bishop Cosin ; I mean the so-called quotations from Bishop Overall.

"'*Let him come to me, &c.*' '*Confession of sins must necessarily be made to them to whom the dispensation of the mysteries of God is committed. For so they, which in former times repented among the Saints, are read to have done,*' (p. 43.) And again (on Visitation of Sick, p. 62), '*Venial sins, which separate not from the grace of God, need not so much trouble a man's conscience. If he have committed any mortal sin, then we require confession of it to a Priest.*'—*Harmony*, p. 217.

"Those notes upon the Prayer-Book, of which part was first published by Dr Hickes in the Preface to his Work on the '*Christian Priesthood*' in 1707, (nearly a century after the Bishop's death, in 1616), and afterwards the whole by Dr Nicholls in 1710, are a compilation from different quarters, such as any student might transcribe into his interleaved copy of the Prayer-Book, without, by so doing, adopting the sentiments as his

¹ See Cardwell's "*Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer*" p. 317. It is to be noticed that the alteration (whatever may be drawn from it) was made at the suggestion of the Non-Conformists, not on the free motion of the Church herself.

own ; and in this instance the notes were not even written out by Bishop Overall himself, but, it is supposed, were gathered by some Friend or Chaplain from his Collections.¹ Add to which, the doctrine contained in these extracts which the Appellant has quoted, of the unqualified necessity of Confession, is scarcely reconcileable with those words in the Catechism respecting the two Sacraments as alone ‘generally necessary to salvation,’ which, we all know, to be not only the undoubted doctrine of our Church, but the genuine production of the pen of that same Dr Overall. In short, not to trouble you with remarks upon the other authorities produced by the Appellant, I believe I may say with truth, that Thorndike is the only respectable Doctor of our Church who has ever held or broached any such remedy for Passive Communion as that which the Appellant has proposed (in the ‘Appeal,’ Sect. LXXX). See “Harmony,” p. 220.² And the estimate of Thorndike among the Divines of his own day is known to have been not very high from the character which has been given of him by Bishop Jeremy Taylor :—from whose writings, by-the-bye, the extract which is given at p. 218 of the ‘Harmony’ contains a false print, which, it is well, should be pointed out and corrected. ‘The Church of God in all ages hath *commanded* that we confess our sins,’ &c. &c. should be printed hath ‘*commended* ;’ which change of a single letter, makes in fact the whole difference between my opinion in this matter and that of the Appellant. It is true the *recommendation* of the Church will be the same as the *commandment* to all her dutiful and loving children ; but we are now speaking of her charitable and prudent dealing with the froward and undutiful.

“These, then, my Clerical brethren, are the chief grounds upon which I have formed, and maintain the opinion on this question I before expressed. I hold, that after Confirmation, our Church considers all her members to be of full age ; and as such, *competent* to judge of their own fitness to Communicate, and responsible themselves for the judgment which they form. She will preach the Word to them, ‘be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.’ Nor will she stop here. She has given to all her Priests the power ‘to remit sins,’ not ‘in profane mockery,’ nor yet to be ‘horribly and guiltily neglected,’ (See ‘Appeal,’ p. 224,) but in order that it may be faithfully administered twice a day to ‘all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe God’s holy Gospel.’ Nay more : she earnestly recommends and invites her Penitents to confess in private, more especially before the Holy Communion (that they may have the comfort and benefit beforehand of private Absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, in case of scruple or doubtfulness) ; and even it may be, if the circumstances of their case require it, to submit to Public Penance : but she will never enforce such Confession, except in self-defence ; in other words, except with a view to obtaining satisfaction for the scandal and injury of a bad example. Even on the bed of sickness she will not *order* any longer—*though she did so till* the last review of the Visitation Office ; she will not I say, ‘*order*,’ but she will ‘*move*’ her Penitent ‘to

¹ See Dr Hickeys’ Preface, p. xxxiii ; Dr Nicholls’, p. 2.

² The passage referred to is as follows : “I must freely glorify God by freely professing that in my judgment no Christian Kingdom or State can maintain itself to be that which it pretendeth more effectually than by giving force and effect to the law of private Confession once a year.”

make a special Confession, if his conscience is troubled,' and if the cause of his trouble be 'any weighty matter.' Knowing, as she does, from the Word of her Lord, that the tares and the wheat must both grow together until the harvest, do what she may; her charitable aim throughout is to assist willing, and not to force unwilling Penitents. And so she will often represent Confession (in the words of her pious Bishop Taylor) as 'a necessary charity,' (viz. to our own souls) though not as 'a necessary obedience.'¹ And the notion, therefore, of '*cheating the Church*' in the case of those who, having excommunicable sins upon their conscience, forbear to confess them in private, seeing that she herself exhorts them rather 'to search and examine their own consciences,' the notion, I say, of *cheating the Church*, under such circumstances, is one which certainly she has no where herself put forth; which is in fact, simply without foundation, and was never broached, I believe, by any good and learned teacher of the Church till it found a place in the volume—which, nevertheless, is the work I am sure of both a good and learned man—the volume of this Appeal.² On the other hand, another good and learned Author, who has been the last to examine this momentous subject in England—I mean Mr Masskell—whose enquiry into the Doctrine of Absolution was published only a few months ago, has expressed his very decided opinion that the system of compulsory Confession, which Thorndike recommended as the most effectual means of maintaining Christianity in a State, is not only not generally necessary to salvation, but is *positively evil*.³

"In conclusion then, upon this second Resolution, I would venture to say, for myself and for our Church, we must not represent ourselves to the Easterns other than we really are. It may be that the truth lies between the two; but what is at present truth to *us* we must not sacrifice to the desire of obtaining union with them;—I say to the desire of obtaining it; for to obtain it really without truth, is as impossible as it would be undesirable. And here I cannot help expressing my regret at the unmeasured language of reprobation which the Appellant has felt it his duty to employ whenever the name or thought of Protestantism has come across his path. I appreciate his motive for so doing; but surely the ignorance, or confused and half-knowledge of the Russians respecting the true character and position of our Church was to be remedied in some other way than by not only surrendering but vilifying a name which the holiest and most learned Doctors and Bishops of our Church have held as dear to them as life itself; which that same orthodox and Catholic Bishop, Cosin, of whom we have had occasion to speak, cherished even upon his death-bed, when all thought of mere worldly differences and animosities must have been far distant from his mind. '*Ubiunque verò terrarum*' (says that holy man in his last will and testament) '*Ecclesiæ, Christiano nomine censæ, veram, priscam et Catholicam religionem fidemque profitentur, et Deum Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum uno ore et mente invocant ac colunt, iis si me uspiam actu jam nunc jungi prohibet vel distantia regionum, vel dissidia hominum, vel aliud quodeunque obstaculum, semper tamen animo, mente, et affectu conjungor ac coalesco; id quod de Protestantibus præsertim, et benè*

¹ Bishop Taylor on Repentance, ch. x. sect. iv. § 43, vol. ix. p. 251.

² See Appeal, Introd. p. ceviii; p. 21.

³ Compare with this the language of "The Appeal," p. 242, respecting the teaching of the Church on this subject.

Reformatis Ecclesiis intelligi volo.¹ So long as Rome claims what she does, to the utter ruin of Catholic Discipline, if it be not of Doctrine also, (which we have but too much reason to fear from what we have read in the latest Encyclical of the present Pope)—so long, I say, as Rome claims what she does, we, under whatever name—and I know no better than that of Protestant—must deny to her what we do. And truly, if the language of the Arch-Priest, who is brought before us in the Appeal, and whose ‘Declaration’ is ‘made in the name of the Holy Synod,’² is to be regarded as a fair organ and witness of the tenets and pretensions of his own Communion—I am sorry indeed to say it—but *I cannot but think and say*, that we have reason also to fear lest there should be occasion to extend our Protest beyond Rome—against other usurpations scarcely less exorbitant. I am loath to speak on this painful subject; but whatever may have been ‘the severity of disapprobation’ with which our revered Diocesan expressed himself, as we are told, (see ‘Appeal,’ p. 341), upon ‘the tone manifested in dealings’ such as those to which I am referring, I have little doubt we shall all agree it could hardly have been *more severe* than such language merits, and indeed demands. (*The written Address ended here.*)

“The subject, as I have said, is too painful to dwell upon; and having already occupied the attention of the Synod so long in reading the remarks which I had wished to make upon the *main question* of our meeting, I will now go on to lay before you the next, that is, the *third* Resolution, which I would propose to make. It is as follows:

III.—“That the thanks of the Synod be given to Mr N. for the stand which he has made in defence of our Communion.”

“[In moving this Resolution, the Warden observed, that it was drawn from the printed words of their revered Diocesan. (See ‘Appeal,’ p. 343.) So long as they kept themselves under his guidance in this matter, he felt that they were safe. He then proceeded to pass a warm eulogium upon Mr N., in which the Synod appeared cordially to concur. The Appellant’s conduct throughout had exhibited a noble example of self-devotion to the cause of truth, such as it must do any man good to hear or read of. The object he had in view was the highest which a Christian could propose to himself in this world, viz. that of promoting Catholic Unity, to be attained not according to any specious, shallow device of man’s wisdom, but upon the principles of the Catholic Faith. And this object he had pursued with a rare singleness of heart and mind, such as would have done honor to the first and purest ages of the Church.] The Warden then proposed as the fourth and last of his series of Resolutions the following:

IV.—“Resolved, that the present Synod recommends this Appeal to the consideration of the other Synods of the Church, with a view to the more general assertion of the foregoing, or other similar Resolutions, and to the adoption of any further step which, upon fuller deliberation, may be deemed necessary or desirable.”

“For himself, the Warden observed, he thought the law of the Church was sufficient as it stood, if not³ in England, at all events in this country.⁴

¹ See Smith’s ‘Vitæ, &c.’ p. 57.

² See the ‘Appeal,’ p. 267.

³ See the Notes of Bishop Andrews in Nicholls’ Collection, p. 36, on the 2d Rubric before Communion, and the case given in Bishop Gibson’s Codex, Vol. i. p. 385.

⁴ See the Anecdote told in the ‘Appeal,’ p. 406.

It is not that we want *more laws*, but *more obedience*. ‘*Nil vanæ sine moribus leges proficiunt.*’ Already there were too many lying dormant in the Prayer-Book and Canons, which required to be awakened, before we add to their number. The xxth Canon of the Scottish Code, embodying the Rubrics of the Communion-Office, was a wise and excellent one; and in the hands of a good and faithful Clergy, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, seemed to require little or no alteration or addition.¹ In saying this, he would of course be understood as objecting to no Examination that was needful for the due execution of existing laws; still less as disparaging the practice (to whatever extent it might be carried) of voluntary conference and confession, which, indeed, he considered essential to the well-being of a Church. Such, on the whole, was his own opinion; but others, better qualified to judge, might think otherwise; and for this reason he would wish not only that the foregoing Resolutions should be asserted more generally, but that the Appeal itself should proceed to the other Synods of the Church, with a view (if it should seem desirable) to further and fuller deliberation² upon the momentous question which it involves.”]

Letter to the Bishop of St Andrews, dated from Edinburgh, April 2, 1849.

MY DEAR LORD,—The Dean having expressed a decided opinion that a special Synod, (the idea of which had been suggested by Mr Milne), could not be had, I had rather unluckily left Edinburgh the very day before I should else have learned that he had changed his mind. The note you were so good as to write to me yourself, advertising me of the fact that a special Synod was actually convoked, reached me at Oxford. I did not think the mere trouble or expense of the journey a sufficient reason for remaining where I was; and therefore I returned to Scotland, and was present last Tuesday (the 27th ult.) at the Synod at Dundee.

Your Lordship will, no doubt, have received from the Dean the Minutes of all that was done, and the Resolutions which were adopted on that day by the Synod.

Not being asked, I did not offer to obtrude any opinion of my own on the Synod; but so far as I am myself concerned, I could have wished the *second* Resolution away; because its adoption may now seem to be recommended or suggested to the other Synods as an adequate and final issue to the Appeal; whereas, standing alone, it would, I think, be wholly nugatory, and would imply a disinclination to enter upon and decide those XLVIII Disciplinary Propositions, (to say nothing of the XLIV Doctrinal) which are the matter of the Appeal itself.

I also regret that my friend, the Warden of Trinity College, should have entered at length upon a delicate and difficult question which is *no part of the Appeal*, though it would, I think, have ultimately to be considered in case of a favourable issue; that is, if the XLVIII Disciplinary Propositions were first affirmed, and if a Form of Examination were then instituted for carrying them into effect. The question I allude to is that of the necessity or propriety of *extending* any such Examination of applicants for Communion in certain cases *beyond* the ascertainment of 1. their Ecclesias-

¹ To borrow the language of the Roman orator, and apply it to the present case, “*Uabemus in te . . . Synodi consultum vehemens et grave. Non deest Ecclesiæ concilium, neque auctoritas hujus ORDINIS; Nos, Nos, dico apertè, Clerici desumus.*” That is, if indeed there be any *deficiency*.

² Such deliberation would naturally and properly take for its basis “Those Propositions respecting Discipline, the Synodical re-assertion of which was desired” by Bishop Luscombe. See “*Appeal*,” p. 318-327.

tical status, and II. belief, to III. some points of *morals*, as for instance, to the three heads of the Apostolical Canon, taken in their widest and spiritual sense, of abstinence from *Idolatry*, from *Blood*, and from *Sins of the Flesh*, wherever such sins are known to be prevalent. This question, as seeming to me to be *ultimately* involved, was provided for prospectively in Section LXXX, p. 454, of the printed volume, as I wished to give a full and unreserved view of the whole scope and bearing of the Appeal. And whenever the matter had arrived at that stage, I should have thought it a great advantage to have the more popular view of the question urged against my own in friendly controversy by such a man as the Warden. But in the present stage of the affair there is nothing which I should have been disposed more to deprecate than the premature discussion of such a point, a point only indirectly and ultimately involved, and perhaps to many peoples' minds not really involved at all, before the Appeal itself (that is, the XLVIII Disciplinary, if not also the XLIV Doctrinal Propositions in Section LVII) has been gone into in detail, and decided. For this reason, while I reprint and insert the Warden's Address on this subject, I do not propose to take any notice myself of his arguments at this present stage of the business, but shall reserve whatever I may have to say in reply till the principles involved in the XLVIII Propositions of the Appeal shall have been discussed and affirmed; till an Examination extending to the ascertainment of Ecclesiastical status, or status and belief, at least, shall have been prescribed for carrying them into effect; and till the question shall actually be raised, whether this Examination, so prescribed, shall *stop short* with points of Ecclesiastical status, or status and belief, or shall be extended also to points of morals, and, if so, *how far*? Whenever this question shall really be raised, the arguments contained in the Warden's Address will be very much to the purpose, and will deserve the most serious attention: and though I differ from him, I am fully conscious of the delicacy of the subject, of the apparent leaning of the Anglican Church to his side, and of the consequent strong feeling of her members, generally, against any such view as my own.

In the mean time, however, since the Synod on Tuesday last Resolved 'That the Appeal,' [that is, the reference of the XLVIII Disciplinary, and the XLIV Doctrinal Propositions in Section LVII,] 'has legitimately arisen, 'and is properly made to the Scottish Church;' and has recommended it 'to the consideration of the other Synods of the Church, with a view to 'the adoption of . . . any further step which, upon fuller deliberation, 'may appear to be necessary or desirable,' I have, so far at least, reason to be satisfied with the result at present obtained as a first step, and reason to hope that, upon fuller deliberation, it will "appear to be necessary or desirable" that the Appeal which has now been sustained and voted legitimate, should also, in consequence, be entered into in detail and decided, *first* in the XLVIII Propositions, which constitute its primary or Disciplinary part; and *afterwards*, and eventually, also in the XLIV Propositions, which constitute its secondary or Doctrinal part.

If, upon having read through the printed volume, your Lordship should be favourable to such a course, I would respectfully suggest and ask that you should authorize the Clergy of the Diocese, at their next and other following Synods, to read and consider first (as a preliminary step towards the procuring or ascertaining of agreement) the XLVIII Propositions on Discipline, marking, the first time, and entering on their Minutes,

for reference, the numbers of those Propositions out of the XLVIII on which all may be at once agreed, and so returning afterwards, at other subsequent meetings, to the rest, beginning with those which seem least doubtful, and leaving any that may seem more questionable to the last, and making them the subject of personal study, and of conference at any private meetings in the mean time.

If such a course should be adopted in that Diocese which has first voted the Appeal legitimate, and recommended it to the other Diocesan Churches, we may fairly expect the same method to be followed also in the rest ; and so gradually, and in a preparatory way, the matter may be discussed in detail, and agreement obtained or approximated to among the Clergy generally, before it comes to be actually and definitively legislated upon by any general Synod of the Church at large.

On the other hand, if this Diocese votes the Appeal legitimate and sends it on recommending it to the consideration of the rest, but does nothing further itself in the matter, beyond adopting a single Resolution, which as standing alone and substituted for the XLVIII Propositions must be nugatory, one can hardly expect other Dioceses to do any thing further either ; or even to do so much. For to vote the Appeal contained in Section LVII legitimate, and there to stop short, without taking any steps towards its actual decision, would be merely to involve themselves in a needless inconsistency : and it might well seem better to decline from the outset to take any cognizance of the matter.

Hoping your Lordship will not be displeased at the freedom with which I have stated my sentiments and wishes, I remain, &c. &c.—Your Lordship's most obedient and dutiful son and servant in Christ.

N. N. (Deacon).

P.S.—If the Synod of your Lordship's Diocese should have your sanction for considering the XLVIII Disciplinary Propositions of the Appeal at its meeting in June, and should be willing to do so, I shall hope to be present at it, as well as to be present (if it should be thought advisable) at any Synods of other Dioceses to which the Appeal is to be communicated.

SECTION IV.

OPINION AND SUGGESTION OF A LAY MEMBER OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO THE APPEAL.

WITH a view to the deliberations of other Synods to which the Appeal is now to be submitted, the following opinion and suggestion, as coming from a layman of eminence connected with the Scottish Church, may be here inserted :

"I confess that considering [Mr N.'s] direct relation to the Scottish Episcopate through Bishop Luscombe, to say nothing of the legitimacy of his object, &c. . . . I should feel sorely grieved and wounded for the honour of our Communion in Scotland, were his Appeal to be passed by.

"He has, I think, a *right* to know whether, by the doctrinal engagements under which he has placed himself in Russia, he has or has not destroyed or impaired his relation to the Communion of the Scottish Bishops.

. . . "It seems to me as if the plain and just course for the Scottish Bishops, or for any Diocesan Synod in Scotland, as the case might be, to pursue would be, to resolve or decree some such Propositions as these :

"I. That they commend the intention manifested by the Appellant's labours to ascertain the continuance of our Communion with the Eastern Church, or to secure its re-establishment :

"II. That without being in possession of all the materials necessary to judge the whole case of Mde. A. they approve of the proceedings taken by Bishop Luscombe in regard to her, so far as they appear in the record which has been furnished :

"III. That they are ready, upon any overture from the Russian Church, to examine formally any Propositions of Faith and Discipline, with a view to defining the basis of Communion with a Church which they have always regarded as sound in all matters which are *de fide* :

"IV. That in the meantime, surveying those XLIV Propositions generally, they adjudge that in renouncing them the Appellant has done nothing to impair the integrity of his relation to the Scottish Episcopal Communion ; a relation, which might at the same time be affirmed to subsist in the positive adoption of the same faith, and not to stand upon the principle of indifferent or passive Communion."

However, in the Appellant's own opinion, the less that is said or thought, in the first instance, of the indirect bearing of the Appeal on our relations to the Russian or Eastern Church the better. The attitude of the Easterns towards us at present is not such as to invite any overture, direct or indirect, on our side. An overture, if made, would pledge us to an effort which perhaps, when it came to the point, we should be unwilling or unable to make, and for making which we have already at home motives of duty sufficient of themselves to move us, if any thing can move us, irrespectively of any prospect of negotiations with other Churches. As long as Mde. A. and thousands of others with no better claim than her's, are practically in full possession of our Communion, and such enormous passivity, both as to ecclesiastical status, as to belief, and as to morals as now exists, continues unreformed, it is hopeless to expect the Eastern Church to treat us, or to think of us otherwise than as of a mere sect or form of Protestantism. It will be time enough to speculate on ulterior consequences in relation to the Russian Church when we shall have actually excluded, not by any evasive general declaration, nor by any unfair personal ostracism, but by a real practical reformation of our Discipline, such intruders as Mde. A. By doing this we shall be simply doing our duty towards ourselves and our own Church : in doing it we shall make, in fact, the whole effort necessary to conduct any negotiation with the Eastern Church to a successful issue : and when we are seen to have made it, the Easterns, especially the Russians, would probably be as forward even to make advances to us, as they would be backward even to receive any overture from us now ; that is, any such general or indirect overture as would be likely to be made in the first instance, and which would seem rather to be an *evasion of the questions already raised among ourselves by the Appeal*, than a pledge to deal, to any practical end, with such *other* questions as would still remain to be settled between our Church and theirs, and on which, as raised by the Arch-Priest in 1843, the Appellant and Bishop Luscombe purposely declined to make any reference, as if moved by the Easterns, to the Scottish Church.



112444

Palmer, William]

An appeal to the Scottish bishops and clergy.

NAME OF BORROWER.

Chas. L. ...

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